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The Proposed New Association Constitution: A View from the Committee

Robert E. Hawkinson
University of Chicago
and Victor G. Rosenblum
Northwestern University

The members of the Constitutional Revision Committee of the APSA were predominantly in agreement over the proposed text, though their reasons for supporting the text of the draft may have varied in particular instances. The authors of this article, in presenting their views in support of the draft, obviously claim to speak only for themselves. Hopefully, sufficient time and agenda space will be available at the business meeting during the 1971 Convention so that all the members of the Constitutional Revision Committee will feel encouraged to develop their particular arguments in behalf of the document in full detail.

In many respects the proposed new Constitution speaks for itself and needs no explanation. It seemed pointless and wasteful to us, for example, to specify the cost of annual dues as was done in the original Constitution. A Constitutional amendment was necessary, pursuant to the original document, each time the dues structure had to be altered. It is more consonant with the nature of a Constitution as a general framework of governance to leave such detailed items for careful deliberation by the assembly rather than to freeze them into the Constitution.

To the extent that we are capable of prediction, we feel that controversy over the proposed draft will center on its conception of the role of the Association, the require-

ments for membership, and the composition and activities of the assembly.

The draft continues the Association's traditional open membership provision, allowing the prospective joiner to decide whether there is sufficient mutuality of interest between the Association's goals and functions and his or her own to warrant the payment of dues. We explicitly preferred not to establish some board of certification to determine the adequacy or inadequacy of the prospective joiner's credentials.

The objectives of the Association are reasserted as professional, not partisan. It is as teachers, scholars and students of political science examining and criticizing the multiple facets of the discipline that we involve ourselves as members of the Association. While many of us are spurred to partisan political activity by virtue of our professional interests and personal beliefs, we feel that the Association itself should not be a partisan political instrument.

We have proposed the establishment of the 30 member Assembly as the primary, continuing deliberative and policy making body. It would be more representative and have more authority than the present Council.

The "Purpose" article of the draft concisely states the rationale for the Association's

In order to provide Association members with an opportunity to consider the proposed new Association Constitution, *PS* is presenting the above article with the views of two members of the Committee, Robert E. Hawkinson and Victor G. Rosenblum, Acting Chairmen of the Constitutional Revision Committee. In future issues *PS* will present comments on the document from proponents and opponents. Members are invited to submit com-

ment. *PS* will also present comments on the Council's proposed amendments to the proposed Constitution in the spring issue of *PS*. A copy of the proposed Constitution and the Council's proposed amendments are printed as an appendix to the Hawkinson-Rosenblum article.

The proposed new Constitution will be presented at the 1971 Annual Meeting.

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Opposition Views on the Proposed New Association Constitution

A Régime D'Assemblée for the APSA?—or: Wildavsky's Iron Law of Oligarchy

The Association's membership, assembled at Los Angeles last September, acted wisely in giving itself another year to reflect on the need (if any) for total constitutional revision. A new charter had been prepared in two versions, one by a committee headed by Professor Aaron Wildavsky, and the other by the Association's outgoing Council. So engrossed had each of these bodies been in its labors, and perhaps in the minor differences between the resulting documents, that their first publication, in the summer 1970 issue of *PS*, was delayed until just before the Annual Meeting. Nor was either version, as published, accompanied by any rationale or explanation. All anyone had to go by was the bare text of the two proposed charters—which most of us saw for the first time when we picked it up at the entrance of the ballroom of the Los Angeles Hilton, on the way to the session that was to choose between these two alternatives—or the *status quo ante*.

Professor Wildavsky still has not supplied the missing rationale for the document that he helped to father; and the 1969-70 Council allowed its term to expire without venturing any public justification of its further emendations. Meanwhile, however, two members of the Constitutional Revision Committee, Professors Hawkinson and Rosenblum, claiming "obviously . . . to speak only for themselves," have published one modest argument in favor of the Committee's draft (see *PS* Winter 1971, pp. 6-18). Above all, the membership has now had time to study the two proposed charters and to compare them to the one under which, with gradual

By Dankwart A. Rustow

City University of New York (Brooklyn)

historical accretions and deletions, American political scientists have managed to operate for about seventy years. A close reading of the three texts is likely to make a conservative of even the most impetuous of our colleagues.

Here are some of the more prominent features of the Wildavsky draft:

Controversial Concerns and Academic Freedom Omitted. Wildavsky and his committeemen would leave out the provision of the present Constitution (art. II) that "the Association . . . actively encourages, in its membership and its journals, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies, however controversial and subject to partisan discourse in the community at large these may be." They equally would delete the further provision that "The Association shall not be debarred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it deems appropriate in support of academic freedom and of freedom of expression by and within the Association, the political science profession, and the university, when in its judgment such freedom has been clearly and seriously violated or is clearly and seriously threatened."

Organized Pressure on Nominations Invited. While substantive discussion of controversial issues or explicit championship of academic freedom would no longer be countenanced, partisanship would be introduced into the nominating process in its crudest, most personal form. For, under the Wildavsky

In this issue of *PS*, the views of five members of the Association on the proposed new Association Constitution and the proposed Council amendments are presented. *PS* will welcome further comments from proponents and opponents of the document and amendments. The texts of the proposed Constitution

and the proposed Council amendments were published in the Summer 1970 and Winter 1971 issues of *PS*. The text of the current Association Constitution was published in the Winter 1971 issue of *PS*. The proposed new Constitution will be presented at the 1971 Annual Business Meeting.

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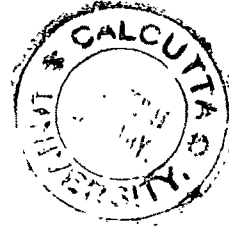
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The Structure of Professional Education in Departments of Political Science*

John M. Orbell
Alvin H. Mushkatel
Lawrence C. Pierce
University of Oregon

Introduction

The organization of graduate programs has received increasing attention lately within political science. Teaching techniques, course requirements, class size, student representation in departmental decision-making processes have all been investigated. This paper examines another aspect of graduate education, the effect of departmental structure on the learning process. We do not deal with the substance of a political science education, but rather with various dimensions of political science departments as organizations. Our findings are based on a survey of fourteen political science departments that was conducted in the winter of 1970. Questionnaires were sent to faculty and to graduate students in the selected departments, and both sets of respondents were asked questions about their attitudes, preferences, perceptions of others, and their interaction patterns in the department.¹

* The authors wish to thank the Ford Foundation and the Regional Research Program of the Office of Education for financing the graduate socialization project at Oregon.

In addition to the authors of this paper, Professor Joseph M. Allman, Mr. Fred Terbrusch and Mr. James R. McCoy have participated in the overall project and, consequently, have contributed to the intellectual antecedents and data collection upon which this paper is based. Special thanks must go to the chairmen and graduate student contacts in the departments studied. Their interest and cooperation were essential to the success of the project. Finally, thanks are due to Mrs. Carl Gabiou for her critical reading of the first draft of the paper, and to Mrs. Linda Mushkatel for her assistance in preparing the final manuscript. Any faults are the responsibility of the authors.

1 Our response rates varied between 37% and 65% for graduate students and between 23% and 87% for faculty. We believe these rates are acceptable since we worked from lists of students in each department that undoubtedly contained much "slack" and were less than perfect as sample frames. Many did not distinguish students who were on leave or whose enrollment in the department was *pro forma*. There were also, of course, many students included who were absent from the department working on dissertations and even some who had graduated. Wherever possible our contacts in the various departments helped us identify such cases. We feel that the response figures are a conservative reflection of our actual response from students taking courses full time in the department. As usual in surveys, we have no reliable way of knowing the characteristics of those who did not respond — although a reasonable guess is that their involvement in the department was more marginal than those who did respond.

To make a systematic exploration of departmental structure the study had to encompass a range of departments, preferably representative of the variety in the discipline. Our problem at the outset was that we could only guess at this variety. Accordingly, we used two sources of information which did not identify the dimensions of internal structure we were interested in but which gave us *some* data on very broad differences. The first source was a brief questionnaire sent to "the departmental secretary" in forty-five

Our interest is in *departments* and the individual responses are used to define *departmental* variables. In this paper we examine different characteristics of political science departments, not characteristics of individual students or faculty. Although we get some clues as to what we might expect from organizational theory, our approach is frankly exploratory. First we draw on McQuitty's elementary linkage analysis to identify basic distinctions among the departments in our study,² and second we use rank order correlation techniques to explore how these and other dimensions go together.

A matrix of product-moment correlations was developed from variables which were, in each case, based on mean responses within the

departments across the country. The second was the data used by Luttbeg and Kahn in their analysis of departmental differences. (Most importantly, Norman Luttbeg and Melvin Kahn, *The Making of A Political Scientist: An Empirical Analysis of Ph.D. Programs*, Public Affairs Research Bureau, Southern Illinois University, 1969.) These were sufficient to distinguish a "behavioral-traditional" dimension and a "departmental size" dimension. From the information available to us, we crudely grouped departments into four types defined by these dimensions and selected those to be studied from these types. Our financial resources only permitted a sample of fourteen departments, and within these we attempted a complete enumeration of faculty and graduate students.

Departments were selected from the four types according to the availability of faculty contacts there. Such contacts, and the student contacts who helped us with the administration of the questionnaire, were important if we were to have the active cooperation of people in the department. Although we will not report the findings by department name, we feel that the face validity of our final list as a representative sample of graduate departments is persuasive. Our sample of students, therefore, may be regarded as a crudely stratified two-stage sample in which the first stage was of departments and the second was an attempt at a complete enumeration of the relevant population (students and faculty). We argue that our sample is likely to be broadly representative of both departments in the profession and individual members, both students and faculty. We believe it is the best we could do with our limited resources.

2 We used the "elementary linkage" technique designed by Louis McQuitty, "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 17 (1957), 207-29. This technique defines a "type" as a subcategory of *n* variables (or, in the case of Q analysis, *n* cases or individuals) of the nature that all variables in the subcategory are more like each other than they are like any other variable in any other subcategory. In this preliminary analysis we clustered *variables* not *departments*; thus, our clusters indicate how certain departmental characteristics go together, not how similar various departments are.

existence to be the encouragement and advancement of the study of politics. It further stipulates that the Association shall be non-partisan and shall support no political parties or candidates. It limits the prerogative of the Association to take positions on public issues to those issues which are "immediately and directly concerned with the purpose." Finally, it provides that the Association may act in cases where the "rights of members to engage freely in teaching, research, or scholarly publication, and to associate for purposes of professional discussion and the advancement of knowledge be violated or seriously threatened."

We believe that the statement of purpose combines breadth and brevity allowing inclusion of all the diverse and changing ways of subdividing the study of politics by naming none. Thus, the list of fields in the present Constitution has been dropped. The draft also embodies an idea of the purpose of the Association which goes beyond furthering the interests of academic political science to include the study of politics in general. This brings us squarely to the question of what we think the Association should be and what it should do.

Political science could exist without the APSA and might even prosper. All of its functions might conceivably be absorbed by other institutions. The Association does provide a wide range of services for members from group flights to an annual job market, but its core function in our view is to provide forums for political inquiry and critical discussion both in print and in face to face meetings. These are the fundamental mechanisms through which the Association encourages and advances the study of politics. All other activities are secondary to the extent that they must be judged in terms of their compatibility with these mechanisms. The only vested interest which the Association should have is that of extending and preserving the realms of free inquiry and critical discussion. Accordingly the draft provides for action by the

Association against threats to these central values.

On the other hand, we believe that taking positions on a range of public policy issues not immediately and directly related to the purpose is an inappropriate activity for a scholarly association. Before enumerating our reasons for holding this view, let us set aside the issue of "politicization" of the Association which is often raised in this context. There are two ways in which the Association is already clearly "politicized." On the one hand, in its various governing bodies, the annual meeting, the council, and the mail ballot electorate, the Association is obviously marked by political conflict over its internal activities and policies. On the other hand, through its various links with institutions in society which it affects and which affect it, the Association is engaged in a different level of politics. The current controversy over the Congressional Internship Program is a case of a dispute over one of these links. We believe that all such institutional links must be subjected to the closest scrutiny in terms of their effects on free inquiry and critical discussion and their compatibility with the constitutional stipulation of non-partisanship.

It is clear that the issues raised in these two levels of politics are appropriate subjects for collective actions by the Association. It is impossible to ignore these activities or to maintain that they do not "politicize" the Association. Yet, this does not constitute a convincing argument that the Association should take positions on the range of public issues on which individual members or groups of members have commitments.

Adopting official positions on issues not directly related to the purpose and activities of the Association would be likely to involve destructive costs in terms of our primary purpose. First, it would assign many members to the status of permanent minorities since there is a wide diversity of views within the Association on most public issues. Many

The Proposed New Association Constitution: A View from the Committee

might find themselves distinctly uncomfortable in an organization which went on record with positions in opposition to their own. Of course, many members of the Association do and should find themselves at odds with colleagues on most public issues, but they do not have to see their minority status transformed into that of losers on public policy resolutions in an arena of discussion which they would never have chosen. In our view it should be the policy of the Association to reflect and encourage ideological, methodological, philosophical and subject matter diversity among its members. Rather than stimulate such diversity, we think that the introduction of general issues of public policy into our agendas for the purpose of adopting Association resolutions on them would diminish diversity.

Another problem likely to develop would be the gradual redistribution of time and resources at the annual convention and at meetings of the assembly or council. Varying minorities of members interested in passing specific public policy resolutions could easily tie up sizeable amounts of meeting time. Members hostile to proposed resolutions would feel forced to organize counter efforts.

Some members of the Association might view such developments as increasing the relevance of Association deliberations to public policy and as an opportunity for political scientists to discharge their responsibilities for public enlightenment. Yet, the issue is not simply the desirability of political action or education of the public on relevant issues by political scientists. The key question is whether collective action in the form of policy resolutions by the Association is the appropriate setting for these activities. We believe the Association is not the appropriate setting. The allocations of time, effort and organization for debating public policy resolutions would impinge on the central processes of scholarly discussion and controversy and divert the Association from discussion and action on

those issues, such as protection of freedom of inquiry and expression, the criteria employed for funding political science research and the uses to which research is put, which affect directly the study of politics. In the face of a range of questions directly related to the purposes and functioning of the Association, we think that the wholesale introduction of public policy issues onto the Association's agenda would constitute a misallocation of effort.

Moreover, we have real doubts about the efficacy of the Association as a general political actor. The members of the Association are united by a common self-definition as students of politics. They have not come together as supporters of a single political program or even as adherents of a common set of political values. Even though there may be a wide consensus within the Association on many issues, it is hard to see how the membership could be welded into an effective political force on most public issues. The Association compares unfavorably with the available movements and institutions in this respect. Its annual meetings, mail ballots, and governing council or assembly, its inherently limited constituency, its lack of structures on the local level, and its geographical spread make successful coordinated action unlikely.

We also disagree with the idea that the Association possesses a special expertise on public affairs which obligates it to act on the issues of the day. Although individual members of the Association possess knowledge of public issues which they may be obliged to act upon, it would be wrong to represent the resolutions of a collectivity of political scientists as the fruits of expert knowledge since the "experts" would hardly constitute a majority of those voting on the issue. Furthermore, both "experts" and "laymen" voting on the issue might be as much engaged in an act of political choice as in the weighing of evidence and argument. Accordingly, we believe that the Association should limit itself to resolutions on those issues on which it can claim a

direct interest.

Finally, we should point out that there are several types of activity consistent with the draft which would achieve many of the same purposes as public policy resolutions but which do not politically commit the Association. First, the Association could establish special committees of inquiry on selected public issues in areas where it is thought that political scientists have some expertise to contribute which would produce reports complete with recommendations and dissenting views. These reports would not become official Association policy on the issue. They would constitute a contribution to public discussion to be judged, used, and attacked by political scientists and laymen alike. Second, the Association could sponsor surveys of the membership on questions of public policy and publish the results in *PS*. Lastly, there is nothing in the draft which should be seen as discouraging members from joining together in political action as political scientists concerned with some public issue.

The draft creates no classes of membership except for the provision for non-voting institutional memberships. Nor does it place any restrictions on membership in the APSA other than the payment of dues. The setting of dues has been left to the Assembly in the belief that it is desirable to have greater flexibility in terms of responding to the economic situation of the Association and the desires of the membership. The draft also leaves to the Assembly the decision on subscription to what journals (if any) shall be included as a right of membership.

Although there has been some sentiment within the Association favoring the limitation of voting privileges (the objects of restriction usually being graduate students or government officials), there are good reasons for retaining the present constitution's non-restrictive membership clause.

Let us look first at the case of graduate students. Graduate students contribute to the field of political science in a variety of ways: teaching courses, doing research,

presenting papers, and publishing articles. Few of the scholarly activities of faculty members are not also performed by graduate students. Indeed, it is clear that many graduate students are contributing at least as much to the intellectual growth of the discipline as those already holding M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Moreover, there exist in political science no uniform national standards of competence. Thus, the content, value, and meaning of the Ph.D. varies among departments. Proposals for restricting the membership status of graduate students also raise the question of why these attempts have been made at this time. What negative effects of graduate student participation can be pointed out? What negative effects are anticipated? Has the quality of graduate student members of the APSA declined? We believe that the burden of proof rests with those who would restrict membership. In the absence of such demonstrations we believe that these attempts at restriction will be viewed as a gratuitous slap at the next generation of political scientists.

Some of the same arguments are relevant to efforts to restrict the membership of public officials and others who may not have undergone full graduate training in political science. But there are also additional reasons of a more general nature for retaining open membership. Historically, there has been a close association between political science and political action in part symbolized by the membership in the APSA of a number of government officials and other political practitioners. With the emergence of political science as a modern social scientific discipline, some political scientists have come to see as an anachronism the membership of those with neither full-time status as teacher-scholars or students nor complete graduate work in modern political science.

In our view the development of political science as a scientific discipline and the altered relationship between political science and political action do not require a change

**The Proposed New Association Constitution:
A View from the Committee**

in the definition of membership. We conceive of the Association as serving in part as one arena for discourse between those who make (or will make) their living as teachers and scholars and those who, while primarily civil servants or political practitioners, maintain a serious commitment to the study of politics. This interaction should stimulate the intellectual development of both university-based political scientists and men and women who have devoted their careers to public service or professional politics. We have no reason to believe that the proportion of members in the Association who are not university based political scientists is likely to change markedly. We do, however, look forward to a greater diversity among those members to include other activists in addition to government officials.

Another problem is the range of practical difficulties involved in deciding what should be the standards for restricting voting membership. For example, it is generally agreed that many important contributions to the study of politics in recent years have come from individuals who do not hold degrees in political science. Indeed, some have been trained in fields which have not even traditionally been thought of as closely related to political science. Yet, it would be absurd to deny them full participation in the affairs of the Association. The problem arises in deciding what criteria should govern such admissions decisions. It has been suggested that the Association could establish a credentials committee to pass on applications for full membership submitted by such individuals. Yet, this seems to us an unfortunate move in the direction of guildism, the setting up of barriers to full participation when our objective should be to remain open to serious political inquiry and discussion whatever the source. It might also simply be a waste of time and resources in that virtually any applicant would be approved. On the other hand, it might create a fruitless politicking over membership approval as various factions maneuvered for the admission of "their outsiders."

Finally, it is important to remember that the discipline of political science already utilizes a variety of formal and informal mechanisms for "quality control." Admission to graduate school, the granting of advanced degrees, the work of editors and pre-publication referees, awards, grants, and promotion decisions are all part of a continuous screening process. These activities produce a considerable and growing diversity in terms of approach, subject matter, methodology, and values. They result in no uniformity because there is no uniformity in these areas within the discipline. Unlike professions which use certification procedures political science has not officially asserted or recognized a series of definitive requirements which every scholar or practitioner must meet in order to be labeled a political scientist. We regard open membership as a valuable tradition and a stimulus to intellectual challenge and diversity within our Association.

Enhancing the professional qualities of political science can be better achieved by improving the governance of the Association than by developing exclusionary membership devices. In contrast with the plenary role assigned by the original constitution to the annual business meeting, we did not feel that the annual meeting should be the final source of authorization and ratification. For any number of reasons members of the Association find themselves unable to attend particular conventions. We felt that no member should be disfranchised or denied an effective voice in the formulation of the Association's policies and programs simply because he is unable to make the trip to the annual meeting.

The annual meeting should serve primarily as a forum and spur to action. More systematic, careful and detailed attention than can be given in the confines of a convention is required for effective consideration of issues the Association should confront.

Thus, we have proposed the establishment of a 30 member Assembly as the major deliberative and ratifying body, with authorization to meet with sufficient frequency

to deal effectively with the concerns and needs of our profession. The ultimate authority over constitutional change and selection of officers will reside in the total membership of the Association. The Assembly however, will play the key role in passing on resolutions and in determining the operational functions and activities of the Association.

Included within its responsibilities are the election of editors of the Association's Journals; the enactment of an annual budget and setting of annual dues; inclusion of a salary for the president in an amount equivalent to the amount of time he will devote to his duties; selection of the site of the annual convention; prescription of rules for the conduct of the annual meeting, for the holding of elections and for submission of proposed amendments to the membership; authorization of committees; and the adoption of resolutions necessary and proper to achieve the purpose of the Association.

The Assembly is designed to be representative of the diverse intellectual and professional currents within political science. The nominating committee for Assembly and other elective positions is to be appointed by the Assembly at the first meeting after each general election, and at least two-thirds of its membership must come from outside the Assembly. In performing its duties the nominating committee is explicitly called upon by the constitution to consider such attributes as "region of residence, ethnicity, sex, and the like, by consulting with the membership."

These regulations concerning the nominating committee should certainly preclude the likelihood that any cadre or faction could dominate the Association's government. But as a further and final device for ensuring democratic control of the Association's governmental machinery, nominations for elective offices can be made by the membership without resorting to the nominating committee. Nominations sponsored by at least 200 members of the Association must appear on the ballot if they are presented to the

annual meeting upon 24 hours advance notice to the executive director. Elections are to be decided by mail ballot with all members of the Association eligible to vote.

The Assembly's membership of 30 is viable from both administrative and financial points of view and assures greater breadth and depth in its composition and powers than the Council has had.

To guard against constitutional senility, the Assembly is required to appoint a committee from outside its membership to review the constitution and to recommend changes or to propose a new constitution "at least once every ten years."

It would be fatuous to claim that the proposed document approximates the ideal. We do believe, however, that the new Constitution would enhance the role of APSA as a representative, active, concerned and effective professional Association.

Proposed Association Constitution

Article I: Name

This Association shall be known as The American Political Science Association.

Article II: Purpose

1. The purpose of this Association is to encourage and to advance the study of politics.
2. The Association is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It may take positions on issues only if they are immediately and directly concerned with the purpose stated above.
3. Should the rights of members to engage freely in teaching, research, or scholarly publication, and to associate for purposes of professional discussion and advancement of knowledge be violated or seriously threatened, the Association may take such action as is appropriate under this constitution.

Article III: Membership

1. Any person sharing the purpose of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life memberships, non-voting institutional memberships, and reduced annual dues for retired members and students, shall be set by the Assembly.
2. Members shall be entitled to:
 - a. receive copies of such journals of the Association as the Assembly may determine;
 - b. attend, participate in, and vote at the Annual Meeting of Members;
 - c. receive and return all ballots submitted to the membership by the Association;
 - d. sponsor nominations for elective offices;
 - e. be eligible for nomination of elective office;
 - f. sponsor amendments to the constitution and resolutions consistent with it.

Article IV: The Government

1. The government of the Association shall consist of a President, a President-Elect, an Assembly, an Executive Committee, an Annual Meeting of Members, and the entire membership voting by mail ballot.
2. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, the members of the Assembly, and an Executive Director.

Article V: The Assembly

1. The Assembly shall consist of 30 members chosen for three-year terms, one-third to be elected by mail ballot each year. No member shall serve more than two consecutive terms.
2. In cases of disputed elections, the Assembly shall be the judge of its own membership.
3. The Assembly shall meet at least twice a year at the call of the Executive Committee. A special call by the President or a petition signed by one-third of the elected members of the Assembly shall be sufficient to bring the Assembly into extraordinary session. All meetings shall be announced to Assembly members at least one week in advance.
4. The Assembly may appoint special and standing committees from its own membership and shall establish its own rules of procedure.
5. The Assembly shall:
 - a. determine the size of the Executive Committee and elect its members from the Assembly's membership;
 - b. elect and set the term of office for the editors of professional journals published under the auspices of the Association;
 - c. appoint a Nominating Committee to propose candidates as specified in Article XI, Section I; the President shall chair this committee and at least two-thirds of the

membership shall come from outside the Assembly;

d. advise and consent to the Executive Committee's nomination of the Executive Director of the National Administrative Office and to the President's nomination of the Chairman of the Program Committee for the Annual Convention of the Association;

e. enact an annual budget and set annual dues;

f. include in the budget a salary for the President in an amount proportionate to the time that he will devote to his presidential duties;

g. select the site of the Annual Convention of the Association;

h. prescribe, at least 6 months in advance, rules for the conduct of the Annual Meeting of Members, for the holding of elections, and for the submission of proposed amendments to the members;

i. appoint an acting President if the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties and the President-Elect is not available to succeed him.

j. publish its minutes and proceedings in an official journal of the Association and, if requested by one-fourth of the Assembly's members, include a record of members voting for and against a motion and of those abstaining and absent;

k. authorize committees necessary to serve the purpose of the Association;

l. pass resolutions necessary and proper to achieve the purpose of the Association.

Article VI: The Executive Committee

1. The Executive Committee shall consist of members elected by and from the Assembly for annual terms. No elected member shall serve more than three consecutive terms. The President and President-Elect shall be voting members. The President shall preside.

2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the call of the President or upon the request of one-third of its members. All meetings shall be announced to Executive Committee members at least three days in advance.

3. The Executive Committee shall:

a. call the Assembly into regular session and into extraordinary session;

b. prepare an agenda for each meeting of the Assembly;

c. review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody, investment, and disbursement of Association funds;

d. report the Association's financial condition to the Assembly and to the Annual Meeting of Members;

e. recommend a budget to the Assembly;

f. appoint, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, an Executive Director;

g. supervise the work of the National Administrative Office;

h. prepare an agenda for the Annual Meeting of Members;

i. perform such other duties as the Assembly may by resolution direct.

Article VII: The President

1. The President shall serve for a term of one year. He shall be ineligible to succeed himself in office.

2. The President shall:

a. preside at the meetings of the Executive Committee, the Nominating Committee, the Assembly, and the Annual Meeting of Members;

b. appoint, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, the Program Chairman of the Annual Convention;

Proposed Association Constitution

c. be the official spokesman of the Association and represent the Association on ceremonial occasions;

d. call the Executive Committee into session and, when he thinks it necessary, call the Assembly into extraordinary session;

e. at his discretion appoint special committees from outside the Assembly to report on matters he deems to be of serious concern to political scientists;

f. be responsible for the preparation of the budget and for its presentation to the Executive Committee;

g. propose programs and policies to the Assembly and to the Executive Committee that in his judgment advance the best interests of the Association.

Article VIII: The President-Elect

1. The President-Elect shall be chosen by mail ballot of the members of the Association.

2. The President-Elect shall serve for a term of one year. He shall automatically succeed to the Presidency at the end of that term.

3. If the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties, the President-Elect, if available, shall become the President for the remainder of the term. If that remainder is less than six months, he shall serve as President for one additional year. If that remainder is more than six months, he shall serve as President until a new President is chosen according to the provisions of Article XI. If the President-Elect is unavailable, the Assembly shall appoint an Acting President.

4. The President-Elect shall be a voting member of the Executive Committee and of the Assembly.

Article IX: The National Administrative Office

1. The National Administrative Office shall consist of an Executive Director and such

staff as he shall appoint under the budgetary authorization of the Assembly.

2. The National Administrative Office shall be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the Association and shall provide administrative support for the governmental agencies of the Association.

3. The Executive Director shall be the chief administrative officer of the Association. He shall be appointed by the Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Assembly to serve for a term of five years. He shall be eligible for reappointment. If a vacancy occurs during his term, the Executive Committee may appoint an acting Director to serve until the office is filled.

4. The Executive Director shall:

a. have charge of the National Administrative Office;

b. assist the President in preparing the annual budget;

c. have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its financial obligations, and arrange for an annual independent audit of the Association's accounts;

d. formulate plans and policies for the Association and submit them to the Executive Committee for its consideration;

e. provide information and assistance to the President, the Assembly, and the Executive Committee;

f. prepare an annual report on the activities of the Association for presentation to the Annual Meeting of Members;

g. perform such other duties as the President, the Assembly, or the Executive Committee may direct.

Article X: The Annual Meeting of Members

1. The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held at the Annual Convention and shall

provide for the discussion of the policies and the activities of the Association. The President shall preside; the President-Elect, the Executive Director, and the members of the Assembly shall attend. All members of the Association are eligible to participate in the Meeting.

2. The Annual Meeting of Members shall have the authority to:

- a. alter the agenda prepared for it by the Executive Committee;
- b. receive and consider reports;
- c. propose and adopt resolutions consistent with this constitution;
- d. act upon constitutional amendments initiated in accordance with Article XII, Section 3;
- e. receive nominations made by the Nominating Committee and by petition.

3. Resolutions adopted by the Annual Meeting of Members shall be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Assembly, and shall become effective if the Assembly approves them.

Article XI: Nominations and Elections

1. At the first meeting after each general election the new Assembly shall appoint a Nominating Committee. The President shall chair this committee and at least two-thirds of its membership shall come from outside the Assembly. The Committee shall propose a candidate or candidates for the office of President-Elect, for each Assembly seat falling vacant, and for the office of President if necessary under Article VIII, Section 3.

2. The Nominating Committee shall seek to ensure the representativeness of the Assembly. To that end the Committee shall consider the diverse intellectual and professional currents within the discipline and such membership attributes as region of residence, ethnicity, sex, and the like by consulting with

the membership and, when possible, with organized segments of the Association. The names of candidates proposed by the Nominating Committee shall be made known to the membership at least four (4) months in advance of the Annual Meeting of Members where nominations shall be declared. In the event a candidate becomes unavailable through disability or withdrawal after the nominations have been announced to the membership, the committee may propose a new nominee up to 24 hours in advance of the Annual Meeting of Members.

3. Nominations for the offices specified in Section 1 that are sponsored by at least 200 members of the Association shall be presented to the Annual Meeting of Members upon 24 hours advance notice to the Executive Director and shall appear on the ballot.

4. Elections for all offices shall be decided by a mail ballot of the members of the Association. Rules for balloting shall be prescribed by the Assembly not less than six months prior to any election.

Article XII: Amendments

1. Amendments to this constitution may be proposed by the Assembly or by the membership.

2. Proposed amendments that originate within and are approved by two-thirds of the Assembly shall be submitted to a mail ballot of the members of the Association.

3. Amendments may be proposed by petitions signed by at least 200 members of the Association. Such proposed amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Director not less than 60 days prior to the Annual Convention for presentation to the Annual Meeting of Members. The Executive Director shall promptly announce such proposals to the members. Proposed amendments that are approved by the Annual Meeting of Members shall be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Assembly. Amendments approved by the Annual Meeting of Members and accepted by a majority of the Assembly

Proposed Association Constitution

shall be submitted to the members of the Association for ratification.

4. At least once every ten years the Assembly shall appoint a committee from outside its membership to review this constitution and to recommend changes or to propose a new constitution. If approved by a majority of the Assembly, such recommendations or proposed new constitution shall be submitted to the members of the Association for ratification.

5. Amendments to this constitution, however originated, or a proposed new constitution shall become effective when ratified by a majority of those voting. Voting shall be by mail ballot. Other rules for the conduct of the voting shall be prescribed by the Assembly not less than six months prior to the balloting.

Article XIII: Transition

1. This constitution shall come into effect immediately upon ratification.

2. The President, President-Elect, and Council at the time of ratification shall serve as interim President, President-Elect, and Assembly under this constitution. The Secretary, Treasurer, and Vice-Presidents shall serve out their terms as members of the Assembly.

3. All currently appointed officials shall continue in their positions until June 30, 1972. The first five year term of the Executive Director under Article IX will begin on July 1, 1972.

4. Current members of the Council may serve the remainder of their terms as members of the Assembly. The number of new Assembly members to be elected shall be reduced by the number of holdovers.

5. Committees of the Association in existence at the time of ratification shall become committees serving at the direction of the President.

6. The Council will appoint an Interim Nominating Committee which shall function as specified in Article V, Section 5c, and Article XI, Section 2, of this constitution. Nominations may also be submitted according to Article XI, Section 3.

7. At its first meeting, the Assembly shall determine by lot which of its new members shall have one, two, or three year terms.

Council Proposed Amendments to Proposed Constitution

Article II

In Section 1, add the word "professional" before the words "study of politics."

Article III

Insert a new Article III, entitled "Membership," as follows:

A. Members

1. Any person sharing the purpose of the Association who meets one or more of the following criteria may become a member upon payment of annual dues:

- a. Possession of a Ph.D. or equivalent training in political science or a closely related field;
- b. Teaching or research in political science;
- c. Graduate study in political science;
- d. Substantial contribution to or achievement in the advancement of the professional study of politics.

2. Members shall be entitled to:

- a. Receive a copy of each number of such official journals of the Association issued during his membership as determined by the Assembly;
- b. Attend, participate in and vote at the Annual Meeting of members;
- c. Receive and return all ballots submitted to the membership by the Association;
- d. Sponsor nominations for elective offices;
- e. Be eligible for nomination to elective office; and
- f. sponsor amendments to the constitution.

3. All classes of dues for members, including life memberships and reduced annual dues for retired members and graduate students, shall be set by the Assembly.

B. Associates

1. Any person sharing the purpose of the Association and not eligible for membership may become an associate upon payment of annual dues. Institutions and libraries may become associates.

2. Associates shall be entitled to receive a copy of each number of such official journals of the Association issued during his association as determined by the Assembly.

3. All classes of dues for associates, including life associates and reduced annual dues for retired associates and student associates, shall be set by the Assembly.

Article V

Last Sentence of Section 1 should be amended to read: "No member shall serve for two consecutive terms.

Articles IV, V, VIII

Add the following words to these Sections to provide for retention of Vice-Presidents:

IV, 1. Add "three vice presidents" to composition of Association government.

IV, 2. Add "three vice presidents" to list of Association officers.

V, 1. Add at close, "The three vice presidents shall be members of the Assembly."

V, 5, i. Add as italicized, "appoint an acting President *from among the three Vice Presidents* if the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties and the President-Elect is not available to succeed him."

VIII, 3, last sentence. Add as italicized, "If the President-Elect is unavailable, the Assembly shall appoint an Acting President *from among the three Vice Presidents*."

Article IX

Insert the following new Article IX, and renumber subsequent Articles:

**Council Proposed Amendments
to Proposed Constitution**

1. The three Vice Presidents shall be chosen by mail ballot of the members of the Association.
2. Each Vice President shall serve for a term of one year, and not be eligible for re-election to that post.
3. Each Vice President shall be a voting member of the Assembly.
4. If a Vice President should die, resign or be unable to perform his duties, the position shall be declared vacant and remain unfilled for the remainder of the annual term.

Articles X, XI, XIII

Add the following words to indicated Sections. X, 1, line 3. Add after "the President-Elect, *the three Vice Presidents*, . . ." shall attend the Annual Meeting of Members

XI, 1, line 5. Add after "for the office of President-Elect, *for the offices of three vice presidents*, . . ." in re. Nominating Committee functions

XIII, 2. Change transition arrangements to read:

"The President, President-Elect, Vice Presidents, and Council at the time of ratification shall serve as interim President, President-Elect, Vice Presidents and Assembly under this constitution. The Secretary and Treasurer shall serve out their terms as members of the Assembly."

Who is Listening? Political Science Research in Public Law

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Introductory Note:

Since this paper in substantially its present form was delivered at the APSA annual meeting in Los Angeles in September, 1970 it has been seen and commented on by several of my friends who are intimate enough to be frank. Views ranged all the way from "don't spoil it by changing it," to "bury it." Clearly this is not the stuff of which neutral principles are made. In deciding to go forward, therefore, a plea of confession and avoidance is in order. This is an evocative paper, not a scholarly article. It suggests but does not prove a hypothesis, the real question being how much of it is true and what if anything should political science do about it. Because of the panel format there is intentional hyperbole in my characterization of certain aspects of the behavioral movement, and suggestion that for some researchers it may be almost a "cop-out" on current political and social problems. I trust that those I venture to chide a bit will receive it in the spirit of Marilyn Monroe, who used to say, better to be photographed nude than not at all.

I.

C. Herman Pritchett in his state-of-the-discipline article in the *Journal of Politics* in 1968¹ states, and documents with aid of various surveys, the proposition that public law is declining in political science both as a well-populated discipline, and as a respected discipline. By contrast, in the law schools public law is the liveliest field, with a vast proliferation of special courses, as well as research interests. It is a primary love of many of our students, and they see it as the route to public service and social engineering which students years ago used to see in public administration. In our catalog at George Washington, in addition to a full basic law program, we list almost 100 specialized or advanced courses.²

1 30 *Journal of Politics* 480 (1968).

2 Illustrative individual course titles include Public Economic Policy and the Law, Public Policy and Mass Media, Community Organizations, Federal Programs for Urban Poverty, The Police and Community, Intergovernmental Aspects of Technological Change, Executive Function, Formulation of Natural Resources Policy, Current Problems in Civil Rights.

From one standpoint, the decline of public law in political science is not wholly illogical, even though political science has contributed richly to public law writing, and still does. After all, even with the adjective "public," we are still talking about "law," which is itself a very broad term. As a result there intrinsically has been a sort of "academic cowbird" quality, as Pritchett has observed, to political science effort in public law.³ And it may be significant that some of the older generation wound up teaching in law schools jointly or exclusively, e.g., Frank Goodnow, Munroe Smith, John Bassett Moore, Ernst Freund, Thomas Reed Powell (all of whom were presidents of the American Political Science Association).

Part of the problem is that "political scientist" public law until recently has been tied to the Supreme Court, especially as joint training in law dropped out over the years, with the rise of professional self-consciousness. In its narrow focus on the Supreme Court "political scientist" public law not only competed with the law professors, but did so with blinders, ignoring the rich developments in the lower courts both federal and state, insights from cognate fields of law (the seamless web idea), insights from the many "non-law" positions which lawyers have held on the forefront of policy-making in government, business, and labor, insights from law practice—that breath of reality which is often so devastating.

II.

The decline of public law in political science is reflected also in the political science journals. Public law articles are a small proportion of the total number of articles published in political science journals in the 1960 decade (8.9% in *American Political Science Review*); and only about half relate to substantive issues.⁴ A significant portion of the remainder are heavily mathematical,

3 *Supra* note 1 at 482.

4 Omitted from this article is the Appendix prepared by a research assistant (David Taxin) which was attached to the panel paper and which classified public law articles in the last decade in four major political science journals.

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like many of the articles in other fields in *APSR*.⁵

I shall return in a moment to this phenomenon of a general decline in public law in political science, and some thoughts about the role of the behavioral movement in this decline. But first recognition must be given to the beginnings, hopefully, of a replacement process, a shift in emphasis, a search for new directions.

Especially promising, and needed, is the focus on the process of disputes settlement by use of legal mechanisms. A few aspects of process can only be studied perceptively from inside—after detailed knowledge of substantive law and membership in the “lodge.” An example would be “negotiation,” which is now listed as a course in some law school catalogs. However there are many other aspects of the legal process which do lend themselves to a thorough political science analysis. One example is the whole personnel selection process—prosecutors and trial lawyers as well as judges—and correlations between personnel profiles and decisional trends. Another is prosecutorial discretion, which is in part a problem of allocation of insufficient resources; police administration; and so on. An increasing number of titles in such journals as *Law and Society Review* deal with these matters.⁶

Still another fruitful research area is the question of influences on the adjudicatory process external to the record. For such research to be fully effective, of course, we would need a combination of psychoanalysis

of judges and attorneys, complete electronic bugging of all jury rooms, all appellate judges' conference rooms, all jail cells, all attorney-client conferences, and also surveillance of all correspondence.⁷ Such research efficiency would raise more than a few problems of personal privacy—a value we treasure ever more as the opportunities for it diminish. I point out this privacy and candor problem only by way of highlighting how incomplete all research beyond the public record must always be. However, as files are opened most interesting insights do emerge, as Alpheous T. Mason and Walter Murphy have shown us.⁸

Especially provocative is the interest we have always had in cause and effect relationships regarding government programs, court decisions, and the like. We now call it impact analysis, and are much more shrill about it. But with a few exceptions, such as the relatively easily researched area of the impact of released time and school prayer decision on public school policy,⁹ there has been more inclination to call for this research than to engage in it. In my own area of reapportionment,¹⁰ or the area of public school integration, it is easier to list reasons why a definitive study cannot be done, than to make some progress.

Part of the problem in these two fields is that there is no clear constitutional or political standard of rectitude. As Alan Pulsipher and James Weatherby have remarked concerning apportionment impact studies, the principal obstacles “are not

5 An important caveat is in order at this point. My concern is with the type, and the small amount, of political science public law which appears in political science journals. I am not criticizing political science practitioners of public law as a whole. As Douglas Hobbs pointed out at the panel, such practitioners do publish substantive pieces in the *Law Reviews*, perhaps being attracted as he suggested by the larger number and quicker acceptance, more appropriate audience, better editorial assistance and quicker publication. Nor can I criticize editors of political science journals without more knowledge of articles submitted to them.

6 In the February, 1970 issue there are articles on the decision to prosecute, judicial role as state constitutional convention delegates, jury research in America, the lawyer in the executive branch of government.

7 H. Kalven, Jr., and H. Zeisel, *The American Jury* (Boston: Little Brown, 1966).

8 Mason, *Harlan Fisk Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York: Viking Press, 1956) and *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life* (New York: Viking Press, 1946); Murphy, *Elements of Judicial Strategy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

9 William K. Muir, Jr., *Prayer in the Public Schools: Law and Attitude Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Richard M. Johnson, *The Dynamics of Compliance: Supreme Court Decision-Making from a New Perspective* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967).

10 Robert G. Dixon, Jr., *Democratic Representation: Reapportionment in Law and Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1968); on standards and implementation see 378-384, 439-451, 458-499, 503-527; on policy impact see 574-581.

statistical but theoretical and conceptual"; the techniques of measurement exist "but to be used intelligently the relevant relationships to be measured must be stipulated."¹¹

Nevertheless these two researchers, and Thomas Dye, Richard Hofferbert, and others have explored the relationship of a given kind of legislative apportionment to policy choices.¹² They have at least put in question the notion that there is an easily verifiable correlation between a given level of apportionment, i.e., degree of population equality among districts, and a disposition to appropriate money for programs commonly classified as progressive. Another kind of "effect" of a judicial decision is the political reaction, and attempts to modify a Supreme Court-decision. This is easier to research, and has been done for the school prayer decisions,¹³ and the reapportionment decisions.¹⁴

Where, however, the focus is on judicial behavior—scaled, cubed, and wired for a computer, and on prediction of judges' votes, political scientists do not do as well, despite the fact that this is where a large mass of monograph and article publication has occurred. At least, political scientists do not do as well *if* they are trying to communicate with lawyers, law professors, judges, and others outside their own garden. What profiteth it a man, if he writes the most profound truth in a new language, and then finds that neither the King nor any adviser to the King will learn the new language?

In this connection I found amusing, but also significant, an advertisement for the

forthcoming new journal on *Politics and Society*. The editors object to the "depoliticization of the study of politics, to the paucity of critical analysis, to the unnecessary use of a parochial and often pseudo-scientific jargon." They speak of the behavioral-anti-behavioral debate and then—oh joy of joys—they promise to "emphasize the use of lucid English" in all the articles!¹⁵

More devastating though is the suspicion that the truths which emerge from the advanced numerology which is the trademark of the fully developed behaviorist movement are not always profound.¹⁶ "When the medium is the message, there is no message," as Frederick L. Schuman puts it in a letter of protest against two whole issues of the *American Political Science Review*.¹⁷

III.

The decline in the proportion of "political scientist" public law articles and other writing on substantive or topical interests, such as racial integration in education, welfare policy, political representation and reapportionment in their broader aspects is unfortunate for political science and for society. It may even be viewed as a withdrawal from conflict and problem solving, into the more esoteric and safer area of methodology. Our problems are complex, are only partially understood by any given governmental actor be he a justice, a legislator or a chief executive, are often reported by the press murkily and sometimes untruthfully (although the untruth may be unintentional). At this point, social science expertise can perform a clarification function,

11 Allan G. Pulsipher and James L. Weatherby, Jr., "Malapportionment, Party Competition, and the Functional Distribution of Governmental Expenditures," 62 *American Political Science Review* 1207 (1968).

12 For citations and discussion see Dixon, *Democratic Representation*, supra note 10 at 577-79.

13 William M. Beaney and Edward N. Beiser, "Prayer and Politics: The Impact of *Engel* and *Schempp* on the Political Process," 13 *Journal of Public Law* 475 (1964).

14 See the "Dirksen Amendment" Campaign in Dixon, *Democratic Representation*, supra note 10 at 385-415.

15 Flyer received from Ira Katznelson, editor, Columbia University Department of Political Science.

16 For a perceptive review, and critique, see Leon L. Fuller, "An Afterword: Science and the Judicial Process," in Symposium on Social Science Approaches to the Judicial Process, 79 *Harvard Law Review* 1551, 1604 (1966).

17 Letter to Editor, 61 *American Political Science Review* 149 (1967), in which Schuman slyly hypothesized that perhaps the selection was intentional, that the Editor intended to "present a *reductio ad absurdum* of the new faddists of 'behavioralism' and 'empiricism.'"

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even though it is no substitute for popular consensus achieved through the total political process of formal and informal decision making and ratification.

The behavioral movement, despite its critics, is an important step toward putting some objectivity and science into political science, and toward asking new questions even though answers may not be forthcoming. Glen Schubert especially has been an indefatigable and productive pioneer. To be against behavioralism is to be against change and an important *segment* of the future. At the same time, it may be suggested that a premature rush by so many others to behavioralism has hurt political science. There has been insufficient conceptualization, too much mere counting albeit the math does become quite advanced. As a by-product society loses applied brain power for problems of the here and now.

There is another danger in the abandonment of substantive-normative inquiry by so many main-line political scientists under the pressure of the behavioral movement. The substantive field is left to the New Left for whom normative inquiry tends to degenerate into polemicism and intellectual fascism.

To a degree, once a political scientist has been deeply bitten by the bug of behavioralism and advanced numerology he may turn away from substantive research, analysis and writing on the larger issues of policy and governmental organization—or at least become too casual about this kind of research. We are told that behavioralists do not attempt to explain everything they observe in terms of a single concept, that they investigate questions that either would not or could not be studied systematically under either the traditional or the conventional approach. But when it comes to objectivity and suspension of judgment, perhaps they do share our common clay.

For example, although Glen Schubert's

*Judicial Behavior*¹⁸ collection in 1964 is a thought-provoking array of measurement-based articles in his chosen primary field, his concurrent collection of reapportionment materials¹⁹ has some problems of balance.

One commentator on the Schubert collection criticizes it for including a formal statement of political scientists who heartily endorsed reapportionment, but for not publishing Alfred De Grazia's dissent nor David Derge's myth-exploding study of state legislatures.²⁰ Despite some caveats, and a recognition that suburbs would be the primary beneficiaries of reapportionment, the collection would give the reader the impression that fair political representation was simply a matter of equal numbers in districting. And yet it was implicit in *Baker v. Carr*, explicit in the 1964 reapportionment decisions, and is now crystal clear in 1970 that simplistic arithmetic equality, with all else submerged, could be an engine for new gerrymandering inequities.²¹

The edited volume on reapportionment was accompanied by the Schubert-Press article in the *American Political Science Review* offering a new mathematical measure of malapportionment in the hope of permitting interstate comparisons.²² However, one

18 Glendon Schubert, ed., *Judicial Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964).

19 Glendon Schubert, ed., *Reapportionment* (New York: Scribner Research Anthology, 1965), which is essentially a 1963 collection despite the publishing date.

20 A. Spencer Hill, "The Reapportionment Decisions: A Return to Dogma," 31 *Journal of Politics* 186 (1969). The De Grazia dissent was part of a "One Man-One Vote" leaflet issued by the Twentieth Century Fund in 1962 as an unqualified endorsement of the efficacy of the equal population principle by a conference composed primarily of political scientists. Dixon, *Democratic Representation*, *supra* note 10 at 577-79. The Derge study found far less rural-urban bloc voting than commonly assumed, and also found that metropolitan legislators "are usually on the prevailing side when they do vote together with high cohesion." David R. Derge, "Metropolitan and Outstate Alignments in Illinois and Missouri Legislative Delegations," 52 *American Political Science Review* 1065 (1958).

21 Robert G. Dixon, Jr., "The Warren Court Crusade for the Holy Grail of 'One Man-One Vote,'" 1969 *Supreme Court Review* 219. See also the forthcoming volume on *Reapportionment for the Seventies*, Institute of Government of the University of California, Berkeley.

22 Glendon Schubert and Charles Press, "Measuring Malapportionment," 58 *American Political Science Review* 302 (1964).

could read this whole article with its stress on bare numbers and not gain any feeling concerning the complexity of the political representation ball game opened up by *Baker v. Carr*.

In a disclaimer the authors did expressly lay aside the "normative" dispute on what factors other than bare population equality in districts determine fair and effective representation. But that is the key issue! And in a footnote the authors treat as "excellent" on the normative question an article which considers only population equality, compactness, and contiguity.²³ In short, this is political science, without political factors—an abstract gem in time.

The Supreme Court was in part correct and in part incorrect in its conceptualization of the reapportionment-fair representation problem. It needed help and the public needed help in understanding the complexity of the reapportionment revolution, i.e., the gerrymandering possibilities under an equal numbers formula, the multiplicity of politically different ways in which nominal equality can be achieved—in short, the intrinsic difficulties in achieving effective representation of both majorities and minorities under any district system.

Many others as Allen Sindler has noted²⁴ were slow to come to grips with the prickly aspects of this issue. Significantly, except for Pritchett's presidential address,²⁵ which necessarily had to be general, the *American Political Science Review* published hardly a line after *Baker v. Carr* in 1962 on the larger issues of the political upheaval we call

the reapportionment revolution.²⁶ This inattention to political representation realities has been decried recently by Malcolm Jewell,²⁷ and I raised a question about it in 1963, suggesting also that "unless courts become more alert to these political factors they may paint themselves into a box of pseudomathematical exactness under a one man-one vote talisman."²⁸

Sure enough, by 1969 the Supreme Court was saying that absolute mathematical equality was the only rule.²⁹ It thus created the 1970 situation in New York in which a bipartisan set of congressional districts with minimal population deviation was voided, and a partisan set of districts authorized—districts I might add which are characterized by zero deviation and very unhappy Democrats.³⁰ This present, but predictable

26 To this dour generalization there are two happy exceptions: the Pulsipher-Weatherby article cited *supra* note 11, and Richard I. Hofferbert, "The Relation Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States," 60 *American Political Science Review* 73 (1966).

27 See Jewell, commentary on Dixon chapter in *Reapportionment for the Seventies*, *supra* note 21, in press. Jewell remarks: "It is noteworthy that, in exploring the effects of various districting methods, the courts are raising questions which ought to be answered by social scientists. . . . If the courts are going to make judgments about how well voters are represented in single- and multi-member districts, political scientists should be devoting more attention to this question so that judicial decisions can be based on fact as well as theory."

28 Robert G. Dixon, Jr., "Apportionment Standards and Judicial Power," 38 *Notre Dame Lawyer* 367 at 387-388 (1963), where the following lines also appear following a list of empirical political representation questions: "In the studies which have been made, the focus has tended to be on the more obvious factors of party identification, party votes, and party shift. Although supported by the interview method and mathematical techniques, much of it may be characterized as objectified armchair research into the more gross and easily identified aspects of political behavior."

29 *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler* and *Wells v. Rockefeller*, 394 U.S. 526, 542 (1969). See also *Hadley v. Junior College District*, 397 U.S. 50 (1970) which contains some indistinct caveats.

30 *Wells v. Rockefeller*, 311 F.Supp. 48 (S.D.N.Y. 1970), *aff'd* 398 U.S. 901 (1970). *Updating Note*: Typical of the surprises in this field is the outcome of the November, 1970 election in New York. Despite Republican control of the redistricting process the Democrats captured 58.5% of the seats (24-17) with a statewide congressional vote plurality of only 50.9%. And of the 6 districts in which there was no effective contest be eliminated, the outcome is even more unexpected: the Democrats with 49.7% of the congressional vote captured 54.3% of the seats (19-16). *Source*: Computations of David I. Wells using initial unofficial figures.

23 The article cited is James B. Weaver and Sidney W. Hess, "A Procedure for Nonpartisan Districting: Development of Computer Techniques," 73 *Yale Law Journal* 288 (1963), with which compare Stuart S. Nagel, "Simplified Bipartisan Computer Redistricting," 17 *Stanford Law Review* 863 (1965).

24 Allan P. Sindler, Book Review, 57 *American Political Science Review* 959 (1963), in which he commented that political scientists had contributed to the reapportionment problem "mostly as propagandists, not as scientists."

25 C. Herman Pritchett, "Equal Protection and the Urban Majority," 58 *American Political Science Review* 869 (1964).

posture of the Supreme Court on political representation, has evoked critical comment from William M. Beaney, Gordon E. Baker, Malcolm Jewell, the plaintiff's own counsel (Dean Robert B. McKay of New York University Law School), the plaintiff himself David I. Wells, the National Municipal League spokesman William J. D. Boyd, and myself.³¹

IV.

I realize I am guilty of some imprecision in terminology in these comments; but I find similar imprecision in others who try to create many subcategories of methodology. I am *not* criticizing all behavioralists, or all of the work of a given behavioralist. For example, Herman Pritchett did start the process of counting appellate votes, and can be regarded as the father of the behavioral-quantitative approach. His work was seminal, provocative, literate, urbane. He retained his breadth of view and substantive interests, and is the author of a well regarded work on American constitutional law.

But it is sometimes a rare father who can recognize his own children. My concern is with the way the seed has grown into what I will call "advanced numerology." And of course it affects other fields than public law.

The word behavioral is itself a much abused term. And that warm word we all love—empirical—adds further confusion. In a sense we are all behavioralists insofar as we study the "political" actions of people, and the consequences of their actions. Several of the essays collected in *The Impact of Supreme Court Decisions*³² report the results of going out and taking a look, by research in the field. How did the police react to *Miranda*; how did booksellers react to the obscenity decisions, and so on.

In reapportionment work of the kind which I have done³³ is it behavioral, in a way,

to examine the strategies of counsel, and the crucial role of the Solicitor General as amicus for the plaintiffs? Or to note the breakdown of the adversary method when the defendant state Attorney General wanted all-out reapportionment as much as did the plaintiffs? Or the changes in perceptions of members of the Supreme Court, as indicated by their oral argument remarks as well as their opinions, while the several cases progressed over a period of years? Or to examine the groping and inconsistent actions of lower court judges, in the period after *Baker v. Carr* in 1962 and before *Reynolds v. Sims* in 1964, when the Supreme Court had said "go," but had not yet given any guidance on the destination? Or to examine on-the-scene behavior of legislators and lower court judges in several states in the first reaction in 1965 to the new substantial equality rule? Not many numbers resulted, although I have no objection to numbers when they help organize data, but a numbers approach did not fit. In my own work, if I had gotten hung up on methodology, I would have covered only a fraction of the ground which I attempted to cover.

The dedicated, extreme behavioralist, perhaps better termed the advanced numerologist, is distinctly non-empirical. He is a neo-Platonist who has turned his back on Aristotle. He builds models and talks about role playing and games, but the only game that really holds his interest is the methodology game. The game becomes an end in itself, the method becomes the message, ever more divorced from the real world.

In raising these questions about the decline of topical inquiry in "political science" public law (reapportionment only being an example), I realize there is an alternative explanation. As Wallace Mendelson has perceptively observed: "The Warren Court was highly creative—or lawless, depending on one's bias. Its more strident enemies, particularly the ultra-racists and the Commie-phobes of the Radical Right, gave it strength,

31 See Dixon, "The Warren Court Crusade," *supra* note 21 at 231-233.

32 Oxford University Press, 1969 (edited by Theodore L. Becker).

33 Dixon, *Democratic Representation*, *supra* note 10, and see also works of Malcolm Jewell, Gordon Baker, Ruth Silva, and others.

since many responsible critics undoubtedly withheld or tempered their strictures lest they put wind in mad men's sails. Inadvertently, then, the Court was denied important help and perhaps lulled into a sense of confidence that was not in fact justified."³⁴

But I do not think this possible explanation is adequate. Rather, measurers tend to measure what is measurable, then to compound their narrowness by falling in love with their technique and by running it into the ground.

V.

To the extent that political science minimizes substantive public law and focusses on measurement and numerology, it leaves substantive matters to the still pragmatically oriented law professors. What kinds of things do we get involved in? We try of course to keep one eye on the larger trends, such as the new drive for equality, changes in the institutional decision-making process, and so on. We get involved with congressional committees, constitutional conventions, clinical programs to bring more legal tools to more people, federal commissions, the Administrative Conference of the United States, state and local government, and also law firms, particularly when they have public policy type cases.

Some of this is high level, some of low level. *But my point is that in abandoning substance you abandon problem solving, and you abandon influence.* Pritchett has said that recent trends in "political science" public law have provided it "with a vocabulary which makes discourse possible with the more methodologically sophisticated sectors of the profession."³⁵ Fine. But perhaps the word "only" is creeping in, and then the line will read . . . "discourse possible *only* with the more methodologically sophisticated sectors of the profession." How abstract can a profession become, and

still serve society?³⁶ Specifically, what relevance is esoteric model building to the cause of racial equality? Apart from some recent good work on parties and legislatures, what does modern political science research have to offer the Black, the Chicano, the Indian?

As one example, who are the architects of welfare policy, of OEO creativity, of community action? To a fairly large extent the answer is—lawyers. Building on *Brown v. Board of Education* and many cases since, they start with a broadened (and still broadening) concept of equality. To this they add a concept of affirmative governmental duty in order to *require*, by constitutional rulings, a whole panoply of policy changes which probably could not be gained legislatively—at least not easily. The *Clearinghouse Review* published by the National Institute for Education in Law and Poverty at Northwestern University contains a wealth of examples. There is now pending in the Fifth Circuit a suit, supported by the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, which seeks to establish a constitutional requirement of equality in municipal services. The implications, if they win, are fascinating. Environmental cases are increasing. Such "sue the bastard" suits under new due process concepts and a vastly expanded equality concept, many by young law students and some by members of large law firms on subsidized time, are a new frontier of policy-making—the new political science, if you will, on how to move and shake the public law system. One group was sponsored at George Washington, Vista Volunteers, with federal financing running to hundreds of thousands of dollars per year.

36 The analytic movement in philosophy yields a similar problem: "In much contemporary philosophy, what is thought has relevance only to the thought of other philosophers. We dig so far down into foundations that we come to see life only in terms of our own subterranean existence. What we term philosophical analysis often might better be called 'notes from the underground.'" Abraham Kaplan, "The Travesty of the Philosophers," *2 Change in Higher Education* 12 (1970).

34 Book Review, 58 *Georgetown Law Journal* 435 (1969).

35 Pritchett, *supra* note 1 at 509.

VI.

In the light of all this, and only the technique is new, to keep talking of judicial discretion and of political jurisprudence, as though it is a novel discovery to suggest that judges make law, is tiresome. What Shapiro has called the "lawyers' nostalgia for the legal view of the Court,"³⁷ may be more a nostalgia of the general public, including the political science public, than a feeling unique to the legal profession.

Public lawyers, on the law side of the fence, knowing that judges make law, are more concerned about other things. *What* the Court decides is always examined. For example, what does the slogan "one man-one vote" mean; what is a nonracial unitary school in the context of the South, or the North, as population keeps shifting; are the *Miranda* warnings about confessions sacred, or can Congress devise a substitute? Also examined is the intellectual consistency of the Court's reasoning process, and the historical link or break with the past. Herbert Wechsler really meant consistency, or intellectual honesty, in his well-known commentary on the judicial process, *not* "neutrality."³⁸ However, by his unhappy term "neutral principles" he set himself up as an easy target for those who like to write and run. Mendelson, however, provides some of the data for Wechsler's inadequately documented perception.³⁹

Some persons may suggest that a little intellectual casuistry in the cause of new legal norms is no vice. But that is precisely the question. *What is* the new legal norm? There is not time to document this now, but I would suggest that in two problem areas which will cause headaches for some time to come—racial equality and political representation—a large part of the problem

of implementation lies in the uncertain nature of the norm itself, and this in turn relates to sloppy judicial workmanship in the Wechsler sense.⁴⁰ Environmental policy, where we all want the "good life" but don't know how to define it or allocate costs, may be the next critical area. What profiteth it a man if he gains the democratic millenium, but uses the inverse of the Kantian moral imperative to get there?

Conclusion

Political science in general, and especially "political science" public law, must not become a closet discipline of mystic symbols. It must study real problems and communicate. It may be that public law is too important to leave to lawyers and law professors, and yet behavioral extremism tends in this direction.

There is to be sure a positive side to behavioral research, at least in potential,⁴¹ but it is not ready to replace or even to dominate all other endeavor. What is needed is a blending of the two approaches—the policy-oriented thrust of the pre-1950's and the quantification thrust subsequently—so that political science can retain an ongoing concern for the larger substantive problems of the moment while pushing out the frontiers of measurement as utilities appear.

37 Martin Shapiro, *Law and Politics in the Supreme Court* (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 20.

38 Herbert Wechsler, "Toward Neutral Principles of Constitutional Law," 73 *Harvard Law Review* 1 (1959).

39 Wallace Mendelson, *Justices Black and Frankfurter: Conflict in the Court* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

40 See also Alfred H. Kelly, "Clio and the Court: An Illicit Love Affair," 1965 *Supreme Court Review* 119 (1965).

41 Several actual and potential applications are noted in Stuart S. Nagel, *The Legal Process from a Behavioral Perspective* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1969), at pages 377-86.

Student Power in the 1970 Elections: A Preliminary Assessment

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The Cambodian invasion and the tragedies at Jackson and Kent State this spring led to explosions on college campuses all across the country. There was a great deal of talk of massive student intervention in the fall congressional elections and universities adopted various measures in response to the crisis. Some abandoned institutional neutrality by taking positions condemning the President's actions, others scheduled fall courses on elections and "practical politics", while others opted for some variant of the two week "Princeton Plan" pre-election recess.

Most observers assumed that student political interest would remain high and that the student impact would be significant. By early summer university-based groups had been set up to lobby congressmen to support "end the war amendments", to raise money for anti-war candidates, and to supply student volunteers to work actively for such candidates.¹

The largest of these organizations, the Movement for a New Congress, which attempted to harness student energies on behalf of anti-war candidates, had chapters on 417 campuses by June. Heavy nationwide press coverage was given to the student role in early primaries—especially the attempts to unseat entrenched hawks Edward Patten (N.J.15) and John Rooney (N.Y.14). The primary season ended with twenty-five of the thirty candidates who received substantial student aid victorious. These were not easy victories. Five of these doves beat incumbents with from twenty to twenty-eight years seniority.

Yet on November 4th newsmen were saying that the student input had been minimal and many academics were regretting their support of much of the strike-induced legislation. In an attempt to find out what the

students' real effect had been we decided to examine the attitudes of the voters in areas where students were involved, the campaign staffs with whom they worked, and the students who participated.² We surveyed over 4000 voters in eight congressional districts³ to ascertain their opinions of student workers and how, if at all, student involvement affected their voting decision. We are interviewing twenty campaign managers to find out what the "professionals" thought of the students who worked with and for them. Finally, we are in the process of polling a nationwide random sample of 2000 students who actively took part in last fall's elections to find out who they were in both socio-economic status and attitudinal terms; why they participated; what they thought of the experience; and what their plans are for future political involvement.

Much of these data are still being accumulated or processed. Nevertheless, because of the timeliness of the subject we will venture some observations on the role of students in the 1970 congressional elections. These are, of course, only tentative being based on the data presently available and impressions from participant observation.⁴

Youthlash

Public opinion polls in recent years consistently have shown a high level of distaste for "students" by the general public. When these attitudes are probed more deeply, however, it becomes apparent that the public has transferred its antipathy towards campus violence and drug abuse to the group it most closely associates with these problems. Our interviews with voters have shown that this generalized negative reaction towards

1 Lobbying groups included the Continuing Presence in Washington and the Academic and Professional Alliance; most of the fundraising was done by the Universities Anti-War Fund; the Movement for a New Congress supplied campaign volunteers.

2 I would like to thank The Twentieth Century Fund for its valuable financial assistance.

3 We surveyed voters in Maryland's 4th (Paul Sarbanes) and 7th (Parren Mitchell) congressional districts; New Jersey's 4th (Frank Thompson) and 9th (Henry Helstoski); New York's 27th (John Dow); Massachusetts' 3rd (Robert Drinan); Wisconsin's 1st (Les Aspin); and Michigan's 6th (Charles Chamberlain). Doves were victorious in the first seven districts. In the Michigan district dove challenger John Cihon lost to Chamberlain.

4 In my case, as National Co-Director of the Movement for a New Congress.

Student Power in the 1970 Election:
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“students” is not carried over to young people working door-to-door in political campaigns.

An overwhelming proportion of voters favors such involvement on the part of young people. Seventy-eight percent of the respondents in our voter sample thought it was a good idea for college students to work in a campaign, with the rest split fairly evenly between “not sure” and “not a good idea.” The most frequent reasons given for approving student involvement were: “every-one has the right”, “it keeps them within the system,” “it lets them learn how politics really works”. While most people do object to demonstrations and riots, they do not resent young people engaging in activities that the general society considers legitimate.

For “youthlash” to occur voters who originally favored the candidate associated with students would have to have switched their vote to his opponent after contact with student workers. Of those who reported that they had been contacted only 2% said that student support had influenced them to vote against the student supported candidate while about 18% reported that the student contact had “had some effect in making me want to vote for their man”.

Most people, however, said that the student workers had had little effect on their voting decision. Our surveys were conducted in precincts we knew to have been canvassed exclusively by students. *However, most respondents (64%) did not perceive the young volunteer who came to their door as a student.⁵ Rather they usually identified him as a regular party worker.* Among those who had been contacted the proportion voting for the students’ candidate was much higher than among those who reported that they

5 A study done for Senator Phillip Hart of Michigan gave evidence that the physical appearance of the canvassers was unimportant. Two groups of young canvassers, one clean-cut in coat and tie, the others in “hippie” regalia, were put into two sets of similar precincts. A before and after survey was taken which showed that the percentage favoring Senator Hart had risen about 15% in both sets of precincts.

were not contacted (See Table 1). Among those with a low issue orientation this difference between the percentage of contacted and non-contacted voters favoring the peace candidates was even more pronounced.

Table 1 Effect of Contact by Student
Canvassers on Voters’ Preferences

VOTED FOR:	CONTACTED	NOT CONTACTED †
* Thompson	67%	58%
Costigan	14%	25%
* Sarbanes	72%	59%
Fentress	12%	24%
* Aspin	66%	56%
Schadeberg	18%	29%

* Student-supported candidate.

† Column figures do not add to 100% because “don’t remembers” and “won’t says” are not included.⁶

This, of course, is not overly surprising in light of what we know about how the introduction of some information about the candidate radically changes the probabilities of voting for him.⁷ It is, nevertheless, important in explaining to young, strongly issue-oriented volunteers why it is best simply to get information about the candidate before the voter and then run an identification canvass and election day “pulling” operation to get most of his voters to the polls.

Voter Turnout and Preference

In areas where the students worked they made a tremendous difference. They were most effective when they were used on an organized, precinct basis. In most cases they were able to increase significantly both the turnout and their candidate’s percentage of the vote.

In the September Maryland primary Paul Sarbanes unseated 26 year veteran George Fallon of Baltimore. About 40% of Sarbanes’

6 In each area the students canvassed only Democratic and Independent voters. For that reason the percentage of the vote totals are inflated in comparison with the totals for all voters.

7 See for instance, Donald Stokes and Warren Miller, “Party Government and the Saliency of Congress,” In Angus Campbell, et. al., *Elections and the Political Order* (New York: John Wiley, 1967), p. 205.

precincts were managed entirely by students. In these precincts they raised the turnout 30% over 1968 primary. Sarbanes' percentage of the vote was 12% better than that of another insurgent, J. Joseph Curran whom Fallon had narrowly defeated two years earlier. With heavy student support again, Sarbanes went on to win the general election easily. In Les Aspin's general election victory in the 1st congressional district of Wisconsin the same marked rise both in turnout and preference in the student worked areas can be observed. Students worked twenty-four wards in seven small towns for Aspin who was running against 8 year incumbent Henry Schadeberg. In these wards the Democratic turnout was raised an average of 50% (up in 24 of 24 wards) compared to 1966 and 26% (up in 19 of 24) compared to 1968. In the rest of the district the Democratic vote was up 11% over 1966 and 10% over 1968.⁸

We realize that these examples can be criticized as procrustean. We have used them because, though we do not have complete voting statistics for all eight districts as yet, the scattered returns we do have bear out this trend. In almost every student worked precinct the percentage voting Democratic⁹ was higher than both 1966 and 1968 while turnout was higher in almost every case than 1966 and in a majority of precincts greater than the presidential election year.

It would seem then that student volunteers can make a significant difference through their efforts. However this optimism must be tempered by the cold reality that only a tiny fraction of the nation's college students actually worked in a meaningful way this fall.

8 These incomplete statistics are used merely for illustration. The complete voting and survey data will be subjected to more sophisticated quantitative analysis including scaling and multiple regression.

9 Although, of course, not all the peace candidates were Democrats, those in the eight districts we surveyed were. Peace Republicans Daniel Button, Ogden Reid, Don Riegle, Tom Railsback, and Paul McCloskey had substantial student support. In addition, James Buckley claimed to have over 4,000 students working for him. Whether most did more than clean-cuttedly pose for pictures in "Buckley for Senate" hats is doubtful.

Apathy

Thousands of students worked in the 1970 congressional elections. Millions of students, and more generally, young people, did not work. Because so many did not work, the media and many candidates talked about student apathy, both before and during the elections.

During the spring, forecasts of student involvement ran up to 500,000. With a week remaining *Congressional Quarterly* estimated that 70,000 were working the last week of the campaign. There is no way of telling exactly how many students worked, though certainly no more than half the CQ estimate probably worked on a steady basis (i.e., more than the last week of the campaign). Although many groups had long rosters a check of their records showed that many of their "members" worked only once or twice then declined further assignments. In many areas of the country, most notably most of the South, where there were neither peace candidates nor close races, no more than a handful of students were involved in congressional elections.

Moreover, estimating how many students actually worked is very misleading. A more politically meaningful unit of analysis is "man-hours worked". In a survey undertaken by the Princeton administration to assess the effect of the two-week recess, 24% of those polled claimed to have engaged in some campaign activities. Yet only 4% said they had worked more than a week and even in this "most active" group the average total "man-hours worked" was only slightly over 12 hours. The results from our nationwide student survey should tell us if this was typical of most workers. From what we personally observed, it probably was.

The whole apathy question is exacerbated by the high visibility of students in our present society. This visibility of students as a group and the attention they have received since the major campus disruption of the mid-1960's have led people to be extremely sensitive to their political impact.

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The gap between rhetoric and action is much greater on the campus than in the larger society. On the campus, the level of political awareness in terms of candidate knowledge and issue discussion is very high, while the level of actual participation¹⁰ is relatively low. For most other people the level of political awareness and the level of political participation are both low.

In general, a high proportion of the people who regularly discuss politics and hold strong political opinions become engaged in political activities. This is not true of students. There is simply no denying the fact that most students who became politically visible after the invasion of Cambodia were doing what students usually do: they attended meetings; passed resolutions; talked to each other. For the most part, this activity was rather easily accomplished. Because the circumstances were dramatic, because there are so many students, because there are excellent communications on campuses and between them, and because youth is an "issue", there was a great public awareness of what was occurring. These factors led many to believe mistakenly that vast numbers of students would somehow depart from their normal pattern of low participation and poorly sustained interest in electoral politics.

It would be a great mistake to focus only on the gap between the events of May and the actualities of November. Vast numbers of volunteers are not needed to be effective. As shown above, the contributions of those who did turn out to work in campaigns were significant. Their contributions were significant not because students have some mystical political ability but rather because a well-organized volunteer effort can have a tremendous effect on almost any political contest below the presidential and senatorial levels.¹¹

¹⁰ We use participation here to mean electoral activities such as canvassing, literature distribution, poll watching, and not merely voting which, of course, was also very low.

¹¹ Although volunteer efforts are also important in these races media plays a much greater part. In congressional races manpower is relatively much more important.

The venerable door-to-door canvass is still one of the most effective electoral techniques ever devised. But the personnel to carry out such a canvass has to come from somewhere. Except for Chicago and a few other places the local political organizations are moribund and unable to turn out campaign workers. At present, the only three groups which are both identifiable and accessible for campaign work are union workers,¹² housewives, and students. In addition, with campaigns becoming increasingly expensive a volunteer effort that can save candidates thousands of dollars becomes doubly important.

Students, then, constitute most of the pool of potential workers. If volunteers are so important, and can be so effective, we should examine some of the factors that inhibit wider student participation.

Why Didn't More Students Work?

Students are people. Despite everything voter surveys have told us of people's participation in politics many continue to adduce normative propositions of democratic theory calling for wide participation as though they reflected empirical reality. They manifestly do not. Young people do not participate in greater proportion than unyoung people. In moments of perceived non-crisis to their lives they can be expected to continue that way. The major issues of the campaign—inflation/unemployment versus "law and order" or the "social issues"—were only marginally interesting to the young. Accordingly, the rates of youth participation reflected the rates for the society as a whole.

Two other general factors which affected how well the volunteer effort would be in a particular area came up repeatedly. If a college was primarily residential the recruiting task was eased considerably. People were geographically proximate, getting in touch with them was easy, and there was a

¹² The only unions that turned out workers in any amount were the United Auto Workers and, in some areas, the Steelworkers.

greater awareness of campus activities. At the city schools and commuter colleges people were on campus at different times, often lived far from school, and took little interest in non-scholastic matters.

The second, and probably more important, factor was the ability of the local leadership of the volunteer effort. Because the MNC was a decentralized organization local chapter heads were essentially self-selected. They were often simply those students who got there first. Unfortunately, getting there first and being politically effective were not highly correlated. Equally bad, getting there first and being able to stay there were. Around the country the range of political expertise ran from some who were better than most professional politicians to some who were utterly inept. Most produced at least some volunteers for the local candidates. Many took over the major role in their candidates' campaigns, both supplying and directing the volunteers. Some, however, did nothing more than crank out endless newsletters foretelling all the wondrous things they were going to do.

Several other factors were also important. Tensions existed between what was most helpful in terms of recruitment and what was best for the candidate and his campaign. In their fear of "youthlash" many candidates and/or their staffs, like the Duffey campaign organization in Connecticut, publicly downplayed the role of students while privately asking for all the students they could get. This, of course, dampened the enthusiasm of many students. In some instances liberal candidates thought students would be a strong constituency, that the candidates could move to the center, downplay the role of the students, and still retain large-scale student support. This did not prove to be the case. Students, in fact, are a rather fragile constituency precisely because they are motivated often by idealism rather than material interest. The hard-core of the electoral activists did continue to work. But many of those with lesser commitments fell by the wayside as

candidates failed to embrace them openly and sullied their purity on the issues by moving to the center.

There can also be little doubt that the decline in the saliency of the Vietnam War as an electoral issue contributed to the fall-off in student interest. While there were clear cut differences in their positions on the war between many candidates there was no Cambodian invasion to arouse the less committed and send them flocking to the standards of anti-war candidates.

Finally, for a large segment of the student population electoral politics is an irrelevant exercise—the politics of Tweedledee and Tweedledum. For them it made no difference in 1968 who was elected President, who was appointed Attorney General, who was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. For the most part this group was not susceptible to recruitment in 1970.

Future Prospects

In order to make any judgments about the future direction and activities of young people in electoral politics, we must have more information about those already participating than is presently available.

Very little work has been done by political scientists on volunteer efforts in politics. The literature on the effects of canvassing on voter preference, for instance, consists of a handful of articles.¹³ It is difficult to generalize from them since they deal with different locales, levels of party activity, and types of elections. Our surveys of the voters

13 Peter H. Rossi and Phillips Cutright, "The Impact of Party Organization in an Industrial Setting," in Morris Janowitz, Editor, *Community Political Systems* (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 81-116; Daniel Katz and Samuel J. Eldersveld, "The Impact of Local Party Activity upon the Electorate," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 25, 1961, pp. 1-24; Phillips Cutright, "Measuring the Impact of Local Party Activity on the General Election Vote," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 27, 1963, pp. 372-386; Raymond Wolfinger, "The Influence of Precinct Work on Voting Behavior," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 27, 1963, pp. 387-398; Gerald Kramer, "The Effects of Precinct-Level Canvassing on Voting Behavior," unpublished manuscript, Yale University, July 15, 1969; Edward Schnier and William T. Murphy, Jr., *Vote Power* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), Chapter II.

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and campaign staffs in the eight districts listed above should give us good indexes of the degree of voter contact and level of party activity in these areas.

This information will be combined with voting data to assess the effect of the students, by means of multiple regression analysis, on voter turnout and preference.

The data derived from our survey of this year's activists will not only tell us what their personal and political backgrounds were, but also how they compare with other similar groups¹⁴ on a series of standard political attitudinal indexes.¹⁵ Further, their opinions on items such as why they participated, how worthwhile they considered the activity, their willingness to participate in the future, what Presidential candidate they favor, should give some indication of what we can expect, in terms of student participation, in future elections.

In the foregoing we have tried to cover, albeit briefly and incompletely, a few of the more salient questions connected with last fall's student effort. We believe that our project and the more refined research which will come out of it will not only tell us a great deal about what happened last fall but also about the future course of youth involvement in politics.

¹⁴ Both non-student activists reported on in previous research and student non-participants who were surveyed as a control group.

¹⁵ These include Indexes of Political Awareness, Political Efficacy, Citizen Duty, System Support, and University Support.

The Political Science Profession in 1970: Basic Characteristics

Earl M. Baker *
Temple University

I
The number of political scientists registered in the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel increased 25% from 1968 to 1970, from 5,176 to 6,493. This reflects a "natural" growth of perhaps 15-20%, over the two years while the remaining increase can be attributed to the greater scope of the American Political Science Association survey of political scientists in 1970.¹ This growth in the political science section of the Register occurred despite a more restrictive definition of "professional political scientist" than had been used in 1968.² Insofar as the APSA membership list can be used to gauge the completeness of the response, it would suggest that the Register is substantially complete for political science, allowing for the non-professional members of the Association and a probable residue of non-respondents.³ Political scientists comprise 2% of the total number of United

States scientists (313,000 in 1970) in both years.⁴ More than half of National Register scientists are in three disciplines, chemistry, biology and physics.

The National Register is funded by the National Science Foundation, and is conducted on a contract basis by the professional associations in the various disciplines. The NSF estimates that the Register includes 80% of all doctorate scientists in the United States. The National Register as it developed in the 1940's was originally related to wartime efforts to develop a list of scientific specialists. Since the NSF assumed responsibility for the Register in 1950, its major use has been as a data base for aggregate information and analysis on American scientific manpower. The National Register Group of the NSF is directed by Dr. Milton Levine, a political scientist, and his associate J. James Brown.

Political science has been included in the Register for the last two data collection periods, 1968 and 1970.⁵ Other social sciences included are economics, sociology, psychology and anthropology. The social sciences as a group constitute 18% of the entire Register, half of whom are in psychology. Association participation in the Register project is under the general guidance of an Advisory Committee on the National Register. Members of the 1970 Committee were: Karl W. Deutsch, Harvard University,

1 Two other sources of growth information for political science are available for comparison. Over the period since 1960, membership in the Association has increased at the approximate rate of 10% per year, but this includes a higher rate of increase for student members who would not qualify professionally. See "Report of the Executive Director" in *Program of the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association*, 1968, 1969, 1970; and published in *PS Special Issues*, 1969 and 1970. The percentage increase in new political science doctorates awarded each year also runs at approximately 10%. National Academy of Sciences, *Survey of Earned Doctorates and Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities* (Washington, D.C., series and supplements).

The Association used only its own mailing list in the 1968 survey. In 1970, several other lists potentially including political scientists were used, including the regional political science associations and groups with subfield interests in the discipline such as the American Society for Public Administration, Conference for the Study of Political Thought, etc. Approximately 20,000 persons (including numerous duplications) were contacted, of whom 13,000 responded. Thus in two mailings a response rate of at least 65% was achieved (the duplications preventing exact computation) and the response group was then narrowed down to those qualified.

2 The definitions were as follows. 1968: "A master's degree in political science or 2 years of graduate work with one year of professional experience; or a Ph.D. in political science; or substantial professional achievement in political science; or the equivalent in professional experience." National Science Foundation, *American Science Manpower 1968* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 265. 1970: "A master's degree in political science or 2 years of graduate work with one year of professional experience; or a Ph.D. in political science; or substantial professional achievement in political science as evidenced by contribution to the professional literature." APSA Advisory Committee Memorandum to NSF, June, 1970.

3 The 1970 individual, non-student membership of the Association was 7,963. "Report of the Executive Director," 1970, *op. cit.*

*The author, formerly affiliated with the American Political Science Association, served as liaison with the National Science Foundation and assisted the APSA Advisory Committee for the National Register Project. Supervisor for the mailing and coding of questionnaires for the APSA was Mrs. Carolyn Ecker. This report of the preliminary tabulations on basic characteristics is part of a continuing series of analyses sponsored by the Association and the NSF.

4 While the populations are not the same, political scientists have also normally been 2% of those receiving doctoral degrees in the past decade, though this figure increased in 1969 to 3%. National Academy of Sciences, *op. cit.*

5 Previous reports on the National Register have been published in *PS*. See "Initial Report: Information on Political Scientists in the NSF Register," Winter, 1969; also Fall, 1969, p. 643. The full report of data on all disciplines is in *American Science Manpower*, *op. cit.*, from which information for the 1968 survey used in this article was taken. Information on the 1970 survey is from National Science Foundation, "Salaries and Selected Characteristics of U.S. Scientists, 1970," *Reviews of Data on Science Resources*, No. 19 (forthcoming).

The Political Science Profession in 1970: Basic Characteristics

chairman; Elmer E. Cornwell, Brown University; Heinz Eulau, Stanford University; Barbara A. Hinckley, Cornell University; Tobe Johnson, Morehouse College; Harold D. Lasswell, Yale University; Frank Munger, University of Florida; Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin.

II

The "average" political scientist is a 37 year old Ph.D., whose primary work activity is teaching. An associate professor with slightly less than ten years of professional experience, the "average" political scientist is employed by an educational institution on an academic year basis for a salary of \$13,100.

Three fourths (77%, 76% in 1968) of political scientists are employed by educational institutions. (See Table 1.) About 60% teach as their primary work activity, and 15% are in educational administration or research. Another 10% (12% in 1968) work for government: 5% for the national government, 3% for other governments, and 2% for the military. The remainder of the registered political scientists are small and stable proportions of those employed in nonprofit organizations (3%) and business (2%). Those "not employed" rose 1%, from 4% in 1968 to 5% in 1970.

The median salary for all scientists is \$15,000, up 14% from \$13,200 in 1968. For political scientists the 1970 median is \$13,100, higher by 9% than the 1968 figure of \$12,000. (See Figure 2.) Both the absolute median and the rate of increase are somewhat less for political science than for all scientists. In political science, the median salary increase is slightly greater for those having the Ph.D., while among all scientists the trend is the reverse. The apparently anomalous situation where those with bachelor's degrees make more than those with master's exists in political science and some other disciplines. The small percentage of those with bachelor's qualified professionally have been at work longer, and are more likely to be in administration, both factors contributing to higher median salaries, but they actually are a small and a typical part of the discipline's

employment structure.

Statisticians have the highest salary median of all scientific disciplines, \$16,900. Among social scientists, economists have the highest median salary, \$16,350. Among the high ranking disciplines, psychology falls in the middle ranks with a median of \$15,048, while anthropology (\$14,732), political science (\$13,100) and sociology (\$12,960) are grouped in the lower half of the salary spectrum. This could be said to reflect the impressionistic consensus of the methodological rigor, technical coherence, and sense of disciplinary self-confidence among the social sciences and thus affecting the "social utility" of the discipline.⁶

Only 10% of political scientists earn more than \$23,500, with the equivalent upper decile figure for all scientists \$24,500.⁷

A check of the employment of the handful of political scientists reporting more than \$35,000 in 1968 revealed that they were most likely to be self-employed as political consultants or in high administrative positions in educational institutions. The distribution curve, which shows a positive skewing, is a common pattern in income distributions, with the upper ranges scattered and the modal units relatively compact at the lower end of the curve. (See Table 2 and Figure 1.) One conclusion which emerges from the salary information on political science and the scientific professions as a group is their relatively compressed range of salary, with the highest decile in the profession making not much more than twice the salary of the lowest decile, and the upper quartile less than twice the lower quartile. Thus the most attractive salary rewards to which the scientist may aspire are not on the average

6 It is also suggestive that the relative order of the median salaries in social science disciplines reflects the order in which they were institutionalized as organizations. The dates are: American Economic Association, 1885; American Psychological Association, 1892; American Anthropological Association, 1902; American Political Science Association, 1903 and American Sociological Association 1905.

7 It should be kept in mind that many political scientists supplement their regular salaries with royalties, extra teaching, consulting or investments. In most cases this extra income is in fact supplementary and does not approach the basic salary. The primary reason for using regular salary in this report, moreover, is its utility as a standard of comparability internal and external to the discipline.

dramatically different from the less rewarded in the profession, except from the perspective of the most junior levels. The social science disciplines with the higher medians, economics and psychology, are those with greater proportions employed in business and self-employed. If and when a "private practice" in political science develops (and there are some indications this is an increasingly realistic possibility) it could be expected that these employment factors, which operate to increase salaries in the general scientific population, would have the same effect in political science.

Political science also falls below the norm for grant support from government sources, compared to all scientists and to other social scientists. For all scientists, 40% receive government grants (down 3% from 1968), while 28% of political scientists get research aid (down 1% from 1968). In 1968, all other social sciences ranked higher than political science in percentage receiving government research support.⁸

Discipline	% Receiving Support
Psychology	43
Anthropology	39
Economics	38
Sociology	35
Political Science	29

The median age for all scientists is 39, up from 38 in 1968; for political scientists it remains 37. (See Table 3.) Almost half (42%) of political scientists are under 35 years of age, and 68% are under 45. (See Figure 3.) Progressive salary medians accompany both

increasing age and the related factors of years of work experience and academic rank. Nine percent of all scientific personnel are women, and the figure in political science is 10%. Median salaries for women are lower than those for men, reflecting such factors among women as being less likely to have a Ph.D., less likely to be in administration, and less likely to have long professional experience. A third of the profession is located in three states (New York, California and Pennsylvania) and the District of Columbia. Another third resides in ten more states. (See Table 4.)

III
Information from the National Register, as well as from APSA surveys, the National Academy of Sciences and research such as the recent Heisler survey are beginning to close important gaps in knowledge about the profession of political science.⁹ The data reported here points to effects rather than the causes which can in a broad sense account for the results. Thus what changes might be instituted by political scientists to increase both their absolute and relative "worth" in the aggregate are not self-evident from the data. Some of the factors are external to political science *per se*, for example the number of students in college and their curricular desires, and the resulting demand for political science teachers in relation to the supply—which may be the consequence of quite different factors—or the general state of higher education budgets. Other factors are related to the linkage between the profession and society, such as the types of employment situations for which political scientists are sought or can compete. But still other factors may be more directly related to actions of political scientists. Activity directed toward obtaining government research support, for instance, might become a leverage point signalling

8 Other data reveal that political science is the discipline in which the highest proportion of graduate students support their own graduate study, a finding that complements that found in the National Register information, both of which suggest a more basic cause. Office of Planning and Policy Studies, National Science Foundation, *Graduate Student Support and Manpower Resources in Graduate Science Education* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

9 For example, the studies cited herein, as well as: Heinz Eulau and James G. March (eds.), *Political Science* (The Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey) (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969); the writer's "A Survey of the Graduate Academic Marketplace in Political Science," *PS*, Summer, 1970; Martin O. Heisler's "The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report on a Survey," *PS*, Summer, 1970.

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a greater sense of social science research efficacy on the part of the profession, demonstrating its utility while reinforcing and mobilizing the positive contribution political science man make.

Table 1 Education and Employment Characteristics of Political Scientists in the United States			
	%	Number	Median Salary
Total	100	6,493	\$13,100
Highest Degree			
Ph.D.	61	3,990	14,500
M.A.	38	2,447	10,500
B.A.	1	48	10,700
Type of Employer			
Educational Institutions	77	4,998	12,000 (academic) 15,300 (calendar)
Governments	10	669	
National	5	349	18,900
Other	3	227	15,400
Military	2	93	—
Nonprofit Organization	3	219	18,000
Industry and Business	2	117	17,700
Self-employed	—	29	—
Not employed	5	343	—
Other and No Report	2	118	—

Table 2 Salary Characteristics of Political Scientists in the United States			
	%	Number	Median Salary
Total	100	6,493	\$13,100
Distribution			
Lower decile			9,300
Lower quartile			10,700
Median			13,100
Upper quartile			18,000
Upper decile			23,500
Academic Rank			
Professor	30	1,150	
Academic year	803		17,500
Calendar year	245		20,000
Associate professor	23	880	
Academic year	654		13,000
Calendar year	164		15,000
Assistant professor	36	1,377	
Academic year	1,043		10,800
Calendar year	237		11,600
Instructor	12	452	
Academic year	273		9,100
Calendar year	68		9,5000

Table 3 Personal Characteristics of Political Scientists in the United States

	%	Number	Median Salary
Total	100	6,493	\$13,100
Age			
24 or under	1	78	7,800
25-29	20	1,270	10,000
30-34	21	1,363	11,200
35-39	15	975	13,000
40-44	11	740	15,000
45-49	11	745	17,500
50-54	8	538	18,000
55-59	6	356	18,000
60-64	2	227	18,300
65-69	1	112	19,000
70 or over	1	54	—
No report	1	35	—
Sex			
Male	90	5,862	13,500
Female	10	631	11,000

Table 4 Geographic Location of Political Scientists in the United States

States With:

Ten or more percent of professional political scientists	%	Number
New York	10.9	710
California	10.1	648
Ten or more percent of professional political scientists	%	Number
Washington, D.C.	7.7	498
Pennsylvania	5.5	356
Ten or more percent of professional political scientists	%	Number
Illinois	4.7	304
Michigan	4.7	303
Massachusetts	4.3	281
Ohio	3.8	249
Texas	3.6	235
Virginia	2.8	183
Maryland	2.5	165
Wisconsin	2.5	165
New Jersey	2.4	158
Indiana	2.0	130
All others less than two percent.		

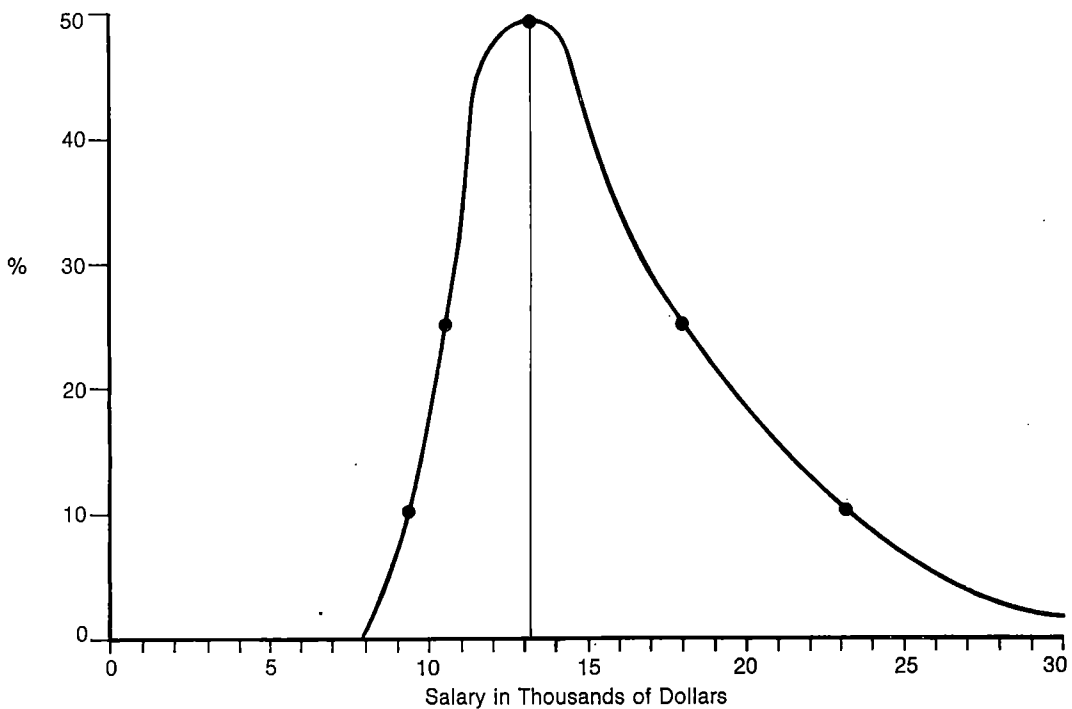


Figure 1 Median Salary Distribution, Political Scientists

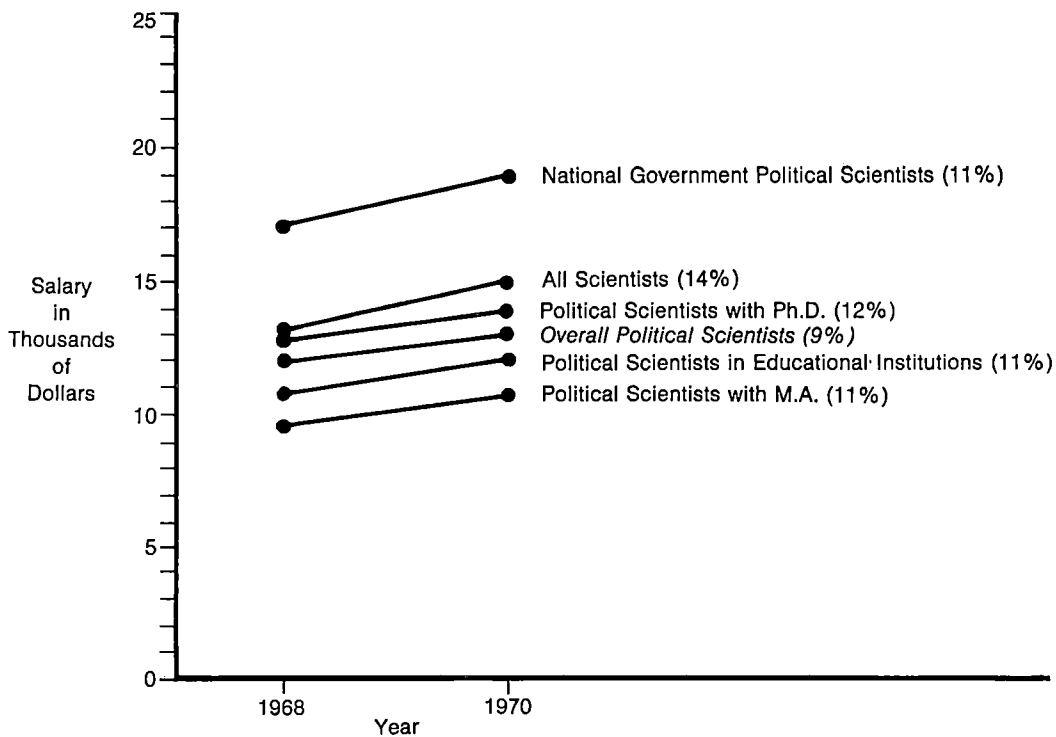


Figure 2 Change in Median Salary, 1968-70 (Percent increase in parentheses)

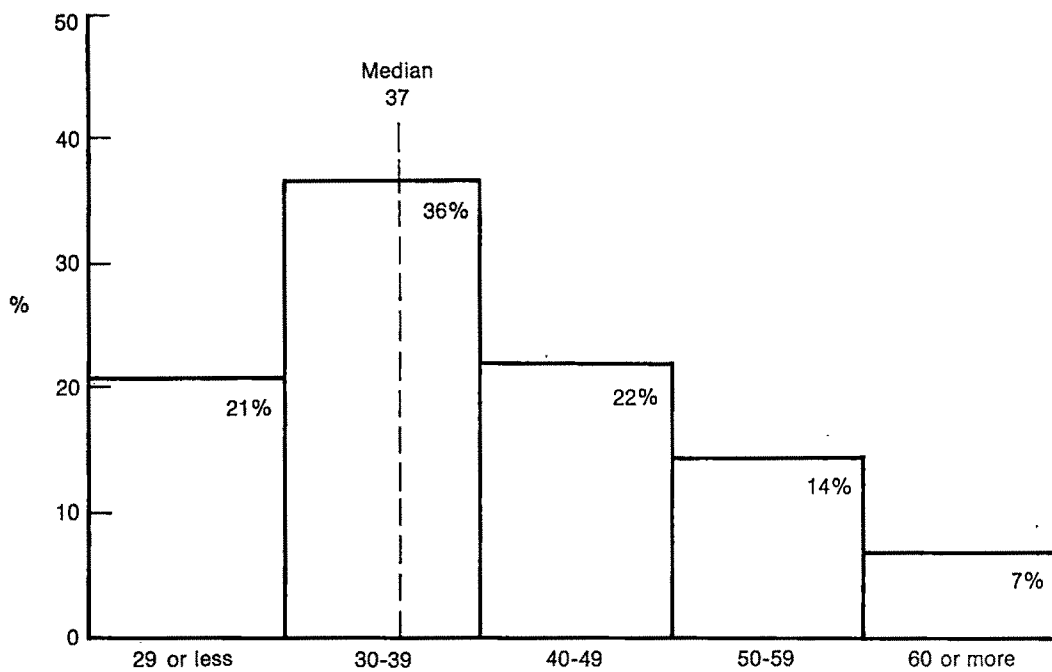


Figure 3 Age Distribution of Political Scientists

Open Letter to Members of the Association from Robert E. Lane, President

February 1971

Dear Colleague:

I would like to use this opportunity to invite you to help me answer a question that has just been addressed to me. In effect, the question is this: how has basic political science research produced the knowledge by which man has improved his condition? The question is contained in a letter from Dr. W. D. McElroy, the Director of the National Science Foundation, who has asked the same question of the presidents of the social science (and perhaps other) professional associations. The NSF will find the answers to these questions useful in answering queries from members of Congress and others; but they are questions that deserve consideration in their own right and that interest me a great deal.

Your answers to this query (with citations) however short, will help us to provide the NSF and ourselves with a case for political science. Further, they might provide the basis of an interesting article for *PS*. To help you with the task, I am providing a copy of the entire text of Dr. McElroy's letter below.

Dear Dr. Lane:

One problem all of us in science have struggled with over the years is the demonstration by case of the payoff of basic scientific research. Every government science administrator has had the problem, and it is one which is likely to continue, especially since basic research depends so heavily upon public funds.

In short, the federal investment in scientific research must continuously and properly be justified. You are in a position to help.

We need assistance in identifying examples of how basic research has contributed to the solution of problems facing society, how such research has produced the knowledge by which man has improved his condition, and how knowledge of himself and his surroundings has enabled man to learn to live more productively.

I feel the heads of professional scientific societies are in a unique position to help identify examples of the value of basic research. We would like to have any suggestions you may offer within your discipline or sphere of

experience, or any general observations you may wish to offer.

We can best show our appreciation of your response by making constructive use of your contribution. I shall appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

W. D. McElroy
Director,
National Science Foundation

As I have said before, I believe the Association might help to serve as an information broker so that the fruits of research of the kind reported on might be more readily available in shaping humane and effective public policies. Your ideas on this aspect of the question will be welcome to me, though not requested by Dr. McElroy's letter. Please send your responses to me at APSA.

Thank you for your help. The Council and I have found your previous responses most valuable.

Robert E. Lane
President

Teaching Notes On Making Teaching “U”

Gerald Benjamin

State University of New York at New Paltz*

Ten years ago, in a tongue-in cheek article that appeared in the back pages of the *Western Political Quarterly*, Professor Arnold Rogow applied two categories developed by the British philologist Alan Ross to the political science profession.¹ “U and non-U distinctions,” wrote Rogow quoting Ross, “may be used in a variety of language areas to designate usages which are ‘correct, proper, legitimate, appropriate’ from usages which are ‘incorrect, not proper, not legitimate.’”² “Moreover,” Rogow went on, “U and non-U distinctions may be applied to individuals, institutions, publications, and orientations. Indeed, . . . political scientists can establish their status in the profession by locating themselves with reference to a variety of U and non-U designations.”³

It is hardly astonishing that, in the analysis of these designations that followed, Rogow found “research to be “U” and “teaching” to be “non-U”.

*Research is U, and designations which include the word research are U, such as research grant, research professor, research assistant, etc. Teaching and teaching assistant are non-U.*⁴

The objective of this short paper is to determine whether, in the 10 years since Rogow wrote, the relative “U-ness” of teaching within the profession has increased, and to explore briefly what more can be done during the next decade to make teaching “U”.

A Perennial Problem Defies Solution

A historical perspective reveals that almost since the establishment of political science as a self-conscious academic discipline in the United States there has been a recurring

unease about the “non-U-ness” of what most members of the profession do for a living. Though political scientists have overwhelmingly been teachers, when they have paused for self analysis they have repeatedly become aware that they did little to prepare their graduate students for future teaching roles. Witness the following:

1916 APSA Committee on Instruction. *The Teaching of Government*, p. 197.
“Suggestions for the Improvement of Instruction

8. That better provision be made for the training of teachers in this subject.”

1930 APSA Committee on Policy, *Report of the Committee* (APSR Vol. 24), pp. 182-3.

“In the case of persons going into the teaching of political science the question frequently arises whether some training in pedagogy should not be required. . . . This oft repeated question may lead us to consider whether the departments in which graduate courses in political science are taught might not introduce their own courses in the teaching of the subject. . . . There is the further question of teaching experience. . . . The problem of how best to get our first teaching experience has not been settled in any uniform way.”

1951 APSA Committee for the Advancement of Teaching, *Goals for Political Science*, pp. xxi-xxii.

“Most PhD's go into teaching. The graduate schools are deficient in the attention they give to preparation for teaching. . . . The profession should work toward the development of students who will become both good scholars and good teachers. [The committee] . . . favors setting up norms whereby the total effectiveness of

1 Rogow, Arnold, “A Short Note on U and Non-U in Political Science,” *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 13, p. 1064.

2 Ross used the letter “U” simply because it was the initial one in the word upperclass.

3 *op. cit.*, p. 1065.

4 *Ibid.*

* On leave for military service with the USAMEDD Historical Unit, Walter Reed Army Medical Center. For their research and editorial aid in preparing this paper I would like to thank Mrs. Helise Benjamin and Mr. Ernest Elliott.

teachers may be judged. It also recommends that the Association annually award prizes for good teaching. . . .”

1965 Robert Connery (ed.). *Teaching Political Science*. p. vi. “In the past, political scientists have been principally concerned with the research aspects of the discipline. Now more attention should be given to their role in the college community as college teachers.”

Yet despite these self criticisms, members of the discipline writing in the 1960’s were no more prone to show a concern about teaching than were their predecessors. A survey of five major political science journals for the nine years from 1960 to 1968 (Table 1) reveals that in no single year was more than one article on teaching published, and that in four of the nine years none were published. Furthermore, in only one of these nine years was a relatively major effort made at the annual meeting of the APSA to deal with the problems of teaching political science.

More recently, some change has been noticeable. During 1969-70 the newsletter of the association, *PS*, has established itself as something of a forum for the discussion

of problems and techniques in teaching political science; more articles (eight) on teaching have been published in its pages in the last 18 months than were published in nine years in the five journals reviewed for this study. At the annual meetings as well a trend is discernable. Due in part to the efforts of the Caucus for a New Political Science three panels on teaching were included in 1969. For 1970 the program in this area was significantly augmented, with eight panels planned. Yet, these are only indicators of an awakening interest. In the universities, preparation for teaching political science remains deficient.

Teaching Incipient Political Scientists
About Teaching

Currently, most political science departments state as one of the objectives of their graduate programs the preparation of professional political scientists for teaching and research. In fact, about two-thirds of the new Ph.D’s in the field each year have an educational institution as their first employer.⁵ Despite these realities, however, of the 73 institutions listed in the American Council on Education *Guide to Graduate Study* as offering the doctorate in political science or government

5 Anon., “Profile of Ph.D. Recipients in Political Science, 1968,” *PS*, Vol. 2, p. 659.

Table 1 Journal Articles on Teaching, 1960-1968

Year	APSR	J. of Pol.	PSQ	WPQ	Annals	Annual Meeting*
1960	0	0	0	0	0	1
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
1962	0	1	0	0	0	1
1963	0	0	0	0	0	0
1964	0	0	0	1	0	0
1965	0	1	1	0	0	0
1966	1	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	1	4
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	2	1	1	1	6

*Panels jointly sponsored by the National Council for Social Studies are excluded. They were concerned with secondary school teaching and teacher training.

for which catalog data were available for this study, only six (08%) offered course work in teaching politics.⁶

This course work varied in rigor from university to university. At one institution it was viewed simply as a necessary preparation for potential junior college teachers, but was not required of doctoral candidates. At most of the six, however, the course consisted of a non-credit or pass-fail seminar required of graduate students who planned to become college teachers. The course descriptions speak for themselves:

American University

Colloquium on the Teaching of Politics and Government. A very informal association of groups of faculty members and of those students who intend upon college teaching as a career, to convey perspectives and experiences and to guide the participating students in systematic preparation.

University of California at Berkeley

Professional Preparation for Teaching Assistants

Special study under the direction of a staff member, with emphasis on the teaching of undergraduate courses in political science. Must be taken on a pass/not pass basis.

Kent State

College Teaching in Political Science
Staff training and experience in college teaching; colloquia on the professional ethics and responsibilities of political scientists.

State University of New York at Albany

Practicum Teaching Seminar
A seminar designed to acquaint MA and

PhD candidates with current techniques employed in teaching political science at the college level.

The emphasis of these descriptions gains added impact when it is contrasted with that of more traditional graduate student teaching programs of political science departments. At Cornell University, for example:

All PhD candidates are required to serve as teaching assistants for one year. Normally, this will be in their second year, although in special circumstances, it may be in their third year of graduate study. Students entering the program with a Master's degree ordinarily would be expected to serve as teaching assistants during their first year of graduate work in the department. Normally, financial support will be available to candidates with Master's degrees for only three years, including the year in which they serve as teaching assistants.⁷

The Preliminary Report of the Committee for an Exploratory Study of Graduate Education in Political Science notes that 25 percent of the 61 departments they surveyed required teaching as a part of the degree program, but that few of these departments offered the graduate student a meaningful opportunity to come to grips intellectually with the problems of teaching undergraduates.⁸ The graduate student, "used" to "cover a section" of a large lecture course once or twice a week, has little to say about course requirements, course content, or teaching techniques. Pressed for time in his own doctoral work and acting in an environment in which teaching is not stressed, it is not surprising that the young graduate instructor often takes his responsibilities to his undergraduates lightly. With its emphasis on teaching as a means of keeping the wolf from the door, the traditional program, rather than developing a positive orientation toward teaching, tends to foster and perpetuate indifference as a hallmark of the profession.

6 Research was limited to catalogs available at the University of Maryland (College Park) graduate catalog collection. Most were 1969-70 or 1970-71 editions. Fourteen schools were excluded for lack of data. They were: The University of California at Davis, Irvine, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, Case Western Reserve University, University of Chicago, Pennsylvania State University, Fordham University, University of Georgia, University of Hawaii, State University of New York at Buffalo, Northern Illinois University, University of Massachusetts, and the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. Quick, A. (ed.). *A Guide to Graduate Education*, Washington: American Council on Education, 1969.

7 Cornell University, *Graduate Catalog*, 1969, p. 124.

8 The Committee, "Obstacles to Graduate Education in Political Science," *PS*, Vol. II, p. 631.

Table 2 A comparison of "Research" and "Teaching" degree requirements in political science graduate programs

	3 Language	Methodology	Teaching
Course required	23 (100%)	10 (44%)	2 (9%)
Course offered	N/A	17 (74%)	2 (9%)

Other data further reinforce our awareness of this indifference. Rogow's 1960 hypothesis that research was "U" and teaching "non-U" is well supported by a comparison (Table 2) of the relative emphasis on teaching and research in the degree requirements of 23 political science departments selected at random from the American Council on Education *Guide*. All 23 required Ph.D. candidates to be proficient in at least one language (a traditional research skill) and possibly two, though another research skill (e.g. statistics, computer programming) often could be substituted for the second language. More than two-fifths of the institutions reviewed required a course in methodology, and almost three-quarters offered such a course. In contrast, only two schools required a course in teaching political science. This imbalance in the training of young political scientists has not gone unnoticed and is most obvious to the students themselves. Data gathered by the Committee for the Exploratory Study of Graduate Education in Political Science reveal that the low quality of preparation for teaching careers is the single most important focus of professional dissatisfaction for political science graduate students.⁹ In fact, when the extreme ends of both are masked out, the graph of "satisfaction-dissatisfaction" with training in teaching is almost the mirror image of the one of training in research skills (Chart 1). Apparently, upon emerging from graduate school, young political scientists feel more confident about their ability to prepare a paper for a professional conference than about their ability to face a class of undergraduates.

Why and Where to

Perhaps the most widely accepted explanation for the continued failure of political science departments to train graduate students in teaching centers on the nature of the reward structure in the profession and in the academic world at large, and is succinctly summarized by Somit and Tanenhaus in their book, *American Political Science—Profile of a Discipline*.¹⁰

Noting that political scientists, when surveyed, ranked "teaching ability" last under "attributes contributing to career success", the authors remark:

*Knowledge of the low return from good teaching is passed from one academic generation to another more by example than by precept. An astute student, observing the manner in which his professors divide their energies between teaching and research and their efforts to reduce the former in order to devote additional time to the latter, quickly senses the relative value of the two in furthering his career. For this reason, the current complaint that our graduates are ill equipped to serve as teachers misreads the situation. The problem is not the deficiency of their preparation, but the working of a system which provides minimal rewards for instructional excellence and devotion.*¹¹

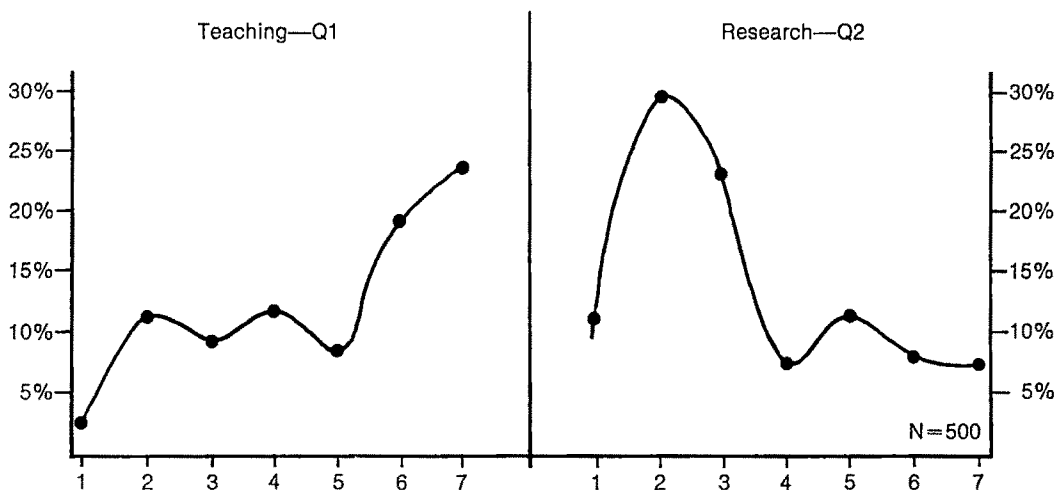
Though popular, this explanation is a bit oversimple. The "system" is not entirely at fault, for the professors, in conforming to its norms and in thus "teaching" their students to do likewise are, in effect, sustaining and per-

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 631-632.

10 New York: Atherton, 1964.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

Chart 1 Comparison of Curves of Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction, Training in Teaching and Research, Graduate Students in Political Science



Q1—The overall training you have received in teaching skills

Q2—The overall training you have received in research skills

(1=Very Satisfied, 2=Satisfied, 3=Slightly Satisfied, 4=Neutral, 5=Slightly Dissatisfied, 6=Dissatisfied, 7=Very Dissatisfied. No Response and Not Applicable responses are not shown.)

Source: "Preliminary Report of the Committee for an Exploratory Study of Graduate Education in Political Science: Obstacles to Graduate Education in Political Science." *PS*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 640.

petuating it. And furthermore, the Somit and Tanenhaus analysis, though clearly 'telling it like it is', fails to deal with *why* it is like it is. A tentative answer to this question of "why?", however, has been offered in several other places in the literature, limited as it is, on teaching political science.¹²

Simply stated, this thesis has it that teaching is slighted in the preparation of political scientists because it is negligible in their evaluation, and that this is true because no visible, quantifiable standard of "good teaching" has been developed within the profession. The output of "scholarship" is measurable and quantifiable. It can be seen and tabulated in numbers of books and articles published, papers delivered, and invitations to speak at remote campuses. Service to the

college or university is likewise visible and quantifiable (i.e., number of committees served on, reports written, etc.). Both of these provide easy and visible measures for department heads and college deans, and they are differential measures. Some faculty members publish more than others, some serve on more committees than others; they can be ranked easily with respect to these criteria.

Teaching, on the contrary, is the invisible daily enterprise of the university, and its results do not provide a similar simple way to rank faculty members. It is invisible because, traditionally, what goes on in the classroom is the professor's business; his colleagues enter only when invited. It has not been quantifiable in its results because it has not occurred to us to try to measure a teacher's success by his output; that is, by his effect on his students and by their evaluation of him. Lacking these two qualities, "teaching ability" has not been used as a basic criterion on which political scientists (read "teachers of politics")

¹² See, for example, Austin Ranney, "Political Science: The State of the Profession," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 80, p. 276, and Leonard J. Fein, "Teaching Political Science," *PS*, Vol. 2, p. 303.

Teaching Notes On Making Teaching "U"

have been judged. And without such a criterion at hand, members of the profession could easily ignore the problem of learning and transmitting teaching skills. It simply was not necessary.

What, then, is to be done? Some steps have already been taken. The publication of "Teaching Notes" in *PS* lends some legitimacy to writing about teaching techniques and about the problems encountered in teaching political science to undergraduates, as do the panels on teaching at the annual meetings. Through publication and the delivery of papers, the traditional vehicles for recognition can be harnessed for use to renew and reinforce the concern for good teaching within the profession.

But more is needed. Standard methods must be established to make teaching a visible and measurable enterprise at the college and departmental level. Certainly, faculty can cooperate with students in developing and validating a series of scales that can be used by students to evaluate teaching in political science courses. Perhaps the association should support the research for, and development of, such a scale and promote its widespread use. The results from it could then join journal article reprints in each professor's "tenure and promotion file" and could be used on personal vita sheets. Perhaps, too, standard measures can be developed to test students both when they enter a course and when they leave it on such parameters as "level of information about politics" or "ability to think critically about politics". All demonstrated changes, of course, would not be due to the level of teaching in undergraduate political science courses, but extraordinary teachers could be identified by a high level of "success" with heterogeneous student populations. The objective is not to provide an alternative way to evaluate the teaching political scientist, but to *add* measures of teaching ability to those already used.

Perhaps—yes, perhaps—the old tabu against one professor's entering another's class uninvited should be rethought. Perhaps a

system of teaching consultants or visitors, again under the auspices of the APSA, should be established, visitors who might be brought in on a fee basis to judge, on established and publicized standards, the teaching ability of members of a particular department. Or perhaps a system of mutual exchange visits to one another's classes by professors of the same rank should be set up within political science departments, and regular intra-departmental evaluative systems established. Professional criticism is expected when one publishes; why not when one teaches?¹³

These changes, or others like them, should seriously be considered, for they would alter the profession's reward structure, and this is one key to "making teaching U". But such widespread changes should not be made without basic alterations in the requirements and expectations of graduate departments of political science, for as Leonard Fein has noted:

*So long as graduate students are nowhere provided with instruction in the process of teaching itself, they will continue to believe (perhaps correctly, perhaps not) that teaching cannot be taught.*¹⁴

Learning about teaching, and about learning, must become well established in major political science departments if the preparation of young political scientists for teaching is to improve. The appearance of new courses, such as the ones described above, within some departments is therefore encouraging, for through such efforts it can be demonstrated to the profession that concern for teaching methods and problems is not an exercise in the study of "form without content", but rather may be a way of anticipating and confronting the ethical and professional questions that arise in the early stages of a political science teaching career.

13 It has been evident to me that most of my colleagues prepare much more assiduously for large lectures than for their regular classes. Is this because of the size of the class they will face, or because their colleagues will be in attendance?

14 *op. cit.*, Fein, p. 303.

But, valuable as they are, courses in teaching political science are simply not enough. For teaching really to become "U" a more fundamental change in the profession's perception of legitimate ancillary fields of study is necessary. Only when political scientists come to recognize that courses in the "psychology of learning" or "teaching methods", properly taught, are as basic as minor fields for persons who will spend their lives teaching politics as are courses in elementary or advanced statistics will this part of the problem of preparing political scientists for teaching be on the road to solution.

Association News

1970 APSA Election Results

American Arbitration Association Report of 1970 APSA Election

Pursuant to a request from the American Political Science Association, hereinafter referred to as APSA, the American Arbitration Association, hereinafter referred to as the Administrator, agreed to conduct a mail ballot for the election of officers as well as proposed constitutional amendments and resolutions.

The election was conducted pursuant to and in accordance with the Election Rules of the Administrator.

Ballots were mailed by the Administrator to all eligible members of APSA on November 2, 1970. To be valid, ballots had to be postmarked no later than November 23, 1970.

The counting of the ballots took place in the office of the Administrator at 140 West 51st Street, New York City on November 30, 1970, under the supervision of the undersigned in the presence of an observer. The secrecy of the ballot was maintained at all times.

Eight Thousand Five Hundred and Fifty Nine (8,559) ballots were received by the Administrator. One Hundred and Seventy Three (173) envelopes were void on the following basis:

72 No identification on envelope
29 No signature on return envelope
13 Duplicates
59 Late postmark

The results are certified to be as follows:

Officers Election

<i>President Elect</i>	
*Heinz Eulau	4,711
Hans Morgenthau	3,563
<i>Vice President</i>	
*Edward C. Banfield	5,228
*John A. Davis	4,607
Richard Falk	3,619
*Victoria Schuck	4,912
David Spitz	4,555
<i>Secretary</i>	
* Thomas R. Dye	5,553
Edward Malecki	2,611
<i>Treasurer</i>	
*Donald R. Matthews	5,792
Ben Stavits	2,438

Member of the Council for Two Years

*Chadwick F. Alger	4,544
Emily Card	2,522
Bernard C. Cohen	3,606
*Philip E. Converse	5,195
*Fred I. Greenstein	4,004
Ralph Guzman	3,080
David Kettler	3,409
*Joyce M. Mitchell	4,503
Samuel C. Patterson	3,299
Charles Press	2,333
*James W. Prothro	4,939
Marcus Raskin	2,761
*William P. Robinson, Sr.	5,233
*Dankwart A. Rustow	4,225
Mulford Sibley	3,204
*Gordon Tullock	4,057

Proposed Constitutional Amendments and Resolutions

<i>I.A Constitutional Amendments</i> (Membership and Dues)	
Accept	5,138
Reject	1,385
<i>I.B Constitutional Amendments</i> (Mail Ballot on Resolutions)	
Accept	5,545
Reject	1,041
<i>I.C Constitutional Amendments</i> (Objects of the Association)	
Accept	2,888
Reject	3,583
<i>II.1 Resolutions</i> (Involvement of Political Science in Environmental Issues)	
Accept	3,569
Reject	2,837
<i>II.2 Resolutions</i> (Termination of Congressional Fellowship Program)	
Accept	1,183
Reject	5,282
<i>II.3 Resolutions</i> (Allocation of Panels at Annual Meetings to Caucus for a New Political Science)	
Accept	1,924
Reject	4,672
<i>II.4 Resolutions</i> (APSA Urging Department of Justice Investigation of Los Angeles Riot of August 29, 1970)	
Accept	1,284
Reject	5,167
<i>II.5 Resolutions</i> (APSA Development of Alternative for Admission and Training of Chicanos for the Profession)	
Accept	1,779
Reject	4,513

II.6 Resolutions

(APSA Support of Chicano Caucus Scholars' Research)

Accept	1,367
Reject	4,928

II.7 Resolutions

(APSA Funding of Research on East Los Angeles Riot)

Accept	1,538
Reject	4,744

III Ratification of Dues

Approve	3,626
Disapprove	3,004

Margaret U. Carlson

Election Director

American Arbitration Association

January 6, 1971

APSA State and Local Government Internship Program

The Association's State and Local Government Internship Program Advisory Committee has announced 15 grants for 1971-72 under a program sponsored by the Ford Foundation to stimulate teaching and research in the field of state and local government. The Committee is chaired by Charles B. Hagan, University of Houston. Other members are Paul L. Beckett, Washington State University; Franklin L. Burdette, University of Maryland; Chester B. Earle, American University; Thomas A. Flinn, Cleveland State University; and Donald G. Herzberg, Eagleton Institute of Politics.

The Committee made 15 grants, 9 of which were renewals. Receiving grants were American University, University of Connecticut, University of Oklahoma, Temple University, Wayne State University, Yale University, University of California, Santa Barbara, University of California, Los Angeles, Columbia University, University of Minnesota, University of Utah, University of Maryland, University of Michigan, Washington University, St. Louis, and West Virginia University.

APSA Committees

The following is a list of Association Committees and members who have been appointed by Presidents of the Association. Members of the Association are invited to correspond with the Chairman of any Committee concerning subjects with which his or her Committee is dealing.

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John D. Lewis, *Oberlin College*

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Association News

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Constitution of the American Political Science Association *

Article I: Name

This Association shall be known as The American Political Science Association.

Article II: Objects

1. It shall be the purpose of this Association to encourage the study of Political Science, including Political Theory, Political Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration and International Relations.

2. The Association as such is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It will not commit its members on questions of public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose as stated above. But the Association nonetheless actively encourages in its membership and its journals, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies, however controversial and subject to partisan discourse in the community at large these may be. The Association shall not be debarred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it deems appropriate in support of academic freedom and of freedom of expression by and within the Association, the political science profession, and the university, when in its judgment such freedom has been clearly and seriously violated or is clearly and seriously threatened.

Article III: Membership

1. *Annual Members.* Any person sharing the objects of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life membership and reduced annual dues for retired members and students shall be set by the Council provided that no change in dues shall go into effect unless ratified by a mail referendum of the membership.

2. *Life Members.* Any person paying dues of a life member in a lump sum, or in installments spread over not more than ten years, shall become a Life Member of this Association, and thereafter be exempt from further dues.

3. *Student Members.* Any graduate or undergraduate student registered in a college or university may become a Student Member of the Association upon payment of dues and may remain such while he is so registered, but for no more than five years, by paying annual dues.

4. *Family Members.* Another person in the family of a member may become a Family Member upon payment of dues, and may remain such as long as there is another Association member in the family, by paying annual dues.

5. *Retired Members.* Any member who has been a member for twenty-five years prior to retirement shall be entitled, on retirement, to continue membership at the retired members dues rate.

6. *Institutional and Library Memberships.* The dues and privileges of Institutional and Library Members shall be fixed by the Council but dues may not be less than those for Annual Members.

7. *Privileges of Members.* Each member, other than a Family Member, shall be entitled to a copy of each number of *The American Political Science Review* issued during his membership. All members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve, shall be entitled to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association.

Article IV: Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and sixteen elected members of a Council, all of whom shall be elective officers and who shall represent the Association in its corporate capacity. In addition, there shall be an Executive Director of the Association, a Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* and such other appointive officers and committees as are hereinafter provided for.

2. The elective officers, together with the Executive Director, the Managing Editor and the Chairman of the Program Committee, shall constitute the Council of the Association. Ex-Presidents of the Association, and upon invitation of the President, the chairman of any committee of the Association and nominees to the next year's Council, may attend meetings of the Council and participate in its discussions but have no vote.

3. The President, the President-Elect, the Executive Director, the Managing Editor, the Chairman of the Program Committee and two other Council members, designated annually by the President, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Council.

Article V: Elective Officers

1. The elective officers, except the President, shall be chosen by vote of the members of the Association attending the Annual Business Meeting, a quorum being present, provided that whenever there is a contest for any elected office

*Includes amendments adopted by 1970 APSA balloting.

or offices such elections shall be conducted by mail ballot of the entire individual membership. In the latter event the Executive Director shall distribute ballots within thirty (30) days following the Annual Business Meeting and under such other conditions as the Council may prescribe, and he shall count only ballots returned within thirty (30) days following distribution; each contested election shall be determined by a plurality of those voting on the particular office; if the number of nominees for the set of vice-presidencies or for Council membership exceeds the number of offices constitutionally to be filled, all such nominees shall appear on the mail ballot, members shall be entitled to vote for a number equal to the number of offices in the set, and the nominees ranking highest in the poll, in a number equal to the number of offices, shall be declared elected. The President-Elect shall automatically succeed to the office of President upon the completion of the President's term, or upon the occurrence of one of the contingencies provided for in section 3 of this article. The terms of elective officers, except members of the Council, shall extend for one year measured from the end of the program of the Annual Meeting, except that an officer's term shall in no event expire until his successor assumes office. The terms of members of the Council shall extend for two years, similarly calculated, and one-half shall expire each year.

2. After each annual meeting the President shall appoint, with due regard to geographical distribution and the fields of professional interest, three members to a Nominating Committee of six, to serve for two-year terms; and he shall designate the chairman. The Committee may canvass the membership directly or indirectly for suggestions, and shall submit to the next Annual Business Meeting one nomination for each elective office to be filled, except the Presidency. These nominations shall be announced to the membership, by any convenient means, well in advance of the annual meeting. Additional nominations, sponsored by at least 10 members of the Association, may be offered from the floor at the Annual Business Meeting, upon 24 hours' advance notice to the Secretary.

3. In case of death, resignation or inability of the President to perform the duties of his office, the President-Elect shall immediately succeed him and shall be President for the remainder of the term unless that is less than four months, in which case he shall serve out the unexpired term and one additional year.

In case of an interim vacancy in the office of President-Elect, the Nominating Committee shall forthwith proceed to nominate and the Council shall elect a new President-Elect to serve until the end of the next annual meeting. Actions to fill a vacancy may in case of need be taken by mail, telegraph or telephone, without a meeting. At the next Annual Business Meeting the Association shall confirm the Council's action by electing the President-Elect to the office of President or instead may elect another member as President, or may take such other action as in its discretion the situation may require, to the end that there shall be in office at all times both a President and a President-Elect.

The Council may fill any interim vacancy in its elective membership until the end of the next annual meeting.

4. The elective officers, except the Secretary and the Treasurer, shall be ineligible to succeed themselves in office. After a lapse of two years a former member of the Council may be elected to another term.

Article VI: Appointive Officers

1. The Executive Director of the Association and the Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall be appointed by the Council, after it hears the recommendation of the President. They shall have terms to be fixed in each case by the Council; and they shall be eligible for reappointment.

2. There shall be a Board of Editors of *The American Political Science Review* to assist the Managing Editor, and the Council may determine its size, method of appointment and tenure.

3. The Council, or the Executive Committee, may establish other offices, boards and committees, as the business of the Association may require, define their tasks and powers, and fix their terms and methods of appointment.

Article VII: Management of Association and Duties of Officers

1. The membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting or in a special meeting duly called resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise, or repeal the action of the Council, the Executive Committee or any officer. Whenever one-third or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any policy question, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall

be determined by a majority of those voting by mail. One hundred members shall constitute a quorum of the Association, and a majority vote of the members in attendance or voting by mail shall control its decisions. The Association shall meet annually at a time and place designated by the Council. The Council and the officers shall make every effort to acquaint the members with the business of the Association and with the issues involved in the agenda of the Annual Business Meeting or in a ballot by mail, and to provide sufficient time at business meetings for deliberations and decisions.

2. Subject to the foregoing, the Council shall be the governing body of the Association and have general charge and supervision of its business and interests in accordance with this Constitution.

The Council shall meet once a year before the Annual Business Meeting, and oftener at its discretion or on call of the President. Nine members shall constitute a quorum and a majority vote of the members in attendance shall control its decisions. The Council may call special meetings of the Association. It shall receive reports of all officers and committees; adopt the budget and appropriate money; and give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting. It shall receive an annual audit of the Association's accounts. It may give directions to officers and committees, and adopt the rules for the regulation of the Association's business. In the event of an emergency which prevents the holding of the Annual Business Meeting, the Council may exercise all the powers of the Association including the election of officers.

3. Within limits prescribed by the Council, and consistently with this Constitution, the Executive Committee may exercise the powers of the Council when the Council or the Annual Business Meeting is not in session. It shall meet on call of the President, and he shall report its actions to the Council.

4. The President shall preside at business meetings of the Association, the Council and the Executive Committee. Except as may be otherwise provided, he shall appoint all committees of the Association. He shall see to it that the business of the Association is faithfully transacted.

5. The Secretary shall approve and have custody of the minutes of business meetings of the Council and of the Association; and he shall report the actions of the Council to the Annual Business Meeting.

6. The Treasurer shall review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody and disbursement of Association funds, and for keeping the Association's accounts. He shall arrange for the annual audit, and present the auditor's report to the Council. He shall report the Association's financial condition to the Annual Business Meeting. He shall review the Association's investments and make recommendations of investment policy to the Council. He shall seek to advance the interests of the Association in adding to its financial resources.

7. The Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall edit and publish *The Review*, with the advice and assistance of the Board of Editors, and report its affairs to the Council.

8. The Executive Director shall be the chief executive officer of the Association and transact its business. He shall have charge of the central office of the Association. He shall formulate plans and policies for the accomplishment of the Association's objectives, and upon the approval of the Council or the Executive Committee shall be responsible for their administration. All appointive committees shall look to him for advice and assistance in their work. He shall have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its obligations and maintain its accounts. He shall make an annual report to the Council and consult with the President as questions of policy currently arise.

9. A Program Committee shall be responsible for preparing the professional program of the annual meetings of the Association. A Committee on Local Arrangements shall be responsible for assistance with accommodations and entertainment for members attending the annual meetings.

10. Other committees may be created, for stated periods and stipulated assignments. They shall report to the Council and thereupon be discharged. Unless specifically approved by the Association or the Council for that purpose, their reports shall not be deemed to state the views of the Association nor commit it in any way.

Article VIII: Resolutions

All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice to this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the annual meeting. Whenever one-third or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any resolution, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions

prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.

Article IX: Amendments

1. Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council.
2. The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of the Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least one-third of those members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise.

APSA 1970 Annual Business Meeting Minutes

First Session

Tuesday, September 8, 1970

Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California

President Karl W. Deutsch, Presiding

The Meeting was called to order by the Presiding Officer at 4:30 p.m.

Constitutional Amendment on Association Dues

Mr. Francis Rourke, Treasurer of the Association, moved for the Council an amendment to the Association's Constitution to strike specific dues amounts from Article III, Section 3, 4 and 5. The following section one would be substituted: Any person sharing the purpose of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life membership and reduced annual dues for retired members and students, shall be set by the Council.

Mr. Dankwart Rustow moved an amendment to substitute the second sentence of the Council's amendment on dues with the following: . . . "upon payment of annual dues, as follows: (a) Regular members with an annual income under \$12,000, \$20.00; with an annual income from \$12,000 to \$15,000, \$25.00; with an annual income of over \$15,000, \$30.00. (b) Student and retired members, \$10.00. (c) Family members, \$5.00. (d) Institutional membership (including APSR and PS), \$35.00."

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Rustow amendment to the Council's amendment on dues was voted on and defeated 96 to 87.

Mr. Gordon Baker moved an amendment to the Council's amendment on dues to add the following at the end of the last sentence: . . . provided that no change in dues shall go into effect unless ratified by a mail referendum of the membership.

The Baker amendment to the Council's amendment on dues passed by voice vote.

The Council's Constitutional amendment on dues as amended by Mr. Baker was voted upon and passed by voice vote. Accordingly, it will be placed on the mail ballot to the membership.

Constitutional Amendments on Separation of Association Dues and Subscription to the Review

and on the Election of the Review Editorial Board and Selection of Review Managing Editor

Mr. Charles McCoy presented the amendments for Mr. William E. Connolly who was not present. The amendments call for:

The change of the title of Article III of the Constitution from the word "membership" to "Association membership and subscription to the Association journal."

The adoption of a substitute section seven to Article III to read "Each member, other than a family member, shall be entitled to subscribe to the *American Political Science Review* at a rate discounted by 20% of the regular subscription rate."

The adoption of a new section to Article III, section 8 to read, "The regular subscription rate of the *American Political Science Review* will be set at the Annual Business Meeting. Non-members may subscribe to the journal by paying this fee."

The substitution of the title of Article VI of the Constitution from "Appointive Officers" to "Appointive and Editorial Officers."

The deletion in Section 1 of Article VI of the references to Editor.

The adoption of a substitute section 2 of Article VI to read: "The Editorial Board of the *American Political Science Review* shall consist of nine members elected for three-year terms, three members elected each year. Nominations for this office can be made by the Executive Committee and/or by petition of fifty Association members. The election shall be conducted by a mail ballot of the entire membership. Each Association membership shall be entitled to cast a total number of votes equal to the number of positions to be filled. Each member shall be entitled to distribute his vote either equally among a set of nominees or in unequal whole numbers among a set of nominees. The nominees ranking highest in the poll in a number equal to the number of offices shall be declared elected."

The adoption of a substitute section 3 to Article VI to read, "The Editorial Board of the *American Political Science Review* shall elect a Managing Editor, not necessarily a member of the Board, to serve a three-year term, renewable once at the discretion of the Board."

The adoption of a new section 4, to Article VI to read, "The above procedures will take effect by September 1972. The present Editorial Board and Managing Editor will serve until these procedures are implemented."

The substitution of the existing section 3 of Article VI as a new section 5.

Mr. McCoy moved for the adoption of the amendments with a request that the two amendments be voted upon separately and that a minor editorial change to section 4 of the amendment to Article III be made to allow it to read "The above procedures to take effect September 1972. The recently appointed Editor and Editorial Board to serve until these procedures are implemented."

The Presiding Officer called for a vote on voting on the two amendments separately and the procedure was adopted by voice vote.

Following debate on the McCoy-Connolly amendment to Article III on the separation of Association dues from subscription to the *Review*, the previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The McCoy-Connolly Amendment to Article III of the Constitution to separate Association dues from subscription to the *Review* was voted upon. The vote was 46 for and 103 against. The amendment, not receiving the necessary constitutional requirement of forty percent of the vote of those present and voting in order to be placed on the mail ballot to the membership, failed.

Following debate on the McCoy-Connolly amendment to Article VI on the Election of the *Review* Editorial Board and selection of *Review* Managing Editor, the question was called and voted upon affirmatively.

The McCoy-Connolly amendment to Article VI on the Election of the *Review* Editorial Board and selection of *Review* Managing Editor was voted upon. The vote was 60 for and 93 against.

The Presiding Officer noted that one more vote in the affirmative would permit the amendment to reach the necessary constitutional requirement of forty percent of those present and voting for placement on the mail ballot to the membership. The Presiding Officer inquired if a recount was desired. A motion to recount was moved. The Chairman noted that the vote was doubted and

called for a second vote on the amendment. The vote was 61 in favor and 101 opposed. The amendment, not receiving the necessary constitutional requirement of forty percent of the vote of those present and voting in order to be placed on the mail ballot to the membership, failed.

The first session of the 1970 Business Meeting was adjourned at 6:36 p.m.

Second Session

Wednesday, September 9, 1970

Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California

President Karl W. Deutsch, Presiding

The Meeting was called to order by the Presiding Officer at 4:45 P.M.

Constitutional Amendment on Mail Ballot on Resolutions

President Deutsch, for the Council, proposed an amendment to the Constitutional amendment for mail ballot vote on resolutions submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee. The Council amendment was that the vote level for permitting a resolution to go to a mail ballot be one-third of those present and voting rather than 40%.

Mr. Donald Herzberg, on behalf of the Ad Hoc Committee, accepted the amendment proposed by the Council.

The amended text of the amendment to Article VII, Section 1, the first and second sentences read as follows:

The membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting or in a special meeting duly called resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise, or repeal the action of the Council, the Executive Committee or any officer. Whenever one-third (1/3) or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any policy question, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.

Article VIII shall be changed to conform to this amendment, adding the italicized wording as follows:

All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business

Meeting. Notice of this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the Annual Meeting. *Whenever one-third (1/3) or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any resolution, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.*

Following debate of the Herzberg amendment to Article VII and VIII on the mail ballot on resolutions the previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Herzberg amendment on the mail ballot on resolutions was voted upon. The vote was 215 for and 140 against. The amendment, receiving a majority vote, goes to a mail ballot under Constitutional provisions.

Alleged Discrimination in the Annual Meeting Placement Service Job Listings

Mrs. Emily Card rose on a point of personal privilege and stated that several job listings in the Annual Meeting Placement Service specified preference for a male and that such requests were in violation of the 1969 Association resolution precluding discrimination based on sex and in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Presiding Officer, on the advice of the Parliamentarian, ruled that the point of personal privilege was out of order as the subject raised was not personally germane to the individual making the point. A challenge to the Presiding Officer's ruling was made from the floor. The Presiding Officer appointed a subcommittee of Mrs. Josephine Milburn, Mr. Samuel Huntington, and Miss Kay Klotzburger to investigate and correct the alleged discriminatory practices in the Annual Meeting Placement Services and to report back to the Business Meeting on its efforts. Mrs. Card and the mover of the motion to overrule the Presiding Officer agreed to the procedure of appointing a committee and withdrew their points of personal privilege and order.

The Proposed New Association Constitution

The Presiding Officer opened the discussion of the proposed new Association Constitution by drawing attention to the procedures for discussing and voting upon the document as published in the summer 1970 issue of *PS*.

Under the terms of these rules, the proposed new Constitution was to be offered to the Business Meeting with the requirement of tentative adoption or rejection of the draft in total. The purpose of this requirement lay in the belief that the membership, if forty percent of those present and voting at the Business Meeting voted for the draft, would have a total and carefully integrated draft of the new Constitution as prepared by the Constitutional Revision Committee. The rules also called for article by article consideration of the draft and for amendments, following acceptance of the basic document. If amendments were approved by forty percent of those present and voting, they would be submitted to a mail ballot procedure in a two-step voting procedure for acceptance or rejection of amendments prior to voting on a final document.

Mr. Aaron Wildavsky, the Chairman of the Constitutional Revision Committee, was recognized to speak on behalf of the proposed new constitution.

Mr. Charles Fox moved to table the proposed new Constitution. The motion being non-debatable, a vote was taken. The vote was 138 for, 144 against. A motion to recount was made due to the closeness of the vote. On the recount, the vote was 145 for, 155 against.

Following further discussion of the Constitution, Mr. Fox moved to postpone consideration of the proposed new Constitution for one year. After more debate, the previous question was moved and agreed to affirmatively.

The motion to postpone consideration of the proposed new Constitution was voted on and was passed, 180 for, 114 against.

Alleged Discrimination in the Annual Meeting Placement Service Job Listing Revisited

The Presiding Officer recognized Miss Klotzburger for the Committee to investigate and correct alleged discrimination in the Annual Meeting Placement Service job listings. Miss Klotzburger reported for the committee as follows:

"The Committee reviewed every job application list that is currently on file, and decided that it would place these into three different categories. They are as follows:

The first category is those applications that engaged in the misuse of language. In this

category fall applications in which departments are described as 'six-man department' or 'nine-man department.' Also in this category are departments which have job listings which are described as 'he should be qualified,' use of pronouns 'he' or 'him,' use of the masculine pronoun. We found six that were using masculine pronouns.

The second category, misuse of language with ambiguity of intent. We found three offending institutions in the second category, misuse of language with ambiguity of intent. The language here is as follows: 'We are interested in a man,' 'A young man is preferable,' and 'Senior man preferred.'

The third category is expressing a sexual preference. We found two of these, and they read as follows: 'Since Loyola is defacto a co-ed school we are especially interested in interviewing women applicants because of an existing lack of full-time women faculty.' The second reads, 'Special interest in hiring women.' "

On the basis of her report, Miss Klotzburger moved the following:

In the first category the offending words be inked out on the job listing forms.

In the second category the offending words be inked out, and that individual letters be sent by the Executive Director of the APSA asking the institutions to clean up their language.

In the third category, the two forms be removed from the file and that the institutions be censured by this Annual Meeting.

The Committee also moves that henceforth a general letter shall accompany job listing forms suggesting proper language for job descriptions. By that the committee means for pronouns "he" or "him" we would suggest such words as "candidate," "individual," "person," "someone," "applicant," "this position," "appointee."

The Committee also moves, as the Association suggests, that henceforth the word "chairman" be replaced by the term "head of department."

The previous question was called without debate and was voted upon affirmatively. The Klotzburger motion on correcting discrimination in the Annual Meeting Placement Service job listings was passed by voice vote.

Mr. Samuel Krislov moved that a panel be set up at the Annual Meeting to explain the proposed new Constitution. The Presiding Officer ruled that since the Business Meeting had voted to postpone consideration of the Constitution for a year, the motion was out of order. The chair was not challenged in its ruling.

The second session of the Business Meeting was adjourned.

Third Session
Wednesday, September 9, 1970
Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California
President Karl W. Deutsch, Presiding

The Meeting was called to order by the Presiding Officer at 4:30 p.m.

Constitutional Amendment for Cumulative Voting

The Presiding Officer called on Mr. Steven J. Brams to present his amendment to Article V, Section 1, to provide for cumulative voting for Association officers and Council members. The amendment reads as follows:

... members shall be entitled to cast a total number of votes equal to the number of offices in the set, with this total number either to be divided equally among a number of nominees less than or equal to the number of offices, or to be divided in unequal whole number among a number of nominees less than the number of offices, and the nominees ranking highest. . . .

Mr. Thomas Dye was recognized and moved that the Brams amendment be tabled as he felt there had not been adequate time to discuss and evaluate the amendment.

The chair called for a vote on the motion to table the Brams amendment for cumulative voting for Association Officers and Council members. The vote was 153 for and 135 against. The motion to table carried.

Constitutional Amendment on the Purpose of the Association

The chair called on Mr. Austin Ranney to represent Mr. Paul Puryear, who was not in attendance, to present the Puryear amendment to the purpose clause of the Constitution Article II. The amendment reads as follows:

The Association further recognizes that the protection of the basic human rights of all citizens is essential if the rights of its own members to engage freely in teaching and research are to be safeguarded. Consequently, nothing in this Constitution shall preclude the Association from adopting positions on issues affecting the status and rights of Blacks and other oppressed peoples.

Mr. Robert Lane was recognized and moved to amend the Puryear amendment by proposing in the last sentence to delete the phrase "other oppressed peoples," and to substitute "other disadvantaged groups in the United States."

Following debate the previous question was moved and voted upon in the affirmative.

The chair called for a vote on the Lane amendment to the Puryear constitutional amendment and the Lane amendment passed 150 for, 121 against.

Following a request of the chair for the question, the previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The chair called for a vote on the Puryear amendment as amended. The amendment as stated below passed, 187 for, 89 against. Having received a majority vote, the Puryear amendment goes to the mail ballot under Constitutional provisions.

The Puryear amendment to Article II, Section 2, as amended:

The Association further recognizes that the protection of the basic human rights of all citizens is essential if the rights of its own members to engage freely in teaching and research are to be safeguarded. Consequently, nothing in this Constitution shall preclude the Association from adopting positions on issues affecting the status and rights of Blacks and other disadvantaged groups in the United States.

Following the discussion and voting on amendments to the Constitution, the Presiding Officer adjourned the third session of the Business Meeting.

Fourth Session
Friday, September 11, 1970
Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California
President Karl W. Deutsch, Presiding

The Meeting was called to order by the
Presiding Officer at 4:30 p.m.

**Nominations for Association Officers
and Council Members**

The first order of business at the fourth session
of the Business Meeting was the presentation
of nominations for Association officers and
Council members. The following nominations
were presented:

Mr. David Singer, Chairman of the APSA
Nominating Committee offered the following
nominations for the APSA Nominating Committee:

President-Elect, Heinz Eulau; Vice-Presidents,
David Spitz, Edward C. Banfield, John A. Davis;
Treasurer, Donald R. Matthews; Secretary,
Thomas R. Dye; Members of the Council for
two-year terms, Chadwick F. Alger, Philip E.
Converse, David Kettler, Joyce M. Mitchell, James
W. Prothro, William P. Robinson, Sr., Dankwart
A. Rustow, and Gordon Tullock.

Mr. Mark Roelofs offered the following nomi-
nations for the Caucus for a New Political Science:

President-Elect, Hans J. Morgenthau; Vice-
Presidents, David Spitz, Richard A. Falk; Treasurer,
Ben Stavis; Secretary, Edward S. Malecki;
Members of the Council for two-year terms,
William P. Robinson, Sr., Marcus G. Raskin,
Dankwart A. Rustow, David Kettler, Joyce M.
Mitchell, Mulford Q. Sibley, Emily Card and Ralph
Guzman (for Carlos Munoz who declined
nomination).

Mr. Claude Hawley offered the following
nominations for the Ad Hoc Committee:

President-Elect, Heinz Eulau; Vice-Presidents,
Edward C. Banfield, John A. Davis, and Victoria
Schuck; Treasurer, Donald R. Matthews; Secretary,
Thomas R. Dye; Members of the Council for
two-year terms, Chadwick F. Alger, Bernard C.
Cohen, Philip E. Converse, Fred I. Greenstein,
Samuel C. Patterson, James W. Prothro, William
P. Robinson, Sr., and Gordon Tullock.

Miss Kay Klotzburger offered the following
nomination for the Women's Caucus:

Vice President, Victoria Schuck.

Mr. Warren Miller offered the following
nomination for the Committee for Responsible
Political Science:

President-Elect, Heinz Eulau.

Mr. Samuel Krislov offered the following
nomination:

Member of Council for two-year term,
Charles Press.

Mr. Carlos Munoz offered the following
nomination for the Chicano Caucus:

Member of the Council for two-year term,
Ralph Guzman.

Following speeches in support of nominees,
the business of nominations was closed and the
Presiding Officer turned to the business of
resolutions.

The Presiding Officer announced that if there
were no objections, the order of business for
resolutions would be altered from the proposed
agenda by request of various parties to discuss
the resolutions in order as follows: the Chicano
resolutions (of the Council and the Chicano
Caucus); the women's resolutions (of the
Committee on the Status of Women and the
Women's Caucus); the Kettler resolution (on
allocation of panels at Annual Meetings);
and thereafter to resume the agenda as printed.
There was no objection.

Chicano Resolutions

The Presiding Officer called as the first order
of business on resolutions the Council's
resolutions on Chicanos which read as follows:

1. The Association, noting that the Association
has chosen to hold its 66th Annual Meeting in
Los Angeles, mindful of the large Chicano
community in this area and sympathetic to the
political and social aspirations of that community,
expresses its grave concern for the deaths
consequent to the tragic events on August 29,
1970, and calls upon political scientists to pay
more professional attention to the needs
and aspirations of the Chicano community.
2. The Association reaffirms the concern of the
Association toward expanding Chicano partici-

pation in the political science profession, notes that the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession established by the Council in April, 1970, is now engaged in its work, notes that Association committees are ordinarily limited to two years although the life of any committee may be extended beyond that limit, and anticipates the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession to continue its work on the same basis as other important committees of the Association.

Mr. Carlos Munoz, Chairman of the Chicano Caucus was recognized by the chair. Mr. Munoz moved that the Council's Chicano resolutions be amended by merging them with the Chicano Caucus resolutions, agenda items 16, 19, and 20 as follows:

Resolution 16—APSA Urging Department of Justice Investigation of Riot of August 29, 1970

Whereas, the issues of the Chicano barrios are in the final analysis of a political nature.

Whereas, the Mexican people in the United States are an oppressed minority.

Whereas, the East Los Angeles riot was instigated by the Los Angeles county sheriff,

Whereas, two Chicanos met their violent death at the hands of law enforcement personnel,

Whereas, men, women, and children were and continue to be harrassed by the police,

Whereas, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee was not allowed to peacefully protest the Vietnam War under the rights of peaceful assembly granted by the United States Constitution,

Be it resolved that the American Political Science Association publicly deplore the actions of police personnel and the President of the Association will wire the United States Department of Justice to request a complete and independent investigation of the tragic riot of August 29, 1970.

Resolution 19—APSA Support of Chicano Caucus Scholars' Research on Nature and Cause of East Los Angeles Riot

Whereas, past social science research has been conducted and controlled by scholars insensitive

to significant dimensions of the Chicano community, be it resolved that the American Political Science Association will censure further academic imperialism in the Chicano barrios and that it will encourage only those research efforts where Chicano scholars are represented in the design and implementation of same.

Resolution 20—APSA Funding of Research on East Los Angeles Riot

Whereas, the nature and cause of the East Los Angeles Riot should be the subject of political inquiry,

Be it resolved, that the APSA will allocate funds for such research and will authorize the appointment of Chicano scholars to be nominated by the Chicano Caucus to direct the research effort.

Objection to the merging of the Council and Chicano resolutions was made from the floor. Following discussion, the Presiding Officer proposed a vote on merging of the Council's first resolution on Chicanos and the three Chicano resolutions, numbered on the agenda 16, 19, and 20. A request from the floor was made to vote separately on merging resolutions 16, 19, and 20 to the Council Chicano resolution. The chair accepted the request.

Mr. Huntington was recognized on a point of order and stated that the Chicano Caucus resolution 16 was out of order as it was incompatible with the purpose clause in Article I of the Association's Constitution.

The Chair acknowledged Mr. Huntington's point as having merit but stated that the Council in its recommendation on resolution 16 merely recommended rejection of the resolution and did not mention its unconstitutionality. Therefore he felt restrained on ruling the resolution unconstitutional and requested advice from the Parliamentarian. The Parliamentarian advised that the body alone could rule on the constitutionality of the resolution. The chair concluded to put the question of the constitutionality of the resolution to the body and it was in this form that the body was prepared to vote on resolution 16.

The question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Presiding Officer noted prior to the vote

that if the body agreed that resolution 16 was unconstitutional they should vote against it. He further noted that voting for or against resolution 16 did not dispose of its substance but only decided that Council resolution one on Chicanos and resolution 16 proposed by the Chicano Caucus would not be merged. The vote was 86 for, 109 against, and Resolution 16 was not merged with Council resolution one on Chicanos.

The Presiding Officer proposed to take up Council resolution number one on Chicanos. Mr. Munoz was recognized on a point of order and requested votes on merging resolutions 19 and 20 proposed by the Chicano Caucus as the next order of business. The chair urged discussion and voting on Council resolution one and two on Chicanos and then discussion and voting on resolutions proposed by the Chicano Caucus. Mr. Munoz requested that the order of business be adhered to as agreed that separate votes be taken on merging resolutions 19 and 20 proposed by the Chicano Caucus to Council resolutions one on Chicanos. The chair agreed to pursue the order of business as stated by Mr. Munoz.

Motions on Extension of the Duration of Business Meeting and on Mail Ballot on Resolutions.

Mr. David Kettler was recognized on a point of order and, following comments of a parliamentary nature on voting and merging of resolutions and amendments, moved to extend the duration of the business meeting from 6:30 p.m., the announced time of ending, to 8:00 p.m.

The motion, being non-debatable was voted upon, 135 for, 70 against.

Mr. Rustow moved that "any resolution, following the now amended agenda, after the Kettler resolution that will not be covered before we adjourn be mailed to the membership unless the sponsor of such resolution requests a withdrawal, accompanied by a fifty word statement from the sponsor to enable the Association to vote by majority on the resolution." The chair added he presumed Mr. Rustow would also permit opponents of resolutions to make a fifty word statement.

Mr. John Kessel was recognized and moved an amendment to the Rustow motion that all resolutions (on the agenda) be submitted to a

mail ballot of the membership.

Mr. Sanford Levinson was recognized on a point of order and stated that the Kessel motion was a new motion and not treatable as an amendment. The chair consulted with the Parliamentarian and Mr. Austin Ranney, the Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Procedures, and ruled that since the Kessel amendment affected the content of the Rustow motion it was germane.

Mr. Rustow objected to the ruling. Mrs. Card was recognized on a point of order and stated that according to her understanding of parliamentary procedures, the body had already voted to extend the time of the meeting to 8:00 p.m. and that the Kessel motion was, therefore, out of order. Mr. Alex Gottfried was recognized and pleaded with the parliamentarian to reconsider his advice to the presiding officer on the basis of Mrs. Card's comments.

Mr. Ranney noted that this advice to the chair was based upon his belief that the original Kettler motion [to extend the duration of the Business Meeting from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.] had reference to a mail ballot on resolutions which was the subject of Mr. Rustow's resolution and that the Kessel amendment to Rustow's motion was germane and should not be ruled out of order. Mr. Robert Lane was recognized and suggested that since there was barely a quorum present (of one hundred) the most equitable resolution of the situation would be to discuss the pros and cons of the resolutions until the 8:00 p.m. deadline, but agree to submit all the resolutions on the agenda to the mail ballot. Mr. Kessel stated that Mr. Lane's comment clarified the purpose of his amendment.

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Kessel amendment to refer all resolutions on the Business Meeting agenda to a mail ballot was voted on 101 for, 115 against. The Kessel amendment was defeated.

The Presiding Officer called for a vote on the Rustow motion. Mr. Levinson moved an amendment to the Rustow motion that supporters and opponents of resolutions be entitled to 1,000 words not 50 words. Mr. Rustow accepted the amendment and it was incorporated into his motion. Miss Joan Rothchild was recognized and

suggested that the language in the motion should read, "up to 1,000 words." It was accepted. The chair called for a vote on the Rustow motion to submit to mail ballot of the membership any resolutions not taken up during the business meeting. The motion carried by a show of hands vote.

Chicano Resolutions Continued

The chair called for a vote on the merging of resolution 19 proposed by the Chicano Caucus and the Council's resolution one on Chicanos. Mr. Munoz was recognized and stated that in an effort to reach agreement on substantive issues on the agenda he was withdrawing his request for further voting on merging of Chicano Caucus resolutions and Council Chicano resolutions.

Mr. Joseph Nogee of the Association's Council was recognized and moved the adoption of the Council's resolution number one calling upon political scientists to pay more professional attention to the needs and aspirations of the Chicano community. The full resolution reads as follows:

The Association, noting that the Association has chosen to hold its 66th Annual Meeting in Los Angeles, mindful of the large Chicano community in this area and sympathetic to the political and social aspirations of that community, expresses its grave concern for the deaths consequent to the tragic events on August 29, 1970, and calls upon political scientists to pay more professional attention to the needs and aspirations of the Chicano community.

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Council's resolution number one on Chicanos was passed by voice vote.

Mr. Nogee was recognized and moved the adoption of the Council's resolution number two on Chicanos which reaffirms the concern of the Association toward expanding Chicano participation in the political science profession. The full resolution reads as follows:

The Association reaffirms the concern of the Association toward expanding Chicano participation in the political science profession, notes that the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession established by the

Council in April 1970 is now engaged in its work, notes that Association committees are ordinarily limited to two years although the life of any committee may be extended beyond that limit, and anticipates the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession to continue its work on the same basis as other important committees of the Association.

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Council's resolution number two on Chicanos was passed by voice vote.

The Presiding Officer proceeded to call for discussion of resolution 16 proposed by the Chicano Caucus. Mr. Munoz was recognized and stated that the intent of the Chicano Caucus in withdrawing its motions to merge the Council's Chicano resolutions and the Chicano Caucus resolutions was to allow the regular order of the agenda to proceed. He further noted that with the assurance that the Association would act on the Chicano Caucus resolutions through the mail ballot if necessary, he recommended moving on the next topic on the agenda, the resolutions of the Committee on the Status of Women and the Women's Caucus.

Resolutions of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession and the Women's Caucus

Mrs. Josephine Milburn, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, moved the adoption of the resolution of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession on Anti-nepotism rules which had the unanimous recommendation of support by the Council. The resolution is as follows:

The American Political Science Association recommends that institutions employing political scientists should abolish nepotism rules, whether they apply departmentally or college or university-wide. Employment and advancement should be based solely on professional qualifications without regard for family relationships.

Mr. Gunther Lewy was recognized and moved an amendment, "Resolved that no institutions of higher learning maintaining nepotism rules be allowed to avail itself of the placement services of the APSA." The chair noted that while the intent of the amendment to do away with nepotism rules was meritorious, the fact that many

state universities were governed by such rules would place a severe hardship on the Association's efforts to conduct placement services. Mr. Lewy offered the following additional wording on the suggestion of Mr. Rustow: "The Council of the Association and Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession are instructed to devise appropriate means of enforcing this policy."

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Lewy amendment to Committee on Women's resolution as stated below was passed by voice vote.

Resolved that no institution of higher learning maintaining nepotism rules be allowed to avail itself of the placement services of the APSA. The Council of the Association and the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession are instructed to devise appropriate means of enforcing this policy.

From the floor it was moved to delete from the Women's Committee resolution the sentence: "Employment and advancement should be based solely on professional qualifications without regard for family relationships." The motion was not seconded and died.

The Presiding Officer called for a vote on the resolution of the Committee on the Status of Women on Anti-nepotism rules as amended. The resolution passed on a show of hands vote.

Mrs. Milburn was recognized and moved for adoption of resolution of the Committee on the Status of Women on Part-time Employment of Women Political Scientists which had a unanimous recommendation of support by the Council. The resolution is as follows:

The American Political Science Association recommends that institutions employing political scientists should make more flexible use of part-time positions for fully qualified professional women and men, just as is now done for those professionals with joint appointments or part-time research positions. These positions should carry full academic status, equivalent rank and promotion opportunities, equal rates of pay, commensurate departmental participation, and commensurate fringe benefits, including access to research resources. This recommenda-

tion is not intended to condone any practice such as moon-lighting or any use by employers to circumvent normal career ladder appointments.

The previous questions were moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The Presiding Officer called for a vote on the resolution of the Committee on the Status of Women on part-time employment of women political scientists. The resolution passed on a show of hands vote.

The President Officer called for discussion of the resolutions of the Women's Caucus which read as follows:

A. Be it resolved that the APSA urges colleges and universities and other institutions employing political scientists

1. to give priority to hiring qualified women political scientists until the ratio of women to men faculty equal that of women to men graduate students;

2. to make more flexible use of part-time appointments for fully qualified professional women and men, facilitating easy transitions between full and part-time positions;

3. to abolish anti-nepotism rules, whether they apply departmentally or college or university-wide, basing employment and advancement solely on professional qualifications without regard for family relationships;

4. to review the academic advancement (rank and tenure) and salary (and benefits) of women faculty members in accordance with the AAUP Academic Freedom and Tenure Statement and Equal Pay laws;

5. to make available part-time programs of study with scholarship aid;

6. to eliminate dual standards of admission to graduate schools, including quotas on the number of women students admitted;

7. to support research and study of feminist topics and to reform the curriculum of current courses to eliminate attitudes, imagery and myths supporting the subordinate status of women in our society;

8. to establish and fund professionalized child-care facilities for the use of all employees, faculty, and students;
9. to provide parenthood and family sick leave for all employees, faculty, and students, regardless of sex.

B. Be it also resolved that the APSA

1. continue to support research on the status of women in the profession by the Committee on the Status of Women;
2. seek funds from outside sources to establish a Women's Graduate Student Fellowship Program;
3. participate only in fellowships, scholarships, and research grant programs that do not discriminate on the basis of sex;
4. provide legal counsel for those members who wish to file charges of discrimination on the basis of sex with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375;
5. remove marital designations for women from its Placement Service application forms, as similar designations do not apply to men, substituting for the prefixed title "Mrs." for a married female and "Miss" for an unmarried female, the one designation for female, "Ms."

Mrs. Milburn was recognized and moved that the assembly accept the recommendation of the Council and refer all fourteen resolutions to the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession.

Miss Bernice Carroll was recognized and moved to amend the Milburn motion to delete the word "all" from the motion and add the words "with the exception of #7 and #8 in the first group of resolutions and #2 and #4 in the second group."

The chair called for a vote on the Carroll amendment to the Milburn motion and it was passed by a show of hand vote.

The chair called for a vote on the Milburn motion as amended and it was passed by a show of hand vote.

Miss Carroll was recognized and moved that the four resolutions of the Women's Caucus

exempted from referral to the Committee on the Status of Women be voted on in a block and that the following changes in language in the four resolutions be accepted as follows:

Resolution 7, "to support research and study on the role and status of women in society" instead of "of feminist topics."

Resolution 8, delete at the end of the resolution the semicolon and add "at its annual meeting." Also move resolution 8 from Section A of the resolutions to Section B of the resolutions because the first Section A where it is positioned refers to colleges and universities and not to the APSA.

The Presiding Officer announced that the last part of the change of resolution 8 went beyond changes in language and was out of order. Miss Carroll stated that she was amending the wording of the resolutions under discussion and that as a result of the change in language it was necessary to move resolution 8 from Section A of the resolutions and place it in Section B of the resolutions since the subject now related not to colleges and universities but to the Association.

The Presiding Officer noted that the substance of the women's resolutions were difficult to resolve and suggested that the resolutions under discussion be referred to the Committee on the Status of Women. Mr. Kessell was recognized and moved that the remaining resolutions of the Women's Caucus be referred to the Committee on the Status of Women. An objection was raised from the floor that Miss Carroll still had the floor. The chair stated that action on Kessell's motion would be postponed while Miss Carroll explained her position. Miss Carroll stated that on instruction from the Women's Caucus she was moving to refer resolution 8 to the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession. The motion was passed.

Miss Carroll was recognized and moved that resolution seven of Section A with the amended language as stated above and resolutions two and four of Section B be adopted and they be voted upon in a block.

An objection was raised from the floor on voting for the three resolutions in a block and the chair ruled that they would be voted upon separately.

Association News

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

Resolution seven as amended of Section A, proposed by the Women's Caucus, was passed by a show of hands vote.

The chair called for a vote on Resolution two of Section B proposed by the Women's Caucus.

The previous question was moved and voted for affirmatively. Resolution two of Section B, proposed by the Women's Caucus was voted upon and passed by a show of hands vote.

The chair called for a vote on Resolution four of Section B proposed by the Women's Caucus. Mr. Kessel inquired if Miss Carroll would accept the change of wording in the resolution to read, "to seek funds to provide legal counsel . . . the actual manner and amount of the outlay to be set by the Council." Miss Carroll accepted the change in wording.

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

Resolution four of Section B, proposed by the Women's Caucus, as stated below was voted on and passed.

Resolution Four, Section B

"to seek funds to provide legal counsel for those members who wish to file charges of discrimination on the basis of sex with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, the actual manner and amount of the outlay to be set by the Council."

Resolution on Academic Freedom

The chair announced it would recognize Mr. Philip Jacob, the chairman of the Committee on Academic Freedom, on a matter of urgency.

Mr. Jacob reported that an important issue of academic freedom was on the agenda and requested to have the matter taken up as the next order of business. By unanimous consent, Mr. Jacob was permitted to bring up the resolution on academic freedom as the next order of business.

Mr. Kessel moved to adopt the recommendation of the Council to refer without prejudice the resolution on academic freedom at the

University of Illinois as proposed by Belden Fields and others to the Committee on Academic Freedom. Mr. Herbert McClosky moved a substitute motion to not only refer the Illinois resolution on academic freedom to the Committee on Academic Freedom without prejudice but also to provide for the Committee to receive further cases as well.

The previous question was moved and voted upon affirmatively.

The chair called for a vote on the McClosky motion. It was passed, 106 for, 25 against.

The Presiding Officer called the 1970 Annual Business Meeting to a close at 8:00 p.m., noting that the remaining resolutions on the agenda would be submitted to the membership by mail ballot.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

APSA Council Minutes

The fifth Council meeting of the year was held at the Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California, September 7 and 8, 1970.

Present:

Gordon E. Baker, Karl W. Deutsch, Thomas R. Dye, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Grant McConnell, Richard L. Merritt, Josephine F. Milburn, Joseph L. Nogee, A. F. K. Organski, Jewel L. Prestage, Austin Ranney, William H. Riker, Francis E. Rourke, Robert H. Salisbury, Allan P. Sindler, Frank J. Sorauf, Herbert J. Spiro, Ellis Waldron, Robert E. Ward, Frederick M. Wirt.

Presiding:

Karl W. Deutsch, President

Approval of the Minutes of the Council

Prestage asked the Council to consider taping Council minutes or having an official stenographer making verbatim records of the Council meetings. Ranney reported that at a Council meeting last year the Council had voted against using a tape recorder because Council members felt that it would hamper their discussions. Kariel said that minutes should convey more of the "flavor and specific quality" of the Council's discussions. Prestage moved to tape Council meetings.

Vote on the Prestage motion was:

For

Deutsch, Kessel, Lane, Milburn, Prestage, Waldron

Against

Baker, Dye, Huntington, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, McConnell, Merritt, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Salisbury, Sindler, Sorauf, Spiro, Ward, Wirt

Vote

6 for, 17 against, motion defeated.

Huntington moved that the Secretary be authorized to have a tape recorder at the Council meetings, to be used if he believes it would be of help in preparing minutes of the meetings; and included in his motion an expression of confidence in the Secretary.

Vote was:

For

Deutsch, Huntington, Kessel, Lane, Milburn, Ranney, Salisbury, Waldron

Against

Baker, Dye, McClosky, McConnell, Merritt, Nogee, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Spiro, Ward, Wirt

Kariel, Kirkpatrick and Prestage abstained from voting.

Vote

8 for, 12 against, motion defeated.

Nogee moved that the minutes of the previous meeting be accepted subject to minor modifications made between the Secretary and any particular member of the Council. Merritt moved an expression of confidence in the Secretary. Unanimously approved.

Black Representation on Association Committees

Deutsch reported on a letter he had received from Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, requesting black representation on the Committee on Procedures and Agenda. Ranney explained that the Committee on Procedures and Agenda was actually "out of business" as of this Council meeting, and asked if this was meant for future years. Puryear agreed that this request was for future years and stated that the Committee on the Status of Blacks also felt that there should be black representation on all other committees.

Budget, 1971—Committee on the Status of Blacks

Lane reported to the Council for the Budget Committee (the Budget Committee report, including the proposed Association budget, are attached to the record copy of these minutes).

Kessel moved that the Council thank the Budget Committee for their work and accept the proposed budget.

Prestage, on behalf of the Committee on the Status of Blacks, expressed unreadiness to accept the budget in this form, and asked that the Council recognize Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks, to speak on this subject.

Puryear reported that the Committee on the Status of Blacks is opposed to cuts made in its

proposed budget by the Budget Committee. He argued that the work of his Committee has a greater priority than the desire to balance the budget. He felt that the Association maintains substantial reserve funds and a substantial endowment which would enable it to reinstate the original request. He also pointed out that the figure originally budgeted for the Council itself had not been reduced.

Prestage then read the following statement from the Committee on the Status of Blacks:

"The Committee on the Status of Blacks recommends the appointment of Shelby Smith and Lenore Cartwright to fill the two vacancies currently existing on the Committee. We recommend these two persons first of all because they possess the knowledge and skills we believe to be essential to the concerns of this committee and the Association; and secondly because they are women. In our view, it is absolutely essential that the inequitable level of female representation on all Association committees be corrected.

"We make the foregoing recommendations with full knowledge of the fact that it is now official policy of the Association to reduce the size of this and other committees by not filling vacancies as they develop. This policy, which may appropriately be called "management by attrition," strikes us as being not only administratively unwise but discriminatory as well. Our committee divided its many tasks among small sub-committees; failure to fill existing vacancies will severely hamper efforts of these subcommittees to complete on-going projects. Moreover, the myriad problems occasioned by years of racist neglect, benign and otherwise, necessitate a committee at least as large as that originally authorized by the President.

"We also want to take exception to the recently announced policy of limiting service on committees to two years. Under this policy, the terms of office of our entire committee would expire simultaneously. This, of course, would destroy continuity and wreck havoc with on-going projects which are designed to deal with deep and intractable problems facing Blacks in the discipline. Unless it is the intention of the Association to renounce its earlier decision to try to eliminate racism within its midst this policy is patently unwise. "Further, since there are other bodies of the

Association which have been headed by the same individuals and groups (Howard Penniman and the Public Affairs Awards Seminar, for example) for sustained periods of time, invoking the two year principle strikes us as being a thinly veiled effort to halt the work of this committee.

"We urge in the strongest terms possible the appointment of persons suggested above and rescinding the policy of limiting committee members to two year terms. Any other course of action would leave us with no choice but to assume that the APSA intends to remain a racist organization supporting racist values and goals."

Kessel moved to thank the Budget Committee and have a vote on the recommended figures as they stand. Prestage amended Kessel's motion to change the item in the Committee's budget on the Status of Blacks from \$26,775 to \$33,575. Ward noted that the budget allocated for the Committee on the Status of Blacks was equal to the combined budgets of 12 other committees. Prestage stated that the problems faced by the Black Committee were greater than those of other committees. Ranney commented that over the last couple years money has been spent "freely, even gayly" on a variety of activities, some of which were of very marginal relevance. He agreed that, in terms of quality of work and the necessity to redress long-standing injustices, the Committee on the Status of Blacks was one of the most deserving, but that the time has come to start introducing some fiscal responsibility. He noted that the largest single expenditure for committee meetings is for the Council and asked Lane, as chairman of the Budget Committee, what the figure for Council meetings represents. Lane pointed out that the estimated figures for the Council were the actual figures for the last fiscal year. He said that the price for a reduced allocation to the Council would be further postponement of items in the Council's already crowded agenda. McConnell expressed his concern about the principle of a balanced budget versus fair treatment of blacks. He felt the Council should find some other place to cut the money, and should restore it to the blacks in order to avoid conflict over this issue. Salisbury also supported the restoration of the Committee's original budget request.

Vote on the Prestage amendment to restore the money cut from the Committee on the Status of Blacks was:

For

Deutsch, Dye, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Ranney, Salisbury, Spiro

Against

Baker, Huntington, Kessel, Lane, McClosky, Nogee, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Waldron, Ward, Wirt

Vote

11 for, 12 against, motion defeated.

McConnell moved to make the budget for the Committee on the Status of Blacks \$30,000 and thus "split the difference" between the Budget Committee recommendation and the request of the Committee on the Status of Blacks.

Vote on the McConnell motion was:

For

Deutsch, Dye, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Ranney, Salisbury

Against

Baker, Huntington, Kessel, Lane, McClosky, Nogee, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Waldron, Ward, Wirt

Prestage and Spiro abstained from voting.

Vote

9 for, 12 against, motion defeated.

Budget, 1971—Committee on the Status of Women

Milburn urged the Council to authorize the use of Association funds to support the work of the Women's Caucus as requested by the Association's Committee on the Status of Women.

Lane expressed the view that groups which support themselves by dues and function in part to pressure the Association should not be supported by Association funds. He urged a general policy that groups not authorized by the Council should finance themselves. Milburn stated that the Committee on the Status of Women believed that the Women's Caucus had actually been authorized Association funds through resolutions passed at the Business Meeting last year, that the Women's Caucus is an organization within the Association which is authorized by an action of the Business Meeting. Joyce Mitchell and Kay Klotzburger also took the floor to defend the Women's Caucus; they contended that this group provided important professional services which merited support by the Association.

Milburn moved for recognition of the Women's Caucus as a group operating within the Association in accord with the resolution passed

at the last Annual Meeting and that the Women's Caucus be allocated \$1,000 in the budget of the Committee on the Status of Women.

Vote on the Milburn motion was:

For

Kariel, Milburn, Prestage

Against

Baker, Deutsch, Dye, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, McConnell, Merritt, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Spiro, Waldron, Ward, Wirt

Salisbury abstained from voting.

Vote

3 for, 19 against, motion defeated.

Milburn moved that the budget for the Committee on the Status of Women be increased by \$1,000 to support the Committee's activities during the coming year.

Vote on this motion was:

For

Deutsch, Kariel, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Wirt

Against

Baker, Dye, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Spiro, Waldron, Ward

Salisbury abstained from voting.

Vote

7 for, 15 against, motion defeated.

Budget, 1971—Committee on Academic Freedom

Philip Jacob reported to the Council for the Committee on Academic Freedom. He stated that the Committee has a mandate from the Annual Meeting last year to conduct a study of problems relating to violation of academic freedom. It is quite clear that the budget item of \$4,000 is not intended to cover the accomplishment of that mandate and the solution is to try to seek outside funding to conduct the study. He asked whether the Budget Committee's recommendation barred the Committee on Academic Freedom from coming back to the Council if they were unsuccessful in getting outside funds. Huntington said that no additional funds above the \$4,000 should be used without approval of additional funding by the Council, but that a future request for funds was not precluded.

Budget, 1971—Abstracts of Papers from Annual Meeting

Merritt questioned the Budget Committee's

cutting abstracts of papers presented at the Annual Meeting from the budget and expressed his disappointment that the decision was made without notification to him. Walter Beach pointed out that the Washington office had prepared copies of abstracts for sale at the Annual Meeting for 50¢. Merritt replied that the abstracts envisioned earlier were to be a complete set and published in bound copies after the Annual Meeting. He felt that the Council's previous authorization for these abstracts required the Budget Committee to include some budgetary allocation. He stated that the Budget Committee had "acted improperly in reversing the decision of the Council."

The next day Merritt formally requested the Council to reverse the decision of the Budget Committee and to proceed with the publication of the abstracts as approved in June.

Kessel stated that he did not see the Budget Committee as acting improperly. He believed the Committee acted within its mandate to balance the budget. Huntington said that the Budget Committee was given the job of determining how, if at all, consistent with language of the June resolution "that action on this decision [to publish a book of abstracts] be subject to determination of the Budget Committee pending its review of the economic resources of the Association," the abstracts should be reproduced and distributed. Its decision was to go ahead and provide for issuance of the abstracts in a xeroxed compilation form for sale at 50¢ and to cut \$5,000 from the Program Committee budget with the understanding that there would not be a book of abstracts printed after the meeting.

Spiro moved to restore whatever is necessary, up to \$5,000, to print a book of abstracts with an index. Sindler amended this motion to provide that the abstracts would be offered for sale at the lowest possible price consistent with cost.

Vote on the Sindler amendment to the Spiro motion was:

For

Baker, Deutsch, Huntington, Kessel, McConnell, Milburn, Rourke, Sindler, Ward, Wirt

Against

Merritt, Prestage, Sorauf, Spiro
Dye, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, Nogee, Ranney, Salisbury, Waldron, abstained from voting

Vote

10 for, 4 against, amendment carried.

Vote on the Spiro motion, as amended, was:

For

Deutsch, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Merritt, Milburn, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Spiro, Waldron, Wirt

Against

Dye, Salisbury, Ward
Baker, Lane, McConnell and Prestage abstained from voting.

Vote

15 for, 3 against, motion carried.

Budget, 1971—Funds for PS

Milburn questioned the proposed appropriations for *PS*. McClosky felt that the Council should make an inquiry into the nature of *PS* and its cost and make recommendations concerning future allocations for *PS*. Milburn moved that a review of expenditures be made by the Chairman of the Editorial Board of *PS* and that the Chairman report back to the Council. Sorauf amended the motion to provide for the Chairman of the Editorial Board to submit a detailed budget. The Council unanimously approved the Milburn motion, as amended by Sorauf.

Budget, 1971—Contingency Fund

Huntington moved that \$5,000 be transferred from the budgeted item for the Council to the contingency fund. Unanimously approved.

Budget, 1971—Final Approval

The question was called on the Kessel motion to accept the budget. All except Prestage voted affirmatively.

Location of Committee and Council Meetings

Dye moved that all Association committee and Council meetings, if held elsewhere than at the Association's office in Washington, where facilities, records and staff exist be held at reasonable, convenient locations which would minimize the travel expenses of the members. Sorauf amended the motion to provide that guidelines be established for expenditures of the Association committees.

Donald Barry spoke to the Council regarding a letter he had written expressing concern over expenditures of the Association. He stated that signatures for his letter were easy to collect; that there is considerable dissatisfaction and lack of confidence in the leadership of the Association, and stated that the leadership should show the membership that it is responsive to membership desires. Particular attention was focused on

the meeting of the Constitutional Revision Committee in Puerto Rico.

The Council unanimously approved the Dye motion, as amended by Sorauf.

Constitutional Amendments—APSR

The Connolly amendment on separation of dues and subscription to *APSR* and on election of the *APSR* Editorial Board and selection of the Managing Editor (see page 427, Summer *PS*) was then discussed. Ranney spoke on the second portion of this amendment which would provide that the Editorial Board be elected by vote of the membership and that the Editorial Board select the Managing Editor. The Connolly Amendment raised the question of whether the *APSR* should be a professional journal representing the best scholarship in the profession, or whether it should be a “political plum to be won by factions in elections.”

Kessel moved that the Council recommend defeat of the Connolly Amendment.

Vote on the Kessel motion was:

For

Baker, Deutsch, Dye, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Salisbury, Sindler, Sorauf, Waldron, Ward, Wirt.

Against

Kariel, Prestage, Spiro.

Vote

20 for, 3 against, motion carried.

Constitutional Amendment—Mail Ballot on Resolutions

The Council next discussed the Constitutional Amendment proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee to have a mail ballot vote on resolutions presented to the Business Meeting (see page 426, Summer *PS*). Ranney moved that the Council recommend approval of this amendment. Sindler moved that the figure 40% of those present and voting be changed to one-third of those present and voting.

Vote on the Sindler amendment was:

For

Baker, Dye, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, McConnell, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Ward, Wirt.

Against

Dye, Kariel, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Salisbury, Spiro, Waldron.

Vote

14 for, 8 against, motion carried.

Vote for approval of the Ad Hoc Committee amendment, as amended, was:

For

Baker, Dye, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, McConnell, Milburn, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Salisbury, Sindler, Sorauf, Waldron, Ward, Wirt.

Against

Kariel, Prestage, Spiro.

Vote

18 for, 3 against, motion carried.

Deutsch, who was absent from the room at the time of the vote, requested to be recorded as supporting the amendment.

Proposed New Constitution—General Approval

The next item discussed by the Council was the proposed new constitution. McClosky moved to transmit the Constitutional Revision Committee draft constitution to the Annual Business Meeting without prejudice.

Vote on the McClosky motion was:

For

Baker, Dye, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, McConnell, Nogee, Rourke, Salisbury, Ward.

Against

Deutsch, Huntington, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Ranney, Sindler, Sorauf, Spiro, Waldron, Wirt.

Vote

11 for, 11 against, motion defeated.

Sindler moved that the Council transmit the proposed constitution to the Annual Business Meeting with the recommendation that its substance be adopted subject to specific modifications proposed by the Council.

Vote on the Sindler motion was:

For

Deutsch, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Merritt, Milburn, Nogee, Ranney, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf, Spiro, Waldron, Wirt.

Against

Dye, Salisbury, Ward.

Baker, Lane, McConnell and Prestage abstained from voting.

Vote

15 for, 3 against, motion passed.

Spiro moved that in Section V5d of the proposed constitution, the following words be added “and of Association representatives to other organizations.” Motion failed for lack of a second.

Amending Proposed Constitution—Cumulative Voting

McClosky moved that the Council recommend defeat of the Brams Amendment to provide for cumulative voting (see page 433, Summer *PS*). All Council members present, except Prestage, voted for the McClosky motion.

Amending Proposed Constitution—Purposes of Association

Prestage moved that the Puryear Amendment on the purposes of the Association (see page 433, Summer *PS*) be submitted to the Annual Business Meeting without prejudice.

Huntington submitted a substitute motion that the Council recommend that the Business Meeting defeat the Puryear Amendment. All Council members present, except Prestage, voted for the Huntington motion.

Resolution on Environmental Studies

Prestage moved that the Hennings resolution on environmental studies (see page 419, Summer *PS*) be submitted to the Annual Business Meeting without prejudice.

Lane moved that the Council recommend this resolution be referred to the Council by the Annual Business Meeting in order to consider all recommendations for policy studies together. The Lane motion was unanimously approved.

Resolution to Abolish Congressional Fellowship Program

Sorauf moved that the Council recommend to the Annual Business Meeting defeat of the Levinson resolution to abolish the Congressional Fellowship Program (see page 420, Summer *PS*). Motion unanimously approved.

Resolution to Endorse Suspension of Classes for Political Campaigning

Dye moved that the Council recommend defeat of the Rustow resolution to endorse suspension of classes to facilitate student participation in election campaigns. Unanimously approved.

Resolutions Submitted by the Committee on the Status of Women

Milburn moved that the Council recommend approval of the resolution of the Committee on the Status of Women on anti-nepotism (see page 355, Summer *PS*). Unanimously approved.

Milburn moved that the Council recommend approval of the resolution of the Committee on the Status of Women on part-time employment (see page 356, Summer *PS*). Unanimously approved. Sorauf moved that the Council recommend that the Business Meeting refer all resolutions submitted by the Women's Caucus (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes) to the Committee on the Status of Women. Unanimously approved.

Association Special Representative on Academic Freedom

Huntington moved that the Council authorize the appointment of an Association special representative on Academic Freedom and that the Committee on Academic Freedom be authorized to seek outside funds for their projects. Unanimously approved.

Sindler moved that, in the event outside funding cannot be secured for the appointment of an Association special representative on Academic Freedom, the Council agree to fund such a position from February 1, 1971 through September of 1972; the special representative to be selected by the Executive Director in consultation with the Committee on Academic Freedom. Unanimously approved.

Ranney moved authorization of a study on academic freedom as recommended by the Committee, if funded from sources outside the Association. Unanimously approved.

President Deutsch Announces Committee Appointments

President Deutsch announced that he had appointed nine new committee members to various committees of the Association. All of these new appointees had been recommended to the President by the Committee on the Status of Blacks. President Deutsch observed that these new appointments meant that every committee of the Association had a black member.

Resolution on Academic Freedom Submitted by Certain Faculty Members of the University of Illinois

Lane moved to recommend that the Annual Business Meeting refer the resolution on academic freedom submitted by certain faculty members of the University of Illinois (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes) to the Committee on Academic Freedom. McClosky

amended the Lane motion to add that the Committee on Academic Freedom consider the issue and report back to the Council. Lane motion, as amended, unanimously approved.

Resolution on Research on the Disadvantaged

Nogee moved that the Council recommend adoption of the resolution submitted by the Committee on Professional Ethics that the APSA urge all members who undertake research involving contact with the disadvantaged at home or abroad to make every effort compatible with the standards of scholarship to bring benefit to them, and to avoid all contrary practices. Unanimously approved.

Resolutions Submitted by the Western Caucus

Sindler moved that the Council recommend defeat of resolutions numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4 submitted by the Western Caucus (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes) and that the Western Caucus resolutions numbered 5 and 6 be ruled unconstitutional. Unanimously approved.

Resolutions Submitted by Chicano Caucus

Nogee moved that the Council recommend defeat of the resolutions numbered 1, 2, 3 and 6 of the Chicano Caucus (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes), and substitute the following resolutions for the Chicano Caucus resolutions numbers 4 and 5:

The Association, noting that the Association has chosen to hold its 66th Annual Meeting in Los Angeles, mindful of the large Chicano community in this area and sympathetic to the political and social aspirations of that community, expresses its grave concern for the deaths consequent to the tragic events on August 29, 1970 and calls upon political scientists to pay more professional attention to the needs and aspirations of the Chicano community.

The Association reaffirms the concern of the Association toward expanding Chicano participation in the political science profession, notes that the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession established by the Council in April, 1970 is now engaged in its work, notes that Association committees are ordinarily limited to two years although the life of any committee may be extended beyond that limit, and anticipates the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession to continue its work on the same basis as other important committees of the Association.

Open Listing of Job Vacancies

Sorauf reported to the Council for the Committee on Program Planning and Review regarding the establishment of a manpower and placement committee. He moved adoption of the report of the Committee (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes), with the exception that the portion dealing with a levy on graduate departments will be held in abeyance until the next Council meeting. Dye congratulated the Committee on its report and observed that the open listing of all job vacancies would be a very important step in combatting elitist tendencies in the profession. He expressed the hope that the prestige departments represented on the Council would implement the Committee's recommendations by listing their job vacancies with the Association's Personnel Service.

The motion was unanimously approved.

Sorauf moved that vacancies at the associate and full professor levels, which departments expect to fill from among people known to them, should not be listed in the Personnel Service, but that all other levels should be listed. All members of the Council present, except Dye, voted for this motion.

Response to Public Statement by Black Political Scientists

Ranney moved that the President, with the help of any persons he chooses, prepare a reply to the statement of the Committee on the Status of Blacks, listing what the Council and the Association have done to improve the status of blacks in the Association; that this reply be duplicated and circulated not only to the Black Caucus but to members of the profession and to the press. Unanimously approved.

Black Scholars Proposal

Lane moved that the Council, without committing itself on the details of the proposal and with the requirement that prior to final commitment, the Council review and ratify the substance of the Black Scholars proposal, authorize the President and the Executive Director to open negotiations with foundations. Unanimously approved.

Creation of a Committee on Professional Equality

Lane moved that a Committee on Professional Equality be created as outlined in the report of the Committee on Program Planning and Review (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of

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these minutes). Ranney moved to defer action on this proposal, without prejudice, until the next meeting. Ranney motion was unanimously approved.

Gladys M. Kammerer Policy Studies Award

Sindler moved that the Council accept the offer of the Kammerer family for an award on policy studies, with Lane to negotiate with the family on what the money should be used for. Lane amended the Sindler motion to add that the Association would very much like to have some permanent memorial to Gladys Kammerer's name and her achievements. Motion, as amended unanimously approved.

Ad Hoc Committee on Site Selection for 1972 Annual Meeting

Sorauf moved that an ad hoc committee be appointed to select the site and dates of the 1972 Annual Meeting, with the understanding that it do so in the light of general policy of the Council to attempt to have meetings in all parts of the country.

Waldron expressed the view that selection of the annual convention site is a matter of substantial interest to the entire membership, and that this decision should not be delegated to a committee.

Vote on the Sorauf motion was:

For

Baker, Deutsch, Kessel, Lane, McConnell, Noguee, Ranney, Sindler, Sorauf, Ward.

Against

Dye, Merritt, Spiro.

Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Milburn, Organski, Rourke, Waldron abstained from voting.

Vote

10 for, 3 against, motion carried.

Referendum on Dues

Ranney moved that the Council conduct a referendum on dues with the balloting on the proposed constitutional amendment to remove mention of dues from the constitution, so that, if the amendment is approved, the dues can go into effect. All Council members present, except Spiro, voted for approval of the motion.

The Council agreed to hold their next meeting on December 4 and 5 in Washington, D.C.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:45 p.m.,

Tuesday, September 8.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

Administrations Censured by the AAUP

The censured administrations with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated in the *AAUP Bulletin* citation.

Lowell Technological Institute	Winter 1959, pp. 550-567 April 1960
Alabama State University	Winter 1961, pp. 303-309 April 1962
South Dakota State University Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Autumn 1961, pp. 247-255 April 1962
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Autumn 1962, pp. 248-252 April 1963
Grove City College	Spring 1963, pp. 15-24 April 1963
College of the Ozarks Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Winter 1963, pp. 352-359 April 1964
Wayne State College (Nebraska) Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Education of State Normal Schools of the State of Nebraska, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Winter 1964, pp. 347-354 April 1965
St. John's University (N.Y.)	Spring 1966, pp. 12-19 April 1966
Amarillo College	Autumn 1967, pp. 292-302 April 1968
Texas A & M University	Winter 1967, pp. 378-384 April 1968
Cheyney State College	Winter 1967, pp. 391-399 April 1968
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Spring 1968, pp. 14-24 April 1968
Wisconsin State University--Whitewater	Spring 1968, pp. 25-36 April 1968
Troy State University (Alabama)	Autumn 1968, pp. 298-305 May 1969
Northern State College (South Dakota) Northern State College, like South Dakota State University, is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota.	Autumn 1968, pp. 306-313 May 1969
Frank Phillips College (Texas)	Winter 1968, pp. 433-438 May 1969
Dutchess Community College (N.Y.)	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49 May 1969
Central State College (Oklahoma)	Spring 1969, pp. 66-70 May 1969
Broward Junior College (Florida)	Spring 1969, pp. 71-78 May 1969
Detroit Institute of Technology	Spring 1969, pp. 79-85 May 1969
Southeastern Louisiana College	Autumn 1969, pp. 369-373 April 1970
Indiana Institute of Technology	Winter 1969, pp. 463-468 April 1970
Indiana State University	Spring 1970, pp. 52-61 April 1970
Oklahoma State University	Spring 1970, pp. 62-72 April 1970
The University of Mississippi	Spring 1970, pp. 75-86 April 1970

Reports of APSA Committees

Report of the Committee on Professional Ethics

The Committee on Professional Ethics wishes to bring the following information on the question of simultaneous submission of book-length manuscripts to two or more potential publishers to the attention of the membership. The Committee decided not to issue an advisory opinion as in its view a question of ethics was not involved.

The spokesman for the Association of American Publishers takes the view that the practice of simultaneous submission of book-length manuscripts to two or more potential publishers should not be described as unethical. However, he says that commercial publishers frown at it because it sometimes leads to simultaneous acceptances and subsequent difficulties; and he says that commercial publishers seek to expedite their consideration of manuscripts so as to reduce the incentive to make multiple submissions. He urges that as a matter of courtesy authors making multiple submissions should inform the publishers involved.

The spokesman for the Association of American University Presses takes a different view. His stress is on the fact that manuscripts submitted to university presses are, as a rule, candidates for a subsidy, and that directors of university presses are trustees of subsidizing funds. He thinks that university presses should not be put into the position of competing for the privilege of subsidizing, or of unnecessarily multiplying the costs of considering a manuscript. He thinks that submission to a university press should imply that no simultaneous submission is occurring, in the absence of information to the contrary. He holds that an author who submits a manuscript to two or more presses at the same time without informing those involved creates needless and substantial costs which must be paid from publishing funds, and also imposes on the academic readers to whom scholarly publishers almost always turn for advice. In this field of publishing, multiple submissions are less likely to expedite consideration of manuscripts than to compound the problems of publishing for all concerned.

The Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

The Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession wishes to draw to the attention of the membership three resolutions which were passed at the 1970 Annual Business Meeting. These resolutions which are also reported in the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting on pages 63-66 of this issue are:

The American Political Science Association recommends that institutions employing political scientists should abolish nepotism rules, whether they apply departmentally or college or university-wide. Employment and advancement should be based solely on professional qualifications without regard for family relationships. No institution of higher learning maintaining nepotism rules [will] be allowed to avail itself of the placement services of the APSA. The Council of the Association and the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession are instructed to devise appropriate means of enforcing this policy.

The American Political Science Association recommends that institutions employing political scientists should make more flexible use of part-time positions for fully qualified professional women and men, just as is now done for those professionals with joint appointments or part-time research positions. These positions should carry full academic status, equivalent rank and promotion opportunities, equal rates of pay, commensurate departmental participation, and commensurate fringe benefits, including access to research resources. This recommendation is not intended to condone any practice such as moon-lighting or any use by employers to circumvent normal career ladder appointments.

The Association will seek funds to provide legal counsel for those members who wish to file charges of discrimination on the basis of sex with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, the actual manner and amount of the outlay to be set by the Council.

The Committee requests Association members to assist departments in colleges and universities to implement the intent of the resolutions on anti-nepotism and part-time professional employment. In order for the Association to seek funds to provide legal counsel to implement the third resolution it must have information on alleged cases of discrimination and some indication of the number of cases that it would be asked to process within a year. Therefore, the Committee on

the Status of Women will welcome information from Association members on cases involving political scientists. Information should be sent to Josephine F. Milburn, Chairman, Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

Professional Notes

Analytical Democratic Theory Training Seminar

In conjunction with the Inter-university Consortium of Political Research, the Mathematical Social Sciences Board will sponsor a 6-8 week research and training seminar at Ann Arbor in the summer of 1971 on Analytical Democratic Theory under the direction of Carnegie-Mellon University.

The Seminar will focus on the decision-theoretic approach to modeling collective political choice. Topics will include utility theory, rationality postulates, decision-theory, the paradox of voting, aspects of game theory and political economy, and spatial models of electoral competition.

Seminar applicants should have had college level courses in algebra and calculus as well as a facility with introductory mathematical statistics. Any advanced graduate student or faculty member may apply whether or not his university is currently a Consortium member. Some financial support from the Consortium and the National Science Foundation will be available for a limited number of participants. Information on previous relevant coursework and research interests should be included in applications, as well as the name of a qualified faculty reference.

Those interested should write before March 1 to: Professor Peter Ordeshook, c/o ICPR, P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Howard University Department of Political Science

The Department of Government of Howard University has been renamed the Department of Political Science as of this fall. Charles W. Harris is the Acting Chairman of the Department.

New Foreign Policy Journal

Foreign Policy, a quarterly journal designed to exploring new dimensions of the United States role in world affairs has published its first issue. Editors for *Foreign Policy* are, Samuel P. Huntington, and Warren Demian Manshel. The Managing Editor is John F. Campbell and members of the Editorial Board are: W. Michael Blumenthal, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard N. Cooper, Richard A. Falk, David Halberstam,

Morton H. Halperin, Stanley Hoffmann, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., James C. Thomson, Jr. and Richard H. Ullman.

Charter rate for the journal is \$15.00 for a two year subscription; one year subscriptions are \$9.00. Overseas subscriptions should add \$1.00 extra for postage. Checks should be mailed to Foreign Policy, P.O. Box 379, Old Chelsea Station New York, New York 10011.

Directory of Visiting

Foreign Scholars

The Committee on International Exchange of Persons has recently issued a Directory of Visiting Lecturers and Research Scholars in the United States who have been awarded grants under the Fulbright-Hays Act for 1970-71. The Committee also expects to issue in the spring of 1971 a list of foreign scholars available under the Fulbright-Hays program for appointments in American colleges and universities for the academic year 1971-72. The list to be issued in the spring will include information about scholars nominated by the binational Educational Commissions and Foundations abroad for Fulbright-Hays travel grants covering costs of round trip transportation from the home country to the United States, provided arrangements can be completed for lecturing or research appointments with appropriate stipends at American institutions of higher learning.

Persons interested in receiving a copy of the Directory for the academic year 1970-71 or a copy of the forthcoming list of candidates to be issued in the spring of 1971 may write to: Miss Grace E. L. Haskins, Program Officer, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20418.

Freedom To Vote Task Force Report

The freedom to Vote Task Force of the Democratic National Committee has issued its second report, *That All May Vote*. A limited number of copies of the report describing simplified procedures for registering those who are qualified to vote in presidential elections are available by writing to Dr. William J. Crotty, Executive Director, Freedom to Vote Task Force, Democratic National Committee, 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. The report is the second one

from the Task Force which is headed by Ramsey Clark and Mildred Robbins and is charged with investigating the causes of non-voting and recommending ways to increase voter participation. The first report was titled, *Registration and Voting in the States*.

Journal of Experimental Study of Politics

Experimental Study of Politics, a journal of new ideas and developments in political research and theory began publication in January.

Edited by James W. Dyson of Florida State University and Frank P. Scioli, Jr. of Drew University, the new journal to be published three times a year will emphasize results of research on attitude change, media, campaigns and voting, political socialization and learning theory, games and models, small group behavior and coalition formation.

Associate editors are Heinz H. Eulau, Stanford University; Thomas Cook, Pennsylvania State University; Norman Luttbeg, Florida State University; Thomas Madron, Western Kentucky University; Lawrence Nitz, University of Hawaii; Charles Powell, University of Southern California; and Charles Walcott, University of Minnesota.

Manuscripts may be submitted to either editor or to any member of the associate editorial board. A year's subscription is \$12 for organizations, \$9 for faculty members, and \$5 for students. Checks, for subscription to the journal, should be made payable to F. P. Scioli, Jr., Political Science Department, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey 07940.

ACE Rating of Graduate Programs

The American Council on Education has recently published a report, *A Rating of Graduate Programs* as a companion report to Allan Carter's 1966 report, *An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education*. The new study is by Kenneth V. Roose and Charles J. Anderson and includes a section on political science. Copies of the Study are available from the American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. The price is \$4.00 a copy.

Australian Parliamentary Political Science Fellowship

The President of the Senate, Sir Alister McMullin, and the speaker of the House of Representatives, Sir William Acton, recently announced the establishment of the Parliamentary Political Science Fellowship. The Fellowship, to be awarded annually, will enable a promising young political scientist to gain a practical appreciation of the way Parliament functions for a period of twelve months while attached to the Legislative Research Service of the Parliamentary Library.

The first recipient of the award is Kenneth Chan of the University of Sydney.

International Center for Parliamentary Documentation Report

A report on the objectives, history and available services of the International Center for Parliamentary Documentation located in at the Geneva headquarters of the International Parliamentary Union has recently been prepared by Philip Laundry, Chief of the Research Branch, Library of Parliament, Canada. Copies may be obtained by writing to Mr. Laundry.

Association for Asian Studies' Councils

The Association for Asian Studies wishes to bring its South Asia and Southeast Asia Regional Councils to the attention of interested scholars. Charged with advancing South and Southeast Asia scholarship, the Councils represent social scientists, humanists, and development specialists. The Council's Secretariats serve as clearing houses for activities and work for interested scholars. For further information, write: Mrs. Brewer, Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 1 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

The International Journal of Group Tensions

The International Journal of Group Tensions, an interdisciplinary quarterly devoted to the study of conflict and violence in human relations has recently initiated publication under the editorship of Benjamin B. Wolman of Long Island University.

Manuscripts should be submitted to Professor Florence Denmark, Associate Editor, Department of Psychology, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10021. Subscription information may be obtained from Dr. Clinton Kew, Business Manager, International Journal of Group Tensions, 177 East 77 Street, New York, New York 10021.

East Europe in German Language

Books Bulletin

The Conference on European Problems, an organization of American scholars interested in Europe has announced it is publishing a bulletin listing new books on East Europe published in the German Language. The first edition of the Bulletin, distributed without charge, was issued in November 1970. For further information, write to Jerzy Hauptman, Executive Secretary, Conference on European Problems, Park College, Kansas City, Missouri 64152.

University of the New World Opened

A new independent University of the New World will open at Valais, Switzerland, in June 1971 with Alfred de Grazia as Rector. The new University will institute a studio system milieu for teaching and learning which will allow for a continuous interchange of listening, talking, consulting and conferencing between professors and students in their programs of studies and research. Classes, grades, examinations and tenure will be abolished at the New University; instruction will be in English. The new University currently is seeking nominations for studio leaders. For further information on the University and possible positions available write to Alfred de Grazia, Rector, University of the New World office, 2 Washington Square, Village 11B, New York, New York 10012.

Colorado Summer Institute on

Population Genetics

The Institute for Behavioral Genetics of the University of Colorado will sponsor a training Institute this summer from June 21 to July 30 on population Genetics for Social Scientists. Sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation, the summer institute will provide intensive training in the relationships

of population and quantitative genetics to the social sciences. Instruction will be offered at the advanced graduate and post-doctoral level with stipends available in the amount of \$510 for predoctoral trainees and \$600 for post-doctoral trainees. Completed application forms must be submitted by April 1. Application forms and further information may be obtained from: G. E. McClearn, Director, Institute for Behavioral Genetics, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

MIT Program of Urban and Regional Studies of Developing Areas

The MIT program for Urban and Regional Studies of Developing areas will provide for the fifth year opportunity for a small number of especially qualified persons to spend a year at MIT studying the problems of urban and regional change within a broad context of national development.

The program is designed for mature individuals in mid-career who hold, or will soon hold, responsible positions in public or private organizations which are closely concerned with urban growth and regional development. Preference will be given to applicants from developing countries, although a few from Western Europe and the United States will be admitted. Their experience may be in such diverse fields as architecture, engineering, sociology, economics, government or business. Principal criteria for admission are the ability and experience of the individual. All applicants must have a thorough command of English.

Study will include course work at the graduate level, lectures, informal seminars, and research. Participants will be encouraged to tailor their work to individual interests and requirements and may specialize in urban studies and planning, the economic and quantitative aspects of urban and regional development, or its social, political, or design dimensions.

Applicants or the sponsoring agency must meet costs of attendance. These are estimated as follows: tuition, \$3,600; subsistence, \$2,300 (plus \$1,500 for wife, \$550 for each child, and \$50 to \$100 for housekeeping set-up) plus travel. Tuition fellowships equal to \$950 are made available by M.I.T. for candidates who require such assistance. Four program Fellowships are also available, and can provide up to \$6,000 for subsistence, plus allowances for travel and tuition.

The academic year runs from mid-September to the end of May. Application forms may be obtained from:
Director, SPURS
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Room 9-317
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

NSF Public Understanding of Science Program Guidelines

The National Science Foundation has issued guidelines for the preparation of proposals under its Public Understanding of Science Program which aims at the "enhancement of citizen knowledge and understanding of both the potentials and limitations in the use of science and technology in meeting current and emerging societal problems."

In its guidelines, the Foundation suggests that proposals under the program relate to (1) Information Projects on Science; (2) University Training Programs; or (3) Research-Development Programs.

Information Projects on Science should facilitate the dissemination of information on science for the general public. Examples of such projects might include: books on science for laymen, special purpose films, science museum exhibits, science teaching mobiles, and the like.

University Training Programs will be supported in cooperation with the Graduate Science Education Division of the Foundation. Proposals will be considered which:

(1) Provide advanced, supplementary capabilities to graduate programs with the aim of preparing "science leadership for tomorrow." The purpose here is to develop, at the graduate level, science-related interdisciplinary programs involving the Social Sciences on one hand, and Administration, Communications, etc., on the other; and,

(2) Provide focus on increasing the communications skills of students in Science, Science Writing, and Communications.

Research-Development Programs should be innovative and interdisciplinary pilot programs which include the testing and evaluation of new approaches in the public understanding of science.

Political science is one of the disciplines qualifying under the program. Proposals may be submitted at any time; award dates are not fixed. For further information or a copy of the brochure, "Guidelines for the Preparation of Proposals for the Public Understanding of Science Program," write to the Office of Public Understanding of Science, National Science Foundation, Washington, D. C. 20550.

Board of Foreign Scholarships Report

The eighth annual report to Congress from the Board of Foreign Scholarships, covering academic exchanges between the United States and other countries from September 1969 to August 1970 under the Educational and Cultural Exchange Act has recently been published and is available from the Department of State. Political Scientists serving on the Board of Foreign Scholarships are: James R. Roach, University of Texas, Chairman; Paul Seabury, University of California, Berkeley, Vice Chairman; Seymour Martin Lipset, Harvard University; and William R. Kintner, University of Pennsylvania.

Psychological Association Newsletter

The American Psychological Association has initiated a new newsletter, APA MONITOR. Published monthly under the editorship of James Warren, the newsletter is designed to bring readers news about the profession and Association of psychologists. It also carries news of government actions of interest to psychologists. Non-member subscriptions are \$3.00 a year and may be obtained by writing to the APA MONITOR, American Psychological Association, 1200 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

Foundation Directories

A new book on company-sponsored foundations is available from the Conference Board. Entitled *20 Company-Sponsored Foundations, Programs, and Policies*, the book is divided into two parts. Part I contains an overview, philosophy, programs, policies, and perspectives, while Part II provides detailed case studies of 20 of the leading company-sponsored foundations. Copies may be purchased from John H. Watson III, Manager,

Department of Company Contributions, Conference Board, 845 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022 at \$3.50 for members and \$17.50 for non-members of the Board.

A *Directory of European Foundations* has been prepared and published by the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation of Turin, Italy. Information was collected by means of a questionnaire distributed to 1,662 European foundations. Approximately 56 percent of these foundations responded. Of this number, 272 foundations representing 15 countries were selected to appear in the *Directory*. Each entry includes name and address of the foundation, year of establishment, name of founders and donors, purposes, activities, financial data from 1967, publications, trustees, and officers.

Support of science appeared to be the prime objective of European foundations. Of those considered, 59 percent were active in science, 28 percent in education and the humanities, 25 percent in the social sciences, and 12 percent in social welfare and international activities.

The *Directory* is being distributed in the United States by the Russell Sage Foundation, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Caucus

for a New Political Science

The Caucus for a New Political Science elected a new Executive Council at the Los Angeles meetings of the Association. In order to achieve an effective work group between the conventions a policy of geographical concentration was proposed and accepted. The following people are members of the Executive Council for this year: William Adams, William Jewell College; Theodore Becker, University of Hawaii; Emily Card, University of California, Irvine; Didrick Castberg, California State, Los Angeles; William Connolly, University of Massachusetts; Joel Edelstein, University of California, Riverside; Charles Fox, Claremont; Belden Fields, University of Illinois; Ira Katznelson, Columbia University; William Lindeke, Claremont; Edward Malecki, California State, Los Angeles; Philip Meranto, University of Illinois; Carlos Munoz, University of California, Irvine; Gaylord Obern, University of Pittsburg; Jerry Parker, California State, Los Angeles; Nathan Popkin, Simon Fraser University; Raymond Rocco, University of Minnesota; Dankwart Rustow, City University

of New York; Robert Sipe, Claremont; Benjamin Smith, California State, Los Angeles; Ben Stavis, Columbia University; Jerry Sperling; Eugene Stovall, University of California, Davis; Marshall Windmiller, San Francisco State; Louise White, Urban Affairs Foundation.

The Executive Council has elected the following people to be responsible for particular areas of caucus activities: Ed Malecki, Chairman; Rick Castberg, Secretary; Jerry Parker, Treasurer-Membership Secretary; Charles Fox, Western Vice-Chairman; Dankwart Rustow, Eastern Vice-Chairman; Will Adams, Midwestern Vice-Chairman; Ben Smith, Editor of Newsletter; Ben Stavis, APSA-NSF Relations; Nathan Popkin, Academic Freedom; Rick Castberg, Chairman, 1970 Campaign Committee; Donald Bray, Chairman, 1971 Program Committee; and Judson James and Chuck Fox, Constitutional Revision.

The Caucus is making preparations for the 1971 meetings in Chicago. The Executive Council is seeking panelists, nominations for the APSA slate, nominations for the 1971 Executive Council, and new members (\$1.00 for students, \$5.00 or more for faculty). Address all inquiries to Ed Malecki, Department of Political Science, California State College, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, 90032.

Association Political Science Education Project

Social Studies Guide

The Association's Political Science Education Project has sponsored a guide, *Materials for Civics, Government & Problems of Democracy: Political Science and the New Social Studies*, by Mary J. Turner of the Social Science Education Consortium at the University of Colorado. The guide contains a description of new curriculum materials in political science for social studies in the elementary and secondary schools growing out of more than fifty projects in the last ten years. Copies of the guide may be obtained for \$4.00 from the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 970 Aurora Street, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

Support Available

Senior Fulbright-Hays Program for 1972-73

The Committee on International Exchange of Persons announces that applications for senior Fulbright-Hays awards for lecturing and research during 1972-73 in over 75 foreign countries will be accepted in the spring of 1971. Specialists in political science and public administration who are U.S. citizens and have a doctorate or college teaching experience are invited to indicate their interest in 1972-73 awards by completing a simple registration form, available on request from:

Senior Fulbright-Hays Program
2101 Constitution Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20418

Registrants will receive the detailed announcement of available awards as soon as it is issued in the spring, in time to consider the possibilities and to apply before the closing date. July 1 is the closing date for research awards; lectureship awards has a July 1 deadline with some flexibility under certain circumstances.

Senior Fulbright-Hays awards generally consist of a maintenance allowance in local currency to cover normal living costs of the grantee and family while in residence abroad, and round-trip travel for the grantee (transportation is not provided for dependents). For lecturers going to most non-European countries, the award includes a dollar supplement, subject to the availability of funds, or carries a stipend in dollars and foreign currency, the amount depending on the assignment, the lecturer's qualifications, salary, and other factors.

Journalist Internships for Social Science Graduate Students

The Russell Sage Foundation has announced a program to permit five outstanding graduate students in the social sciences to experience first-hand the world of daily journalism by spending the summer of 1971 as reporter-trainees. The students will work for metropolitan newspapers in existing intern programs which these newspapers operate for undergraduates and recent graduates who are bound for careers in journalism.

This on-the-job training in newspaper journalism

will provide an opportunity for the social science students to improve their communication skills and increase their understanding of the processes of editorial decision-making which underlie the daily news report. Newspapers are also expected to benefit from the presence of people with social science knowledge and skills in the city room. For this reason, the program is limited to students who have completed two years of graduate work.

Salaries will be paid by the Foundation at the then-current rate for interns established by each participating newspaper. The Foundation will also pay travel expenses.

Interested students may apply to the Social Science Newspaper Intern Program by having a faculty member submit a letter of nomination to Russell Sage Foundation. In addition, the candidate himself should write a letter describing: (a) his reasons for seeking entry into the program, (b) his professional interests in the social sciences, (c) how he believes journalism could be improved by an infusion of social science expertise and (d) how a social scientist could benefit from exposure to an experience in journalism. The candidate's letter should be accompanied by a curriculum vita, including three references. Letters of application and recommendations should be sent to Dr. Hugh F. Cline, Social Science Newspaper Intern Program, Russell Sage Foundation, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017. The deadline for completed applications is March 15.

Phi Beta Kappa Fellowships

In recognition of the two hundredth anniversary of Phi Beta Kappa in December 1976, the Society's United Chapters plan to sponsor a series of books with the general title of *Man Thinking in America*.

In order to find appropriate authors for these books—and to provide those authors free time for their research and writing—the Society will award a minimum of five Fellowships with stipends of \$20,000 each. The competition for these Fellowships will close on October 15, 1971. Application forms and further information may be obtained from Richard Schlatter, Phi Beta Kappa Bicentennial Fellowships, Provost's Office, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903.

The Bicentennial Commission of Phi Beta Kappa

Research and Training

is looking for books of broad scope dealing with the cultural crisis of our time, and in particular, with the responsibilities of the intellectual in that crisis. Our cultural institutions and our cultural values are in a state of revolutionary ferment. What are the basic elements of this ferment? What is the essential nature of this revolution? What perspectives will enable us to distinguish them and it most clearly, to separate the ephemeral from the probably enduring? What are the most promising directions, now and later?

The Commission hopes that the books will suggest the new attitudes, vocabularies, and methods needed to understand the present situation and to prescribe for the future. Ideally, each of the books will show, by treatment of some aspect of American institutions and culture, a path from the present disruption toward a rational future order.

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Program

The Center for Population Research, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, supports basic and applied research, training, and conferences in the behavioral-social science aspects of population, family planning, and reproductive behavior. Support is offered through research grants, training grants, and research career development awards.

Proposals from political scientists, due on June 1 and October 1, will receive careful evaluation. Documents providing detailed areas of research possibilities entitled, "Problem Areas for Research, Training Programs, and Conferences in Behavioral Aspects of Population, Family Planning, and Reproduction Research" and in "Outline of the Behavioral and Social Science Aspects of Population and Reproduction Research Programs" are available from Sidney H. Newman, Behavioral Scientist Administrator, Population and Reproduction Grants Branch, Center for Population Research, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Bethesda, Maryland 20014.

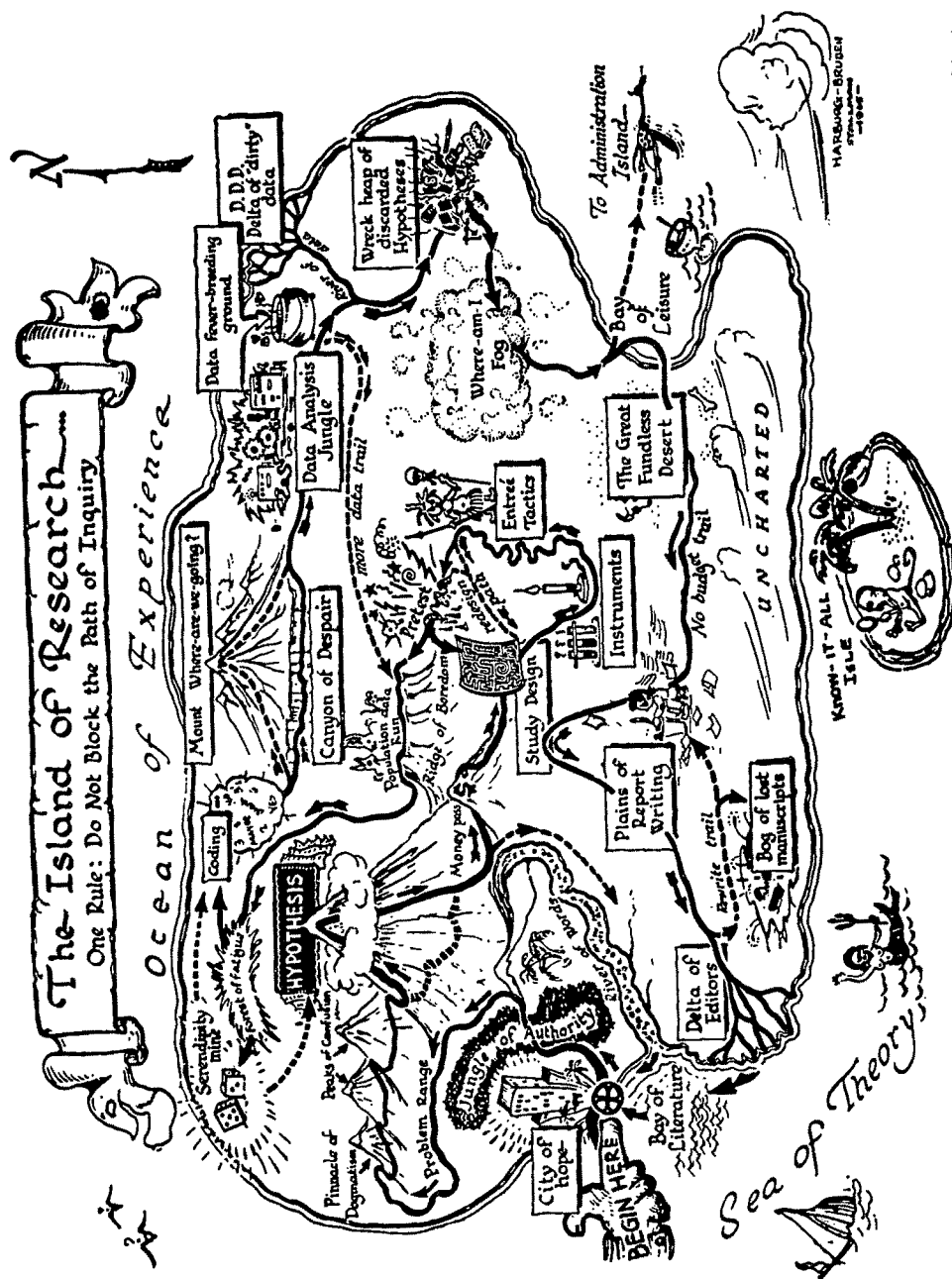
NSF Summer Institutes and Conference for Secondary School Teachers

The National Science Foundation will provide support for institutes and conferences which provide opportunities for supplementary training of secondary schools.

Summer institutes provide for a variety of needs, such as: subject-matter updating, in-depth advanced training, remedial study, knowledge of new curriculum materials and teaching methods, assistance to teachers in developing materials adapted to their own needs, experience in research, and the development of leadership and supervisory capability. Most of these institutes offer a single summer of study. About one-third are sequential institutes involving a planned program of study for the same participants for several summers.

Summer conferences are specialized in nature, and of short duration, usually one to four weeks.

Colleges and universities are eligible to apply for summer institute or conference grants. The deadline for 1972 institute grants is July 1, 1971; the conference grants program deadline is October 1, 1971. For further information write: Division of Pre-College Education in Science, National Science Foundation, Washington, D. C. 20550.



This "research map" is the work of Ernest Harburg, Project Director of the Program for Urban Health Research at the University of Michigan. It is printed with the permission of Dr. Harburg and the APA Monitor of The American Psychological Association where it originally appeared.

Announcement of Awards

NSF Division of Social Sciences Grants

Recent grants from the National Science Foundation Division of Social Sciences have been awarded to:

Walter D. Burnham, Washington University, for research on chronological patterns in statistics of voting.

Daniel J. Friedman, University of North Carolina, for doctoral dissertation support in political science on problems of poverty.

Robert C. North, Stanford University, for research on causal modelling and prediction in the international system.

Sidney S. Ulmer, University of Kentucky, for research on court behavior patterns.

Ted R. Gurr, Northwestern University, for research on collaborative research study of levels of governmental performance.

Thomas R. Dye, Florida State University, for research on conference on the measurement of policy impact.

Warren E. Miller, University of Michigan, for research on political indicators and political change.

Elwyn N. Kernstock, University of Connecticut, for doctoral dissertation research in political science.

Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, University of Chicago, for research on cross-national studies in political participation and social change.

Richard G. Niemi, University of Rochester, for research on reliability and validity of survey data.

Richard E. Dawson, Washington University, for research on trend analysis of the structural distribution of political opinions.

Steven J. Brams, New York University, for research on dynamical models of coalition-formation processes.

M. Ertel, University of Idaho, for support for doctoral dissertation research in political science on problems of poverty.

Frank J. Munger, University of Florida, for research on collaborative research on professionalization.

Donald E. Leon, SUNY, Cortland, for research on collaborative research on professionalization.

Glenn H. Snyder, SUNY, Buffalo, for research on theory of negotiation and bargaining.

Alvin Z. Rubenstein, University of Pennsylvania, for research on inter-nation influence in Foreign Policy.

Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University, for research on international comparative political parties project.

David Paul, Princeton University, for support of doctoral dissertation research in political science.

NATO Postdoctoral Fellowship Awards

Robert M. Axelrod, University of California, Berkeley, has been awarded a NATO Post-doctoral Fellowship and will study at the Institute for Strategic Studies, London, England. Under the National Science Foundation-State Department program, initiated in 1959 to advance science and technology and promote closer collaboration among nations of the Atlantic community, forty-five scholars from the Life Science, the physical sciences and the social sciences were awarded fellowships.

Ford Foundation Ethnic Study Grants

Under a new program designed to encourage scholarship in the field of ethnic studies the Ford Foundation has awarded dissertation support up to a maximum of \$5,000 a year to eighty-seven Ph.D. candidates. Competition for the awards is limited to Ph.D. candidates, regardless of ethnic origin, who have completed all other degree requirements except the dissertation and who plan to write on a topic dealing with the history and culture of Black Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Asian Americans or American Indians. Political Scientists receiving awards are:

F. Chris Garcia, New Mexico University, for research on the political socialization of Mexican-Americans.

David Fleiss, New York University, for research on Blacks on Public TV: The Effects of Station Ownership.

Martin B. Nass, Syracuse University, Attitudinal Bases of Political Protest Movements: A Comparison of Blacks and Whites.

Richard E. Brown, American University, The American Indian in South Dakota Politics: A Study of Sioux Indian Voting Behavior 1960-70.

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming

ISA Conference on Data Banks for International Studies

"The International Studies Association is convening a "Conference on Data Banks for International Studies" in Washington, D. C. in May, 1971. Major papers in the two-day session will focus upon the general attributes, purposes, and potential of an international studies archive, and the future developments of such an archive. A dialog-format presentation will include a discussion of the university and the government as both producers and users of data and data banks. Also being planned are demonstrations of on-line computer systems focusing upon international studies data archiving, retrieval, and analysis. Individuals interested in learning more about the conference should contact: Neal E. Cutler, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19104."

1971 Northeastern Political Science Association Meeting

The 1971 meetings of the Northeastern Political Science Association will be held November 2-6 in New York State at a location still to be determined. Individuals interested in presenting papers in the fields of political theory, American politics, comparative politics and international politics are invited to submit proposals by April 30 to Edward Keynes, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania, 16802 or Walter Filley, SUNY Binghamton, New York, 13901, who will forward them to the chairmen of the appropriate panels. The proposals should be in the form of a 1-2 page outline including:

- a) a resume of the subject matter and the methodology used
- b) some indication of the status of the research involved
- c) if appropriate, reference to related research the individual may have published
- d) other relevant information.

Notification of the papers to be presented will be made in May.

German Political Science Association

The German Political Science Association is

scheduled to meet October 3-6 at the University of Mannheim. The tentative program was published in the newsletter of the German Political Science Association, and copies may be obtained by writing to Dipl.-Pol. Barbara Sindermann, Executive Secretary, German Political Science Association, 22 Repsoldstrasse, 2 Hamburg 1, Germany.

The current Board of Directors of the German Political Science Association are: Hans Maier, University of Munich, Chairman; Wolfgang Abendroth, University of Marburg; Ernst Otto Czempel, University of Marburg; Erwin Faul, University of Bochum; Hans-Herman Hartwich, University of Berlin; Eugen Kogon, University of Darmstadt; Winfried Steffani, University of Hamburg; and Kurt Sontheimer, University of Munchen.

The members of the Advisory Committee for the Association are: Udo Bernbach, University of Hamburg; Waldemar Besson, University of Konstanz; Kalus von Beyme, University of Tubingen; Klaus Jurgen Gantzel, University of Mannheim; Joachim Hirsch, University of Frankfurt; Kurt Lenk, University of Erlangen; Norbert Leser, University of Wien; Richard Lowenthal, University of Berlin; Frieder Naschold, University of Konstanz; Dieter Oberndorfer, University of Freiburg; and Hans-Peter Schwarz, University of Hamburg.

Society for the Study of Social and Political Thought Conference

The Western Branch of the Society for the Study of Social and Political Thought in cooperation with the University of Calgary, is planning a meeting of the Western Branch for April 15-16, 1971, at the University of Calgary. Papers on the topic of Political Community and the Canadian Nation include:

Charles Taylor, McGill University, "Canadian Political Community"
Robert Nisbet, University of California, Riverside, "Crisis in Political Community"
Alkis Kontos, University of Toronto, "Social Solidarity and Political Community"
Christian Bay, University of Alberta, "Citizenship and Political Community"
Louis Balthazar, Laval University, "The Development of Canadian Political Community"
Karl Deutsch, Harvard University, "Political Community and Integration"

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming

In addition to the above paper writers the Conference intends to invite Professor C. B. Macpherson, of the University of Toronto, and Professor Jean Laponce, of the University of British Columbia, as general critics of the papers. Several members from the University of Calgary also will be giving specific criticisms of papers. It is hoped that the papers and relevant comments will be brought out in one volume for use of the University community.

Conference for the Study of Political Thought

The Conference for the Study of Political Thought will sponsor a conference on April 3 to 5, at the Graduate Center of City University entitled "Meeting on Liberalism." Papers to be delivered include: Robert Cummings, Columbia University, "Severing the Bonds of Tradition"; Eldon Eisenach, Pennsylvania State University, "Crime as a Problem of Loyalty in English Liberalism"; C. B. MacPherson, University of Toronto, "Liberalism and the Political Theory of Property"; Richard Ashcraft, University of California, Los Angeles, "Natural Rights and the Ideology of Liberalism"; and Bernard Crick, University of Sheffield, "The Concept of Tolerance."

Behavioral Research Course Correction Note

The dates for summer graduate course in survey research design and analysis of the Institute for Behavioral Research, York University, Ontario, Canada, was incorrectly listed in the fall *PS* as June 17-July 31. The dates should be June 9-July 23, 1971. The Institute will also offer a course from May 17 to June 25 in Quantitative Methods in the Social and Environmental Sciences. Applications and further information can be obtained from Mrs. M. Davy, Faculty of Graduate Studies, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, Ontario, Canada.

Professional Conferences

Past

Pi Sigma Alpha Fiftieth Anniversary Convention

Pi Sigma Alpha, holding its fiftieth anniversary convention in Los Angeles in September, elected as its president John D. Millett, Chancellor of the Ohio Board of Regents.

In addition to President Millett, the following officers were elected upon recommendation of a nominating committee consisting of Past Presidents Claude E. Hawley, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, chairman, Ruth G. Weintraub, Hunter College, Howard R. Penniman, Georgetown University, and George S. Blair, Claremont Graduate School:

Vice President: Dwight Waldo, Syracuse University

Members of the Council: Alan L. Clem, University of South Dakota; Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh; Evron M. Kirkpatrick, American Political Science Association; Jack W. Peltason, Chancellor of The University of Illinois; Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin; and Herbert W. Stephens, University of Arkansas.

Professor Charles B. Hagan of the University of Houston remains a member of the Council as Immediate Past President. Other members of the Council, continuing to serve until 1972, are George S. Blair, Claremont Graduate School; Hugh A. Bone, University of Washington; Samuel DuBois Cook, Ford Foundation; Harold Lasswell, Yale University; Leo C. Riethmayer, University of Colorado; and Currin V. Shields, University of Arizona. Franklin L. Burdette, University of Maryland, continues to serve as national director of the Society.

National Council on Public Polls Annual Meeting

At its Annual Meeting December 15th in Princeton, New Jersey, the National Council on Public Polls elected as Trustees for 1971 George H. Gallup, Archibald M. Crossley, Louis Harris, and Richard Scammon. Robert T. Bower was elected President of the Council, Burns W. Roper, Vice President and Fred Currier, Secretary-Treasurer.

The NCPP was organized in 1968, and incorporated in 1969, as an association of organizations conducting polls for public consumption. Its aims include the improved presentation of poll results in the mass media and the education of the public on the meanings

and limitations of poll findings, especially in political campaigns. Further information on the organization may be obtained from Robert T. Bower, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1200 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Kansas Political Science Association Meeting

The fall meeting of the Kansas Political Science Association, was hosted by the University of Kansas in Lawrence, on November 20-21, 1970. Roger E. Kanet, University of Kansas served as Program Chairman.

The opening address was delivered by Philip M. Gary, Director of Urban Affairs, The University of Kansas. His speech was entitled "The Relevance of Political Science to the Urban Problem."

The Saturday morning sessions consisted of round table discussions on "The Implications of November, 1970 Elections for U.S. Domestic Politics." The panelists were Herman Lujan and Earl Nehring, both of the University of Kansas, and Marvin Harder of Wichita State University. The other panel was a round table discussion on U.S. foreign policy. The participants were Pierre Secher and T. Alden Williams, both of Kansas State University, and Thomas Badger of Kansas State Teachers' College at Emporia.

Wisconsin Political Science Association Meeting

Ninety political scientists attended the 1970 annual meeting of the Wisconsin Political Science Association which was held in October in Milwaukee. Officers elected for 1970-71 are: Wilder Crane, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, President; Surender Singh, Wisconsin State University, La Crosse, Vice President; Clara Penniman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Secretary and Barbara Mulligan, Alverno College, Treasurer. Two Panels and a dinner were held as follows:

American Foreign Policy

Chairman: Surender Singh, Wisconsin State University—La Crosse

Participants: Harry Kantor, Marquette University; Joseph McKenzie, Wisconsin State University—Platteville

Prospects for Cooperative Research

Chairman: Matthew Holden, Jr.,

Professional Conferences

Past

University of Wisconsin—Madison
Participants: Peter Eisenger, University of Wisconsin, Madison; William P. Irwin, Milwaukee Urban Observatory; Arthur B. Thompson, Wisconsin State University—Platteville

Dinner Address
"The Politics of Educational Reform,"
William R. Kellett, Chairman,
Governor's Commission on Education

Politics Association National Conference and Annual General Meeting

Over one hundred members of the newly-formed Politics Association gathered from many parts of the United Kingdom at Didsbury College of Education in the city of Manchester in September. The Association, which had been established a year before, in September 1969, was holding its first National Conference and Annual General Meeting.

The meeting included lectures and discussions, embracing a wide range of topics, theoretical and practical, substantive and pedagogical. Addresses were presented by Lord Mayor of Manchester and Rt. Hon. Douglas Houghton, C. H., M. P., Vice Chairman of the Hansard Society of Parliamentary Government.

For further information on the politics Association write to: Derek Heater, Chairman, The Politics Association, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W. 1, ENGLAND.

Pre-Collegiate Civic Education Conference

The Department of Political Science at Louisiana State University in New Orleans conducted a conference on pre-collegiate civic education on December 14 and 15, 1970. Designed for teachers of civics and other social studies in public and private high schools, the conference focused on "Civic Education in An Age of Protest."

Major addresses were presented by Lee Anderson and Howard Mehlinger of Indiana University and Herbert Hirsch of the University of Texas. In addition to their presentations, several smaller seminars, classroom demonstrations, and working sessions for curriculum development were heard.

Co-directors of the conference were Alan Leonhard and Robert B. Denhardt.

Political Participation and Political Development Conference

The Midwest University Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) sponsored a conference on Political Participation and Political Development on December 5 and 6, 1970 at the University of Chicago. Paul R. Abramson and Paul J. Hiniker of Michigan State University co-directed the conference.

Papers which may be secured from the paper givers centered around four approaches:

Effects of Elites of Participation
Paul J. Hiniker, "Maoist Mobilization Methods During the 1958-1968 Period"
J. David Stanfield, University of Wisconsin, "The Elite in Latin America and Socio-Economic Stagnation"

Lyman A. Kellstedt, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, "Dimensions Political Participation"

Socio-Economic Determinants of Participation
Roger W. Benjamin, University of Minnesota, "Political Participation in Japan"

Richard N. Blue, University of Minnesota, "Political Participation and Group Behavior of Indian Small Scale Manufacturers: A Very Preliminary Report"

Stephen A. Douglas, "Effects of Intermediate Social Structure on Political Participation in Malaysia"

Participation and Individual Attitudes
Iliya Harik, Indiana University, "Voluntary Participation Under an Authoritarian Regime"
Fred W. Hayward, University of Wisconsin, "Political Participation, National Integration and Development: Some Observations Based on Rural Africa"

Peter K. Eisinger, University of Wisconsin, "Protest Behavior and Sense of Efficacy: Some Hypotheses about the Integrative and Disintegrative Effects of Protest in American Cities"

Participation and Economic and Political Development:
E. Spencer Wellhofer, Michigan State University, "Participation and Elite Recruitment: Suffrage Expansion and Political Party Elites"
Gary W. Wynia, University of Minnesota, "Political Participation and Development Policy-

Making: Latitudes and Disciplines in Five Central American Systems"

Timothy M. Hennessey, Michigan State University and Guy B. Peters, Emory University, "Components, of 'Objective Security': Political Mobilization and Political Development in Sweden and England"

In addition to the paper givers, the following persons participated at the Conference: George H. Axinn, Executive Director, MUCIA, Michigan State University; John W. Books, Michigan State University; Robert S. Byars, University of Illinois; Frederick W. Frey, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Samuel P. Huntington, Harvard University; Shielah R. Koeppen, University of Minnesota; Walter Laves, University of Indiana; Joan Nelson, Harvard University; James W. Prothro, University of North Carolina; Leslie L. Roos, Northwestern University; Howard Schuman, University of Michigan; James C. Scott, University of Wisconsin; Richard Stryker, University of Indiana; Henry Teune, University of Pennsylvania; Sidney Verba, University of Chicago; Marvin Zonis, University of Chicago.

Conference on Theories of Collective Behavior

The Fels Center of Government and the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania held a conference on Theories of Collective Behavior on December 10-11, 1970. Papers were presented by Robert Axelrod, University of California, Berkeley, Steven Brams, New York University, John Gillespie, University of Indiana, E. W. Kelley, University of Chicago, Michael Lieserson, University of California, Berkeley, Richard Niemi, University of Rochester, and Kenneth Shepsle, Washington University. The discussants were John Harsanyi, University of California, Berkeley, Gerald Kramer, Yale University, A. K. Sen, University of Delhi and Bruce Akerman, Zoltan Domotor, William Evan, Henry Teune and Olver Williamson of the University of Pennsylvania.

International Social Science Council Conference on Comparative Studies of Leadership and Social Change

Under the auspices of the International Social Science Council, a panel of fourteen experts in comparative research met in Paris in August to consider the implications for cross-nation research in the 70's. With specific emphasis on

comparative studies of leadership and social change. The Conference stems from the International Studies of Values in Politics Project which has drawn together social scientists from India, Poland, the United States and Yugoslavia in a five year inquiry to determine the influence of leaders values on developmental change at the local community level. Professor Sjoerd Groenman, President of International Social Science Council, presided at the Conference. Philip E. Jacob of the University of Hawaii, who initiated the Values in Politics Project, was the conference rapporteur. A preliminary report on the conference may be obtained from Professor Jacob.

Conference on Social Research and Foreign Affairs

Ways to build bridges between the "world of thought" and the "world of action" in foreign affairs were examined in a recent conference co-sponsored by the Department of State, the American Foreign Service Association and the International Studies Association. The October 16-18 conference of fifty participants from government and university and research institutions took place at Airlie House in Warrenton, Virginia.

Speakers, discussion leaders and rapporteurs included Burton M. Sapin, George Washington University and Program Committee Chairman; Roy S. Cline, Department of State; Theodore L. Elliot, Jr., President of American Foreign Service Association; U. Alexis Johnson, Department of State; Vincent Davis, Naval War College; Daniel L. Horowitz, Foreign Service Institute; Edwin Fogelman, University of Minnesota; Lincoln P. Bloomfield, MIT; Erland H. Heginbotham, Department of State; Norman D. Palmer, University of Pennsylvania; and Donald B. Easum, Department of State.

McMaster Conference on Current Problems of Socialist Economies

The McMaster Conference on "Current Problems of Socialist Economies," the fourth of an annual series organized and sponsored by the Interdepartmental Committee on Communist and East European Affairs, and supported by the Canada Council, was held at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, on October 23 and 24, 1970. There were six papers presented, as follows:

Professional Conferences

Past

Leon Smolinski (Boston College), "Technocratic Elements in Soviet Socialism"; Harry G. Shaffer, University of Kansas, "Economic Performance Under the Plan"; Paul M. Sweezy, the *Monthly Review*, "Alternative Conceptions of Socialist Development"; Z. M. Fallenbuchl, Windsor University, "External Economic Relations: Growth through Trade"; Robert W. Campbell, University of Indiana, "The Dynamics of Socialism: Problems and Reforms"; Gilles Paquet and Richard L. Carson, Carleton University, "The Convergence of Two Systems: Theory and Practice." The principal discussants were: Abram Bergson, Harvard University, Atif A. Kubursi and James R. Williams, McMaster University, Alan Abouchar, University of Toronto, and Morris Bornstein, University of Michigan.

Approximately thirty different universities, equally divided between Canada and the United States, were represented at the meetings, and the individual attendance approached 150.

Plans for the next conference, to focus on the theme of "Dissent in the Socialist Bloc," are already under way. For further information write to William D. G. Hunter, Professor of Economics, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Northeastern Political Science Association

The second meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association was held November 13-14 in Philadelphia. The Association, which publishes the quarterly journal, *POLITY*, adopted a constitution at its business meeting proposed by a committee composed of Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., Brown University, (Chairman); Erwin Levine, Skidmore College, and Fran Gross, P.M.C. Colleges. Officers for the new Association are: Elmer E. Cornwell, President; Walter O. Filley, State University of New York, Binghamton, First Vice President; Edward Keynes, Pennsylvania State University, Second Vice President; and Gerald J. Grady, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Secretary-Treasurer. Members of the Council are Josephine F. Milburn, University of Rhode Island, Ken Vines, SUNY, Buffalo, Fran Gross, P.M.C. Colleges, Henry C. Galant, Skidmore College, G. Lowell Field, University of Connecticut, and Harry Bailey, Temple University.

According to Cornwell and William Havard of V.P.I., who shared in developing the idea

of an Association, the aim of the new Association is to promote a union of the existing regional Associations, the New England, New York and Pennsylvania which will preserve the autonomy of the existing associations while providing a broader organization similar in scope and constituency to the Southern, Midwestern and Western Associations.

Research Communications

To the Editor:

I should appreciate hearing from colleagues who have had any reason to think about the sizes and sources of national budgets in the several political systems which members of this group have studied or are studying.

1. Can anyone advise me on *sources* (for the country of his or her interest) by which it would be possible to learn (a) how much of the national budget is derived from internal revenues? and (b) how much is derived from external grants, loans, or other subventions?

2. Has anyone actually calculated this for any given country, and if so, are the data available (and under what conditions)?

The two questions grow out of an interest in the "patron-client" relationship, and the presumption is that there are several important measures of clientage, but the simplest probably is straightforward financial dependence. (Cf., the comments of the journalist Brian Crozier, *The Morning After*, in the chapter on "client states and satellites.") Obviously, one could go on to refined questions about how much of the budget for "development" is raised outside as against how much for "ordinary administration," how much of the military budget is externally supplied, as against how much of the civil budget, etc. But that is all premature for now.

At this point, I am not overly insistent on highly refined or sophisticated responses—although those would be appreciated—since one experienced official of a major international financial institution says he has never seen this information brought together. It may not even be possible to do this.

Matthew Holden, Jr.
University of Wisconsin, Madison

To the Editor:

The International Institute of Space Law is conducting a world-wide inventory of the teaching of courses on international air and space law. It is also gathering data as to the approximate amount of teaching time given to such subjects in courses and seminars in public international law. It would be appreciated if faculty engaged in such pursuits would advise

the undersigned of the details. In particular, information is solicited as to the title of the course or seminar, the frequency, the number of students involved (including those engaged in specially identified projects), and the per cent of time given to such matters in the more general offerings.

Carl Q. Christol
Professor of International Law and
Political Science
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California 90007

To the Editor:

I hope I shall not be forced to write an annual letter in response to the campaign circular of the Ad Hoc Committee in connection with APSA elections. This second letter is in response to the bold-face statement of the Ad Hoc Committee, following a list of various opinions, "*All Ad Hoc candidates are committed to these concerns.*"

As one of the people endorsed for election to the Executive Council by the Ad Hoc Committee, I should like to submit that I was never consulted as to whether or not I am committed to the views attributed to me. No impropriety exists in the endorsement of nominees without their consent, but the public attribution of a whole series of views to a nominee without his consent is, I think, highly improper. I have called this matter to the attention of the APSA Committee on Professional Ethics in the hope that it will prepare some kind of statement on fair campaign practices. We clearly need some guidelines.

James W. Prothro
University of North Carolina

To the Editor:

Thank you for the opportunity to respond to Jim Prothro's annual post-election letter. If I was surprised by his comments last year, I am astounded by his current complaint. His comments before me, I have scrutinized the Ad Hoc Committee letter. It is true as charged that the letter asserts in bold face, "*All Ad Hoc candidates are committed to these concerns.*" However, the letter makes entirely clear that this sentence applies *only* to our assertion of concern with academic freedom and with needs of such disadvantaged groups within the profession as "women, blacks, chicanos and graduate students." The letter attributes no precise positions to the candidates endorsed by the Ad Hoc Committee, it only asserts their concern.

I am very sorry that Jim Prothro finds it objectionable that we attributed to him a general concern with social justice and academic freedom. His writing and public activities appear to suggest such concerns. Maybe we misread his record. But I still think that we were right,

so I wish to congratulate Prothro on his election to the Council of the APSA and remind him and readers of *PS* that the Ad Hoc Committee did *not* attribute "a whole series of views to a nominee without his consent. . . ." It did assert that candidates endorsed by the Ad Hoc Committee "have diverse scholarly interests and commitments" and it did assert that they "hold diverse views on politics and public policy."

As all students of politics know, it is not uncommon for candidates to protest insults and accusations by opponents in the heat of a campaign. Prothro's letter may well be the first case in history of a candidate protesting a compliment paid him by supporters.

Donald G. Herzberg
Eagleton Institute of Politics

To the Editor:

After the October 27 letter on behalf of the Committee for a Responsible Political Science was mailed it was called to our attention that it contained some misplaced quotation marks in citing a report by the Los Angeles *Times* of remarks by the Caucus candidate for APSA President-Elect to a press conference on September 9. Our letter stated: "The candidate of the Caucus for a New Political Science has declared in a press conference that he and the Caucus 'will try to win control of the APSA because it has avoided the real political issues of the day.' " The *Times* story stated: "A leading critic of the war in Southeast Asia said Wednesday he was going to try to win control of the 14,000-member American Political Science Association because it 'has avoided the real political issues of the day.' "

The responsibility for the misplaced quotation marks is ours alone, for we drafted the letter and the other twenty-eight signers accepted without question the accuracy of the quote. The explanation is simple, if not very flattering to us: a colleague read the *Times* story to us over the telephone after we had returned to our campuses, and it simply did not occur to us to check the punctuation. No doubt it should have, but it didn't.

It still is not clear to us that the statement as given in our letter misrepresented the *sub-*

stance of the Caucus candidate's purposes and objectives in accepting the Caucus's nomination and platform. Misrepresentation was certainly not our intention, but that does not excuse our carelessness, and we offer this apology for it. We only wish we could say it is the first mistake we ever made in our lives.

Austin Ranney

University of Wisconsin

Warren E. Miller

University of Michigan

To the Editor:

Recently, caucuses of the Black and Chicano members of our profession have been organized. While I do not know of any American Indian political scientists, Indians are members of another segment of our society which has experienced oppression and neglect, including neglect by the academic profession. (A check of the *Cumulative Index of the American Political Science Review* reveals no articles specifically about American Indians through 1968.)

There are no doubt other political scientists who think that Indians should be studied by our profession and that Indians should be encouraged to become political scientists. I know of two graduate students doing research involving American Indians: Faun Mortara of this institution and D. C. Braithwaite of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. If there are other political scientists studying in this area or who are American Indians, the undersigned would appreciate hearing from such persons (Department of Political Science, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada 89507). Various possibilities exist for stimulating communication and studies in this area, if there are enough people interested in communicating with each other.

Elmer R. Rusco

University of Nevada

To the Editor:

In *The New York Times Book Review* (Nov. 29) an advertisement (p. 20) for *An End to Political Science, the Caucus Papers* headlines "An Urgent Summons to Radical Politics." Coeditor Marvin Surkin claims (*PS*, Summer, 1970) that he has "applied to social science, to ideology,

and to theoretical criticism an alternate standard of rationality." Is the radical politics also subject to that alternative? If so, for what purpose other than an intellectual ego trip?

Perhaps Surkin is trying to reorient the socialization process so that society will eventually help the unable and disadvantaged populace. But what is to happen to the used and abused in the interim? As an aspirant political scientist and concerned citizen, if Surkin and Caucus have any answers they are not for me because as an economically exploited Army draftee, I cannot afford to pay \$7.95 for what is obviously a product of middle class presumption.

Such operational alternatives only perpetuate the elite, economically privileged, information monopoly that is characteristic of the present establishment. The poor have always had that alternative!

Albert R. Pacer

Walter Reed AMC

Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

The Caucus for a New Political Science carried on a variety of activities at the 1970 meetings in Los Angeles. The Caucus sponsored a roundtable on political science as profession or vocation, a discussion group on the political left in the 1970's and panels on political repression in the 70's, neo-imperialism, radicalism in the social sciences, student radicalism and ethnic studies, teaching outcomes, and politics and pollution. The Caucus panels and discussion groups provided a format for the expression of dissenting viewpoints which challenge the existing orthodoxies of the regular program.

The Caucus also challenged the business as usual approach of the Association in dealing with its membership. The attempt of members of the Council to rush the new Wildavsky constitution to collective judgment was blocked. The Caucus was instrumental in having consideration of the new constitution postponed for a year so that adequate discussion of its provisions could take place among all the membership. Under Caucus pressure the Association accepted an amendment which gives the membership the right to ratify or reject proposed dues increases. In addition, Caucus

support of the Puryear Amendment, the Chicano resolutions, and the Women's resolutions provided a strong base of support in their successful passage at the business meetings.

Finally, the Caucus offered a slate of candidates with Hans Morgenthau heading the ticket as our presidential candidate. The Caucus slate ran on a strong reform platform which advocated that the APSA encourage: the redirection of scholarly work toward political change and human needs, the elevation of teaching as a professional accomplishment, the development of measures to increase the participation of oppressed people in the discipline, funding agencies to decrease inequalities between rich and poor schools, and steps against institutions which purge radical and dissenting scholars. The Caucus slate as a whole obtained approximately one third of the vote and the following Caucus endorsed candidates won office: Victoria Schuck (Vice President), William Robinson, Sr., Joyce Mitchell, and Dankwart Rustow (Council Members).

Please see the section on Professional Notes in this issue of *PS* for additional information on Caucus activities.

Ed Malecki

California State College, Los Angeles

To the Editor:

Although former President David Easton was quite correct in his statement that one of the difficulties with political science as a discipline at the present point in time is the fact that there is no generally agreed upon methodology or approach to the subject of politics, it seems to me that both he and others have failed to mention an important corollary or aspect of this difficulty.

I refer specifically to the definitions of concepts and words which are frequently used within the discipline. While I think it is probably impossible to arrive at a definition of some words to the satisfaction of everyone, I wonder whether it would not be possible to arrive at a general agreement on the use of some other terms, many of which are not nearly as tinged with the kinds of overtones and connotations which result from different approaches to the subject matter.

A number of other disciplines have seen fit to establish special Commissions in order to trace the use of, and then define for present purposes,

specific and widely used words and concepts. In other words: would it not be of some value to all of us to have some specific guidelines concerning the use of as many terms and concepts as possible?

It may be utopian, but I can see some very great benefits to new scholars, students, and researchers, as well as incumbents, in having literally a handbook of definitions, researched and written as a result of a joint effort on the part of both students and scholars from different subfields of political science. I for one would appreciate the much shorter footnotes and definitional essays which seem to form a growing part of our writings as each author seeks to justify his own particular usage of particular terms and concepts.

Perhaps I should say that I am aware that this was one of the purposes of the new Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. But this is precisely the point: this was an *encyclopedia*, with each article written by one man (a well-known scholar in the field, of course). It is not a *dictionary*, which is what I would like to see. In addition, the former costs hundreds of dollars, and is not a widely-owned reference work; the latter should be a joint effort, inexpensive, and therefore also widely-owned *and used*.

One more point, to the skeptics concerning committees (a group I normally belong to): there have been at least *two* good dictionaries of the English language compiled by committees in the last decade.

May I hear some reactions?

Manfred W. Wenner

University of Washington

To the Editor:

I would like to take issue with some of the comments in Steven D. Krasner's teaching note, "A Defense of Conventional Grading." (*PS*, Fall 1970, p. 651, 2.) Mr. Krasner states that conventional grading systems perform several functions which "... include giving the student information on his performance ..." (ibid, par. 2, 1. 4.) I believe it would have been more accurate to have said that grades give a student information about the professor's opinion of the student's performance. I believe this is an important distinction in classes where the more stimulating aspects of Political Science are discussed.

Mr. Krasner goes on to say "The present grading system does separate the evaluation of class performance from any other personal or intellectual contact which a teacher may have with his students." (ibid, last par. lines 12 thru 16.) I believe this statement is open to serious doubt, in part because Mr. Krasner neglected to mention a very important subject. This subject is prejudice. When I was an undergraduate, it was often my misfortune to ask questions about a lecture which the professor responded to in an evasive and irritated manner. I have no way of knowing whether or not I was threatened by lower grades for having asked such questions. However, I did give this question serious consideration, and one result was that I had little confidence in the unbiased and "honest" aspects of the grades which I received. The vagueness of letter grades makes them very difficult to challenge. Many are the times that I wished I could have received written comments on my performance. Such comments would have at least illuminated the criteria of excellence used by the professor and made class competition more meaningful. I can agree with Mr. Krasner that to judge students as persons is a step in the wrong direction. (ibid, last sentence.) However, written specific comments have a great advantage over grades. To be specific, the effects of bias and prejudice can be greatly reduced since it forces a professor to expose his criteria of excellence. I do not object to the "coercion" of reasons, but I do object to the "coercion" of grades. (ibid, par. 3, 1. 2.) When reasons are bad, there are lots of things that I can do. In addition, such written comments provide the beginnings of a serious dialogue between students and teacher. Students think much more clearly about the ideas they put into writing, and the same applies to teachers.

In closing, I would like to ask Mr. Krasner an open question. What would your reaction have been if the editor had rejected your teaching note with the grade of D—? In particular, how might you have decided whether or not the editor had been unbiased and "honest" in his evaluation of your performance, separate from any personal or intellectual contacts he might have with you? (ibid, past par., lines 8 thru 12.) Please note that the subject of honesty is included in this question mainly because Mr. Krasner brought it up. (ibid, last par., 1. 9.) I have very few tests for honesty. By contrast, I have many tests for deciding the question of prejudice versus open mindedness, which are readily applicable to the reasons which people use for the acceptance

or rejection of ideas. From bitter experience, I consider the quality of open mindedness to be of prime importance in a teacher of Political Science.

David A. Ehrenfeld

To the Editor:

It would seem that my colleagues are either angry or silent. Therefore, I will write to say that you may give my name and address to anyone who is interested in sending any propaganda whatsoever to a White- Anglo-Saxon- Protestant- fortish- unemployed female Political Scientist. It is a pleasure to find out what *other* people find important enough to write about.

In exchange, however, please inform Christian Bay and John H. E. Fried (for me) that we do not need more inspirational pledges nor do we need any more ideocentric subcommittees. What this nation needs are more Hippie-Cops.

Somewhere else in *PS* there is mention made that a number of young Political Scientists did not get the teaching and/or research situations they preferred. Did any one even suggest to them that the wall between Academia and Reality is already too high? Instead of damning the Establishment, why not try to change it?

One of the reasons things are the way they are is because the people who are willing to work believe as they do. Instead of heaping wrath and hot coals upon Political Scientists who happen to be where some of us do not think that they should be, let them "do their thing" while we work for differing goals.

A tour of duty as a Peace Officer, or with the Probation Department, or Parole office can be a very enlightening experience. Perhaps some of our idealistic young intellectuals should have this soul-searing touch with "life as it is."

Searle P. Smithson

To the Editor:

Professor Joseph LaPalombara's response to our article on participation in APSA annual meetings published in the Fall, 1970 issue of *PS*

raises several questions of fact and interpretation. We would like to respond briefly.

1. The Editor of *PS* explained to us, in discussing the format in which our article would appear, that he wanted to have a response from a recent program chairman, who might be likely to have a different point of view from ours. It can now be said that Professor LaPalombara has responded as expected, although the extent to which he found the situation during 1964-1969 to be quite satisfactory was somewhat surprising to us.

2. Professor LaPalombara cites five reasons why his efforts to broaden participation in 1956 and 1968 weren't more successful:

- 1) many schools don't provide financial support for potential participants.
 - 2) many who volunteer to participate desire the discussant's role.
 - 3) many volunteered papers are of poor quality.
 - 4) departmental chairman do not sufficiently encourage departmental members or help them find places on panels.
 - 5) the general structure of decision-making of program committees is not such that a wider distribution pattern can readily be assured.
- Reasons two and three are clearly irrelevant to Professor LaPalombara's point since, as he himself states, these factors apply to all volunteers for participation, not just to volunteers from "under-represented" groups. The other three reasons amount to a pretty fair resumé of Professor LaPalombara's attitude on the subject: universities are deficient; department chairmen are remiss; the structure of the program committee is sacrosanct. In other words, no thought need be given to the possibility that the program committee, too, might change its structure or improve its practices. This attitude constitutes a *leitmotif* throughout Professor LaPalombara's piece. He returns to it explicitly at the end (p. 644), where he introduces proposals for broadening participation by saying that the answer "lies not with the Association but with its members and their academic departments."

3. Professor LaPalombara criticizes us (p. 643) for not documenting "some comments . . . about the existence of an old boy network." He fails to note that these "comments" were clearly offered as *possible, partial* explanations of

participation patterns.¹ They were stated in hypothetical terms precisely *because* they had not been documented. Surely it is reasonable to suggest possible explanations for patterns of participation, which might be subject to subsequent investigation, without having them dismissed out of hand as "undocumented comments." This, after all, is what the interplay of data and theory is all about. Such documentation, of the who-knows-whom, who-is-indebted-to-whom variety so loved by Kremlinologists, is not easy to come by. But for the future researcher of this problem Professor LaPalombara has provided a modest amount of empirical data. He reports (p. 641) that three of the four members of the program committee during his chairmanship whom he can identify by terminal degree institution were from Princeton (LaPalombara's school), and two were his contemporaries there.² He adds that two members were former colleagues at Michigan State. Although the sample is admittedly small, could one expect a more promising start toward confirmation of the old-boy hypothesis?

4. In a brief but remarkable spurt of inaccuracy on p. 642, Professor LaPalombara distorts our findings through a series of misreadings (which invariably lend support to his point of view):
- 1) He writes, p. 642, that he isn't alarmed but reassured that the Rule Violators come from 117 different departments. This is clearly a misreading of Table 5, p. 634: they come from 58 different departments, and 59% of them come from 15 departments.
 - 2) He implies, p. 642, that no rule against multiple participation in one year exists and says that only with such a rule could "violators" be "removed from the program." As made clear in our article (p. 629, note 5), APSA officials

1 The passage referred to by Professor LaPalombara on p. 639 reads in part: "But it *may be* that the positions of these schools are *in part* being maintained by the development of continuing participation patterns that amount to an old boy network" (emphasis not in original).

2 Professor LaPalombara writes of 14 program committee members, but the 1968 Annual Meeting Program identifies 15 members, in addition to LaPalombara. He says that he could only identify 4 of 14 members by terminal degree institutions, although he could have found this information on all of the others except one in the APSA *Biographical Directory* (1968 edition). The breakdown on the 16 members of the 1968 program committee (including LaPalombara) by institution of terminal degree is as follows: Harvard—7, Princeton—4, and one each for Chicago, Duke, Fletcher, Syracuse and Yale.

concede that there is such a rule and that it has been in existence for some time.³ But it was only with complaints from a sizeable number of APSA members (see reference in our article, note 4) that the APSA leadership began to enforce the rule, and in 1970 a large number of potential violators were indeed "removed from the program."

3) LaPalombara states (p. 642) that "some of the repeaters or RVs coded by Barry are almost certainly those who simultaneously performed administrative (program committee, section chairman) and substantive (panel) roles." Yet we specifically state in two places in our article (pages 634 and 635) that this is not the case. On page 634 we write:

Not counted in these figures were ten RVs who, in years other than those in which there were RVs, functioned during the same year as both a panel member and a member of the leadership group. Also not counted are eleven non-rule violators who held a leadership position and in the same year participated in one of the panels. As mentioned earlier,⁴ participation in the program committee was not classified as contributory to a rule violation."

If we had coded as Professor LaPalombara says "almost certainly" must have been the case, then the number of rule violations would have increased substantially.

5. LaPalombara raises on p. 643 two points that we consider well-taken. First, he wonders whether the leading institutions depicted in our study might actually be "underrepresented" rather than "overrepresented." We agree that this is a crucial point. To relate our "sample" to the universe of APSA members, one would need some kind of composite profile of the latter. We mention this point twice in the article (p. 638 and p. 640, note 20) and we recommend that such a profile be developed. We also proposed this idea to several influential APSA members but did not receive a positive response.

3 The version of our article reviewed by Professor LaPalombara contained only the first sentence of note 5 on p. 629, so he may not have known when writing his response that the rule had been traced as far back as 1958.

4 The words "As mentioned earlier" were inadvertently left in the final version of the article after the passage to which they referred was removed to save space.

Second, Professor LaPalombara would like to know what proportion of the participants discussed in our study have published books. So would we, but we would suggest that the relationship between frequent participation and publication may be somewhat more complex than the one-way street that Professor LaPalombara implies, i.e., that those who publish a lot participate a lot. For instance, certainly the "visibility" gained by participation at annual meetings could enhance a person's opportunities to publish. The whole question of the relationship between participation and publishing is one of several possible areas of future research for which our study provides a point of departure.

There are other thought-provoking statements in the LaPalombara response that deserve comment, but space limitations prevent us from considering these. We would sum up our rejoinder in this way: certain participation patterns exist, and Professor LaPalombara is ambivalent as to whether or not this fact bothers him. But even where he expresses concern, he considers the matter to be no business of the APSA leadership or the program committee: they are not "structured" to cope with such matters. The answer, to quote Professor LaPalombara again on this point, "lies not with the Association but with its members and their academic departments." APSA members should seriously consider this advice.

Donald D. Barry
James G. Bommer
Lehigh University

To the Editor:

Why in the world would Henry Kariel—or the editorial board of *PS*—want to know which article or book published during the last quarter century received too much attention (*PS*, Fall, 1970)? Far more intriguing, and constructive, would be the obverse, which has received too little attention.

William J. Crotty
Northwestern University

News and Notes

Activities

Henry J. Abraham, University of Pennsylvania, will be Chairman-Elect of the University's Faculty Senate and is also one of the ten Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholars for 1970-71.

Carl Baar, Yale Law School, has been awarded a Russell Sage Fellowship in Law and Social Science at Yale Law School for 1970-71. He is also the only political scientist in the first class of the Institute for Court Management.

Teh-Kuang Chang, Ball State University, presented a paper on "The Cultural Revolution and Political Modernization of Communist China" at the 8th World Congress of the International Political Science Association held in Munich, West Germany. He was also elected Chairman of an Advisory Committee for Asian Studies to develop the Asian Studies program at Ball State.

William J. Daniels, Union College, will be on leave during 1970-71 to serve as one of New York State's first group of Alfred E. Smith fellows.

Yehezkel Dror, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has returned after two and a half years in the United States. During his stay, he worked with the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica. He also served as Visiting Professor with the University of California, Los Angeles and the University of Southern California.

Robert H. Evans, University of Notre Dame, was awarded the Gold Medal of Italian-American Association at the Second Biennale of Scientific Publications of Universities and Academies of Science, for his book on *Coexistence: Communism and Its Practice in Bologna 1945-65*, University of Notre Dame Press, 1967.

George Feaver, Emory University, is spending the academic year 1970-71 in Cambridge and London, England, under terms of a Canada Council Leave Fellowship in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Eugene Feingold, University of Michigan, has been awarded a Research Fellowship from the National Center for Health Services Research and Development. He will spend the 1970-71 academic year as visiting professor of Social Medicine, St. Thomas's Hospital Medical School, London, England.

Glenn Fisher, Wichita State University, has been awarded a special plaque of recognition for outstanding services as a consultant by the Illinois Cities and Villages Municipal Problems Commission.

Phillip O. Foss, Colorado State University, will be on sabbatical leave for a portion of the 1970-71 school year.

Michael J. Francis, University of Notre Dame, was on leave last semester and summer of 1970 at the Catholic University of Santiago.

Don F. Hadwiger, Iowa State University, has returned from a year's faculty leave during 1969-70, during which time he was an instructor and head of the intern program of the Washington (D.C.) research project of Clark College, Atlanta.

Timothy Hennessey, Michigan State University, is spending the 1970-71 academic year in residence as a Ford faculty fellow, conducting research on political development in Western Europe.

Peter J. Henriot, Seattle University, is on leave for 1970-71 for a postdoctoral year as a Visiting Associate of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at MIT-Harvard. His research on the political implications of social indicators is funded by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

Duane W. Hill, Colorado State University, has returned after serving 18 months in the Environmental Resources Center, Georgia Institute of Technology.

Dan N. Jacobs, Miami University (Ohio), visited London and Moscow this summer on an American Philosophical Society Grant to continue work on his Borodin project.

Yung-Hwan Jo, Arizona State University, read a paper at the Second International Conference on the Problems of Modernization in Asia and the Pacific, August 1970, at the East-West Center, in Honolulu, Hawaii, entitled "The Management of Change and the Future of Communist China."

John J. Kennedy, University of Notre Dame, is on leave this academic year in Cali, Colombia, at the Universidad del Valle.

William R. Kintner, University of Pennsylvania, was appointed to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, September 22, 1970.

David C. Leege, University of Illinois, served as a visiting faculty member on the practicum on survey research methods, Institute for Behavioural Research, York University (Toronto) during the summer, 1970.

Norman Miller, Michigan State University, is on leave 1970-71 to serve with the American University Field Staff in East Africa.

John Millett, Wichita State University, is on sabbatical leave in England and Switzerland during the 1971 Spring semester.

Felix Oppenheim, University of Massachusetts, was visiting fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford, during the Spring term 1970; he gave a seminar at All Souls College and lectures at other British Universities, as well as at the Universities of Turin and Rome.

Paul A. Pfretzschner, Lafayette College, received a superior teaching award of \$1,000 presented by Lafayette College, October 30, 1970.

Richard F. Rosser, United States Air Force Academy, is on the second years of a sabbatical in London where he is attending the Imperial Defense College and doing research on American Civil-military relations and on Soviet policy toward Vietnam.

Dankwart A. Rustow, City University of New York, delivered a paper at a conference on "War, Technology, and Society in the Middle East" held in London, England, September 1970, under the joint auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the Center of Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles.

Rolf H. W. Theen, Iowa State University, will be in Stanford during the early spring under a grant from the American Philosophical Society, in Amsterdam during that spring and summer under a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council to do research at the International Institute for Social History and in England for two weeks during the summer to attend a Wilton Park Conference.

Barbara J. Teters, Iowa State University, will be the American Council of Learned Societies. in Japan for the academic year under a grant from

James E. Underwood, Union College, will be on sabbatical leave during 1970-71.

E. H. Valsan, American University in Cairo, spent summer 1970 at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, England, doing research on Leadership for Development. He presented a paper on "Development Bureaucracy: A Tentative Model" at the International Political Science Congress at Munich in September 1970.

Henry Wells, University of Pennsylvania, delivered a paper entitled "Party Finance in Costa Rica" at the specialist meeting on Political Finance, 8th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Munich, September 1, 1970.

Norman I. Wengert, Colorado State University, has returned after a one-year leave as visiting Research Professor, U. S. Army Corps of Engineers.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

New Appointments

Carl Akins, assistant professor, American University; formerly of the Brookings Institution.

Stanley Bach, instructor, University of Massachusetts.

Eugene Bardach, assistant professor, University of California, Berkeley; formerly of Brandeis University.

Harold M. Barger, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Asheville.

Victor Basiuk, adviser to the Chief of Naval operations, U. S. Department of the Navy; formerly of Columbia University.

Robert P. Biller, assistant professor, University of California, Berkeley.

Glen T. Broach, instructor, University of South Alabama.

James T. Burnett, assistant professor, York College, CUNY; formerly of St. Mary's College.

Wallace F. Caldwell, associate professor, University of the Pacific.

Richard D. Christofferson, assistant professor, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point.

Hoon M. Chung, assistant professor, Illinois State University; formerly of Cedar Crest College.

Harris Saul Cohen, political science analyst, HEW; formerly of Federal City College and Georgetown University.

James Curran, assistant professor, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY.

Burnett V. Davis, assistant professor, University of Tulsa; formerly of University of Chicago.

Paul Eidelberg, associate professor, University of Dallas; formerly of Kenyon College.

Thomas Eimermann, assistant professor, Illinois State University.

Glenn Fisher, regents professor of Urban affairs, Wichita State University; formerly of the University of Illinois.

Daniel W. Fleitas, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Charlotte.

Richard K. Franklin, instructor, University of Akron.

Ernest D. Giglio, associate professor, University of Akron; formerly of Villanova University.

David Gillespie, assistant professor, Illinois State University.

George Gordon, assistant professor, Illinois State University.

Sven Groennings, political military affairs officer, Department of State; formerly staff director of the Wednesday Group, U. S. House of Representatives.

John Helgerson, assistant professor, University of Cincinnati.

William H. Hunt, associate professor, Southwest Minnesota State College; formerly of Youngstown State University.

David Johnson, instructor, Purdue University.

Garth N. Jones, professor, Colorado State University; formerly, East West Center, Hawaii.

Lee L. Kane, instructor, Massachusetts College.

Jack Kangas, instructor, Purdue University.

Norman J. Kittel, assistant professor, North Central College, Naperville, Illinois.

David Koehler, assistant professor, American University; formerly of University of Rochester.

Robert Koontz, assistant professor, University of Cincinnati.

A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh, assistant professor, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point; formerly of McGill University.

David Lawrence, assistant professor, Wittenberg University.

John Lederle, professor, University of Massachusetts; formerly President, University of Massachusetts.

David C. Leege, associate professor, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle; formerly of SUNY, Buffalo.

David J. Louscher, instructor, University of Akron.

William C. Louthan, assistant professor, American University; formerly of Ohio State University.

Alonzo Mackelprang, assistant professor, American University; formerly of University of Iowa.

Yogendra K. Malik, associate professor, University of Akron; formerly of Southwest Texas State University.

George J. Mauer, associate professor, University of Akron; formerly of Oklahoma City University.

John McCartney, instructor, Purdue University.

William J. McCoy, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Charlotte.

Arnold Meltsner, assistant professor, University of California, Berkeley.

Leila Meo, associate professor, University of Massachusetts.

Alan Monroe, assistant professor, Illinois State University.

John E. Morser, assistant professor, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point.

Michael O'Hara, instructor, Bowling Green State University.

Ronald R. Randall, instructor, University of Toledo.

John S. Robey, assistant professor, University of South Alabama.

David Rohde, assistant professor, Michigan State University; formerly of University of Rochester.

L. John Roos, instructor, University of Notre Dame.

Douglas D. Rose, assistant professor, Tulane University.

Fred Rosen, assistant general editor, the Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham; formerly of University College, London.

Israel Rosenfield, lecturer, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY.

David Roth, assistant professor, Purdue University; formerly of Ohio State University.

Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr., assistant professor, University of Tulsa; formerly of University of Virginia.

Steffen W. Schmidt, instructor, Iowa State University; formerly of Southampton College.

John E. Schofield, instructor, Bates College.

Charles H. Sheldon, associate professor, Washington State University; formerly of Long Island University, Southampton College.

Steven A. Shull, Ohio Legislative Service Commission; formerly of Millikin University.

Neil Snortland, assistant professor, Wichita State University.

Jerome Stephens, assistant professor, Bowling Green State University.

James A. Thurber, assistant professor, Washington State University; formerly of Indiana University.

Charles M. Tidmarch, instructor, Union College.

David H. Vomacka, assistant professor, Colorado State University; formerly of Florida State University.

Norman V. Walbek, instructor, Union College.

David S. Wilson, instructor, University of Toledo.

Frank L. Wilson, assistant professor, Iowa State University; formerly of UCLA.

Robert Wynne, assistant professor, Shippensburg State College.

I. Garth Youngberg, instructor, Iowa State University.

Donald G. Zauderer, assistant professor, American University; formerly of University of Indiana.

Visiting and Temporary Appointments

B. Ramesh Babu, George Washington University; reader in politics, University of Bombay.

Rupert Breitling, University of Heidelberg; associate professor, Purdue University, 1970-71.

Michael Brown, University of California, San Diego; assistant professor, California State College, Fullerton.

C. Alton Frye, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; administrative assistant, Sen. Edward W. Brooke.

Jackson Giddens, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Hernan Vera Godoy, University of Notre Dame; Instituto Jorge Ahumada, Santiago, Chile.

Thomas C. Hone, Iowa State University; Wisconsin State University, Platteville.

Karl Kaiser, Harvard University; German Visiting Scholar.

Jurgen Kocka, Harvard University; German Visiting Scholar.

Tae-joon Kwon, SUNY, Buffalo; assistant professor, Seoul National University.

Robert E. Lane, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; political science department, Yale University.

Kurt Lenk, Harvard University; German Visiting Scholar.

Frank G. Little, Yale University; research scholar, Australian National University, Canberra.

Peter Losche, Harvard University; German Visiting Scholar.

Gerald J. Mangone, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; professor, Temple University.

George Manner, University of Illinois; associate professor, Purdue University, 1970-71.

Bernard Morris, Indiana University; associate professor, Purdue University, 1970-71.

Wolf-Dieter Narr, Harvard University; German Visiting Scholar.

Benjamin Nimer, University of Calgary; George Washington University.

Byung Hun Oh, Kent State University; dean, general education, Sung Myung Kwan University, Seoul.

Sadayoshi Okubo, UCLA and George Washington University; associate professor, Tokai University, Tokyo.

Kan Ori, Indiana University, Gary; professor, Sophia University, Tokyo.

Eric Voegelin, University of Notre Dame; the Hoover Institution.

Heinrich Winkler, Harvard University; German Visiting Scholar.

Hellmut Wollmann, Harvard University; German Visiting Scholar.

Administrative Appointments

Robert Beattie, assistant director, International Relations Archive, Inter-university Consortium for Political Research.

Marlan Blissett, acting director, Science and Public Policy Program, Purdue University.

George A. Brinkley, chairman, University of Notre Dame.

Gaylon L. Caldwell, provost, Elbert Covell College, University of the Pacific.

Mark Cates, chairman, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point.

Leo Paul S. de Alvarez, chairman, University of Dallas.

Joel R. Dickinson, executive assistant to the President and assistant professor, Fort Hays Kansas State College; formerly of the University of Missouri.

David Farnsworth, graduate director, Wichita State University.

Richard Giardina, acting chairman, Bowling Green State University.

Jerome J. Hanus, associate dean of graduate studies, American University.

Robert W. Hattery, acting chairman, West European Studies, Indiana University.

Jonathan P. Hawley, head, University of Tulsa.

Ronald Hedlund, director, Social Science Research Facility, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Richard I. Hofferbert, executive director, Inter-university Consortium for Political Research and associate professor, University of Michigan; formerly of Cornell University.

Gudmund R. Iversen, director, Summer program, Inter-university Consortium for Political Research; assistant professor, University of Michigan.

Melvin A. Kahn, chairman and professor, Wichita State University; formerly of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Richard A. Knoller, director, Program Planning Budgeting Systems, City University of New York; University of Vermont.

John A. Kromkowski, assistant chairman, University of Notre Dame.

Gordon H. Lewis, head, Carnegie-Mellon University.

Lee C. McDonald, dean, Pomona College.

Riki R. Rosenberg, acting chairman and assistant professor, Trinity College.

A. J. Shakeshaft, assistant dean, Iowa State University.

David G. Smith, chairman, Swarthmore College.

Edwin B. Strong, Jr., dean, University of Tulsa.

Mark Tessler, director, Departmental Political Research Laboratory, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Franklin Tugwell, acting chairman, Pomona College.

Mukund Untawale, chairman, John F. Kennedy University.

S. Joseph Woodka, dean, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point.

Promotions

Dean Alfange, Jr., University of Massachusetts: associate professor.

Robert V. Barrow, University of South Alabama: associate professor.

Richard Bishirjian, University of Dallas: assistant professor.

George A. Brinkley, University of Notre Dame: professor.

Phillip M. Chen, University of South Alabama: associate professor.

Philip B. Coulter, University of Massachusetts: associate professor.

James L. Cox, University of Delaware: associate professor.

Sharron E. Doerner, University of Toledo: assistant professor.

Bryan Downes, Michigan State University: associate professor.

Robert H. Evans, University of Notre Dame: associate professor.

Michael Francis, University of Notre Dame: associate professor.

Edward A. Goerner, University of Notre Dame: professor.

Sheldon Goldman, University of Massachusetts: associate professor.

William J. Harkins, University of South Alabama: associate professor.

B. Douglas Harman, American University: associate professor.

John A. Kromkowski, University of Notre Dame: assistant professor.

Harry Matthews, Northern Arizona University:
associate professor.

R. L. Meek, Colorado State University: associate
professor.

Jerome M. Mileur, University of Massachusetts:
assistant professor.

Byron A. Nichols, Union College: assistant
professor.

James K. Oliver, University of Delaware: assistant
professor.

Victor A. Olorunsola, Iowa State University:
associate professor.

Larry L. Pippin, Elbert Covell College, University
of the Pacific: professor.

Morley Segal, American University: professor.

A. J. Shakeshaft, Iowa State University: assistant
professor.

Anwar Syed, University of Massachusetts:
professor.

Michael A. Weinstein, Purdue University: associate
professor.

Robert I. Wessel, Iowa State University: associate
professor.

Retirements

James Q. Dealey, has retired from the University
of Toledo and has been named Professor Emeritus.

John A. Vieg, has retired from Pomona College.

Correction

In the Summer 1970 issue of *PS*, Michael J.
White was incorrectly listed as having completed
his dissertation. *PS* regrets the error.

News and Notes

In Memoriam

In Memoriam

Quincy Wright

"An institution is the lengthened shadow of a man. . . ." These words of Ralph Waldo Emerson were recalled on August 31, 1970, at the 8th World Congress of Political Science at Munich. When the members of its plenary session rose to honor the first President and co-founder of the International Political Science Association, they knew that they were standing in the lengthened shadow of Quincy Wright.

And Quincy Wright was there to accept our homage—white-haired, pink-cheeked, in his eightieth year, and full of spirit and activity. He was utterly free from pose and pretense, pomp and cant. He spoke to the meeting, not about himself but about political science and about the job to be done, and he told us in effect to get on with it—to carry forward the many lines of work which we knew he had started.

For we knew then, and we know now, that we are standing in his shadow in more ways than one. Among his many contributions to political science, three stand out.

First and foremost, he was one of the leaders in directing serious intellectual attention to the scientific aspects of the study of politics, and thus to the emergence of a genuine Political Science in the United States. In the 1920's and

1930's, together with Charles Merriam and later Harold Lasswell, he was one of the leaders of the great Chicago School of political science, which has had such a profound influence not only on our profession and academic discipline but eventually on political thinking and even on the practice of government in the United States and other countries.

Quincy Wright knew the law but he sought to know the actual conditions and consequences of the laws with which he was dealing. In his work, he demonstrated an unwavering commitment to realism and to the search for critical and verifiable knowledge. He was committed to critical reflection upon facts and patterns of relationships. He sought knowledge that would be shareable and measurable, open to all and testable by anyone who had learned the necessary skills.

This commitment made him a pioneer in the

systematic development of research methods in the study of international relations. His book on *The Study of International Relations* (1955) today is still the best and most comprehensive work in this field. A new edition of this important book, perhaps with some of the recent literature added to its bibliography, would be a real contribution to our intellectual and teaching resources.

Quincy Wright's second commitment was to the application of knowledge, and to the particular search for knowledge likely to be applicable to one of mankind's most pressing problems: the safeguarding of peace. This commitment led to his second and perhaps his greatest contribution. It made Quincy Wright, alongside with Lewis F. Richardson, one of the two principal founders of *peace research* as we now know it—the systematic search for the understanding of war and peace as social processes, with the analytic tools of social science, for the purpose of their eventual control and the permanent establishment of peace among states and nations.

It was a commitment of staggering boldness for a hard-headed New England Yankee to adopt, but New Englanders have not been noted for timidity; and Quincy Wright devoted to this commitment much of the work of a lifetime. In the 1920's and early 1930's, much of his interest centered on the League of Nations and on international law, and he was to return to a major concern with international law again in the later 1950's and early 1960's. But in the mid-1930's he turned his main attention to the study of war and of the causes and conditions giving rise to it. He was unwilling to leave wars to the historians, and to the politicians who resent what they call "second-guessing" and "iffy questions" when they are asked what else could have been done to avoid the catastrophic slaughter. Quincy Wright wanted to know whatever could be known about what caused wars, as a means to preventive or remedial action. His spirit was kin to that of the great medical scholars of the past who wrote over the doors to their dissection rooms "Here the dead teach the living." He, too, felt that we are morally obligated to try to learn from past wars and their victims.

His monumental work, *A Study of War*, was begun in the mid-1930's, and it first appeared in 1942, in the midst of a new war that had broken out during its writing. Like Hugo Grotius whose *On the Law of War and Peace* was published in 1625

News and Notes

In Memoriam

during the Thirty Years War, Quincy Wright had written a work that was to outlast in its significance the war that had clouded its first publication. A quarter century after its first appearance, *A Study of War* has become a classic. No one seriously interested in peace research can afford to ignore it. It is the most comprehensive and instructive book on its topic. The appendices to the full-length edition in themselves offer an education in the relevant social science of its period, and the list of research assistants now reads like a part of a *Who's Who* of leaders in American Political Science—a reminder of the fact that Quincy Wright cared about people as well as about research. When *A Study of War* was published again in 1965, with a thoughtful new chapter on international politics since 1942, its timeliness was undiminished, and it will remain so, I believe, for many years.

From the study of war, Quincy Wright turned his attention to the possible foundations of a world at peace. In 1948, he edited and partly wrote a volume, *The World Community*, based on a conference and lecture series which he had organized, and which brought together some of the best thought of these hopeful years. Here again, the book has remained to this day one of the best on its subject; here, too, Quincy Wright is continuing to teach us.

Science and scholarship, as Quincy Wright knew, are more than rows of books. First and foremost, they consist in the sustained intellectual activity of men and women, and in the activity of organizations which foster their cooperation. More than many other scholars of his great productivity, Quincy Wright devoted time and care to the human organizations in his fields of interest, and he gave freely to them of his leadership. As President of the American Association of University Professors (1944-48), the American Political Science Association (1949-50), the International Political Science Association (1950-53), and the American Society for International Law (1955-57), he did more for the organizations and concerns of his colleagues than any other scholar of his generation. At the Eighth World Congress of Political Science and in our profession in the United States we could apply to Quincy Wright the words written in St. Paul's Cathedral on the tomb of its designer, Sir Christopher Wren, *Si requiris monumentum, circumspice*—"If you seek a monument, just look around."

His profound scholarly contributions did not keep

Quincy Wright out of the great political struggles of his time. He was an internationalist. In the 1920's and early 1930's, he was an advocate of international organization. In the 1930's, he took upon himself his share in the struggle against Fascism, in the effort to aid the victims of Nazism and Fascism, and in the great mobilization of American opinion that in the end helped to decide the outcome of World War II.

He stood for what he believed to be true and right, even if it led him to oppose the ruling opinion of the day and the policy of the government of his country. In the 1950's, he was an opponent of what then was called McCarthyism—the government-aided persecution of men and women for their opinions on mere suspicion, and the then rampant political technique of intimidation, repression and the big lie in the name of Anti-Communism—and in the mid-1960's he was among the opponents of the escalating war in Vietnam. Here was a distinguished government consultant who had not been corrupted by his official contacts.

Quincy Wright gave his life for peace, for six long decades. He gave it in his studies, in organizing and leading research teams, in advising government, in the public arena, and in long hours of hard work and lonely thought. He never stopped. Retirement from Chicago only sent him to carry on his work at new places, at New Delhi and Ankara ab, at Makerere University in Uganda and at Cornell, and most of all at the University of Virginia.

In pioneering in peace research, in advancing knowledge about war and peace, in moving academic opinion and public opinion toward peace, Quincy Wright by 1970 had done more than any other living scholar to advance the cause of peace. Scholars from many countries nominated him for the Nobel Prize for Peace, in the hope that the Norwegian Parliament might see fit, for the first time in the history of the Prize, to bestow it on a scholar in political science.

On October 17 the question became moot, when Quincy Wright died peacefully after a brief illness.

Now death has stopped him. It has stopped the great and lively mind that still so recently had produced significant contributions in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* and in the Publications of the University of Denver. We have lost a great man, a good man, and the best kind of American

there was. His mind lives on, in his work, his students, and his students' students. The great task he set himself—to help to understand war and to abolish it—is still before us. Our hearts go out to those whose love sustained him for so long—Louise Wright, his wife, Rosalind Wright Harris, his daughter, and Christopher Wright, his son. But Quincy Wright's memory and voice remain in our thoughts and in our hearts, telling us to get on with the task he has left us.

Karl Deutsch
Harvard University

Vernon J. Puryear

Vernon J. Puryear, professor emeritus of political science at the University of California, Davis, died in Norman, Oklahoma, after a brief illness, on November 10, 1970. At the time of his death he was serving as Visiting Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma.

Professor Puryear was born in Sulphur Springs, Oklahoma, in 1901. He received his A.B. degree from Baylor University, an M.A. from the University of Missouri, and the Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. His initial academic appointment was at Albany College in Oregon. Later he taught at Humboldt State College. In 1937 Professor Puryear was appointed to the faculty of the University of California, Davis, and from that date until 1952, except for the war years when he taught on the Berkeley campus, Professor Puryear was chairman of the Department of History and Political Science on the Davis campus. As the senior social scientist at Davis, he played an important role in planning the creation of a College of Letters and Science, which came to fruition in 1951.

Beginning in 1952 Professor Puryear taught courses in political science and, for many years, he had sole responsibility for offerings in the fields of international relations and comparative government. His teaching will be remembered by many and perhaps especially by students aspiring to careers in the Foreign Service. An inter-departmental major in international relations was the work of Professor Puryear, and the program was elected by many students, some of whom embarked upon successful careers in government service and teaching.

Professor Puryear's publications, in addition to articles and reviews, include four important books on the diplomacy of major European powers in the Near East. His book, *England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844-1856*, was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association in 1931. All of his major scholarly works were widely reviewed and were characterized by probing analyses of neglected archival records.

Clyde E. Jacobs
University of California, Davis

In Memorium

Clinton Rossiter. With the passing of Clinton Rossiter on July 10, 1970, the academic calling lost a distinguished and dedicated servant. A member of the faculty of Cornell University since 1946, and from 1959 the holder of its John L. Senior Chair in American Institutions, his death at the age of 52 brought to a close a life of extraordinary achievement.

As none of us need reminding, his intellectual contributions were conjoined with a literary craftsmanship that carried his ideas to a wide and admiring audience. Significantly, this reputation never diminished his stature in the world of serious scholarship. Thus while more than a million copies of *The American Presidency* were sold in drugstores and supermarkets, the American Historical Association awarded him its coveted Bancroft Prize for *The Seedtime of the Republic*. And if editors, publishers, and producers continually called upon him for articles, interviews, and television appearances, his peers in the American Political Science Association twice elected him to their Executive Council.

The very subjects of Clinton Rossiter's books testify to his breadth of knowledge and catholicity of interests. Among his nine published volumes were a biography of Alexander Hamilton, studies of the Constitutional Convention and American political parties, and analyses of Marxist and conservative thought. It was not surprising that a worldwide community sought his gifts of interpretation and analysis. Clinton Rossiter visited more than 200 academic centers within this country, as prepared to speak at a small black college in the South as to deliver the Walgreen Lectures for the University of Chicago. In the same spirit, he accepted invitations to institutions on every overseas continent, ranging from an afternoon at an obscure Indian university, to six weeks in the Soviet Union, and a year as Pitt Professor of American History at Cambridge University.

Clinton Rossiter would be the first to agree that he was a scholar of an older school. His approach to politics was founded on an understanding of history, with his greatest emphasis on the interplay of ideas. He had the courage to speculate on the serious issues of our own and earlier times. And as a superb intellectual craftsman, he realized a writer's obligation to express judgments despite insufficiencies of evidence, and preferring the power of prose to more schematized modes of expression. At the same time, Clinton Rossiter

was very much a political scientist, participating in the activities of the profession and in touch with developments inside the discipline. But his greatest strength was that he saw political science as a liberal art, indeed as central to the heritage of humane letters. This was his metier, and this was where he excelled. However his passing should not be signalled as the end of an era. The path he travelled will remain an enduring orientation to man's knowledge of himself and his universe. Coming generations of scholars will remember Clinton Rossiter, and many will carry on in the tradition he so eminently represented.

Andrew Hacker
Cornell University

Howard K. Hyde, an officer of the World Bank, died of an accident in New Delhi, India, after almost ten years of service for AID and the International Bank. The American Ambassador referred to Hyde as serving in the best tradition of Americans overseas. Howard Hyde received his doctorate at Chicago; was known for his research in bureaucracy and the contract device; served in a number of Federal agencies, such as Department of Labor, Temporary National Economic Committee, Department of Defense, CIA, and War Shipping Administration. He taught at American University and held a number of high offices in the Society for the Advancement of Management. During his almost ten years of service in India, Dr. Hyde was reputed to have influenced both private and public management in India more than any American who has ever served there.

Marshall E. Dimock

Women's Caucus for Political Science

APSA members can work in a variety of ways to improve the employment situation of women in political science. Towards this end, the Women's Caucus for Political Science sponsors the following information on sex discrimination in universities and colleges which have federal contracts.

Definition. Executive Order 11246 (1965) as amended by Executive Order 11375 (1968) forbids discrimination by any federal contractor because of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex. The Labor Department issued guidelines in 1970 detailing prohibited employment practices. These Orders apply to all federal contractors and subcontractors with 50 or more employees who hold or apply for federal contracts totaling \$50,000 or more. If a university holds but one such contract, the entire institution is subject to the provisions of the Executive Orders.

These Orders require federal contractors to practice non-discrimination in all aspects of their employment, and to take affirmative action "wherever necessary to remedy the present effects of past discrimination," and to counteract barriers to equal employment opportunities. For each of their facilities, contractors must develop a plan of affirmative action. The plan must include an analysis of problems and an evaluation of opportunities for the use of minority employees, as well as specific goals and timetables for correcting existing discrimination. A university, for example, might undertake to increase the percentage of female faculty by a minimum of 7 percent each year until women are equitably represented.

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) in the Department of Labor has the responsibility for implementing these Orders. The Department of Labor has designated the Civil Rights Division in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) as the compliance agency responsible for enforcing these Orders for contracts with universities and colleges. The OFCC may consider individual complaints, class or joint complaints, or it may conduct pre-award reviews for \$1 million-plus contracts. The compliance review is to include an on-site visit and interviews with employees. Where discrimination is found, the employer must make specific written commitment for its correction, including timetables and details of action to be taken. Contracts can be cancelled or delayed until personnel records are released to HEW, or until an acceptable plan for affirmative action is presented. In cases of persistent violation or determined non-compliance, a university can be barred from receiving any further contract awards.

Filing a Complaint. The APSA membership has passed a resolution which provides aid to any member wishing to bring charges under the Federal Contract Compliance regulations. Any person, group, or group acting for one or more persons may file a complaint. Merely describe the discrimination in a letter or OFCC form and include any documentation gathered. Retain a copy and mail to: The Civil Rights Division, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20210. If you prefer not to file directly, the Women's Caucus will be glad to act in your behalf.

A complaint need not be thoroughly detailed, although the more evidence in a complaint, the more likely it is to be reviewed. It can document an

individual instance of discrimination. Or, it can charge that a pattern of discrimination exists. Evidence of a pattern of discrimination in one or more departments is sufficient to support the demand for a compliance review (investigation) of the employment of women in the entire institution. The most useful and easily available information to provide is on the comparative numbers and percentages of women and men at each rank—either for selected departments or for the whole university. What percentages of department chairpersons are women? Is there a committee for hiring minority faculty members and does it consider women as a separate minority? Is there a higher rate of tenure for men than for women and at a lower number of years served? How do the salaries of women and men compare? Does the university have a policy against nepotism? How many women have responsible appointive positions on committees?

Information on research and graduate assistants can also be submitted. Are higher percentages of men than women graduate students granted fellowships and assistantships? Are married women denied scholarships or given lesser amounts? Is there any department or university quota for women? Are the families of women assistants denied housing, benefits, or the use of campus facilities granted to families of men assistants? Do graduate schools require higher grade point averages for women than for men for either entrance or assistantships?

Complaints should be filed if: 1) a woman with equal or higher qualifications is receiving a lower salary than a man hired at the same or a later time; 2) a woman is terminated and an equally or less qualified man is not; 3) a woman is not granted tenure, promotion, or merit raises when an equally qualified man is; 4) if a woman is forced to resign because of pregnancy or is not hired back after a maternity leave at the same salary, seniority, or position; 5) a woman is consistently denied assignments or position on policy-making committees that normally lead to promotion; 6) a woman's workload is consistently greater or less likely to lead to promotion than a man's at similar rank; 7) a woman is not offered equal opportunity to paid travel expenses to conferences, lectures, or panels than a man at the same rank; 8) a woman is doing the same work under a lower classification than denies her equal benefits or status than an equally or less qualified man; 9) a woman's fringe benefits are unequal to a man's; 10) a woman is consistently denied university financed fellowships, grants, or assisting staff accorded equally or less qualified men; 11) a woman is required to retire earlier than men; and 12) a woman is denied employment or held to a low-level or temporary job on the grounds of the existence of a nepotism rule.

Information for filing a complaint can be gotten from a number of sources. The faculty directory will show the numbers and percentages of women and men at a given rank. A university policy handbook may contain discriminatory policies. Any refusal to discuss discrimination with a view toward correcting deficiencies by an administrator or department head is evidence of a lack of good faith.

For further information contact Kay Klotzburger, Chairperson Women's Caucus for Political Science, 72 Orange Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

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NO 2

proposal "The Nominating Committee shall seek to ensure the representativeness of the Assembly [by considering] the diverse . . . currents within the discipline . . . by consulting . . . , when possible, with *organized* segments [my emphasis] of the Association." (Wildavsky proposal, XI, 2.)

A Salaried President. At a time of galloping dues and mounting deficits in the APSA's budget, Wildavsky and his colleagues would allow the Association's President (at his option or at the Assembly's discretion?—the draft is ambiguous on this point) to draw a salary "in an amount proportionate to the time that he will devote to his presidential duties" (V, 5f). That proportion of time, we now know, can be 100%—though it is to the incumbent's honor that he has secured remuneration for his energetic services to the Association from foundation sources outside the APSA budget.

Membership Nominations and Amendments Restricted. According to the Wildavsky draft, nominations for office to supplement those by the official Nominating Committee must be made not by 10 but by 200 members (XI, 3). It is worth noting that the total number of votes cast in each of the 13 teller votes taken at the Los Angeles meeting ranged from a high of 355 to a low of 131, the median being 216 and the average 226. (My calculations from the official minutes.) This means that even unanimous support by the assembled membership might not be enough to place on the ballot a second name for a given office. Constitutional amendments originating with the Association's common membership would similarly require 200 rather than 50 signatures and would have to be submitted two months in advance (XII, 3).

An All-Powerful Assembly. Powers previously held by the whole membership, convened in Annual Meeting or voting by mail, would be transferred wholesale to a newly-devised Assembly. This body would, *inter alia*, control the journals of the Association (V, 5b), appoint the Nominating Committee (V, 5e), "enact an annual budget and set annual dues" (V, 5d),

have power to veto constitutional amendments proposed by the membership (XII, 3), and have sole and final authority to enact substantive resolutions on behalf of the Association (X, 3).

An Impotent Membership. To allow the Assembly to exercise such wide powers without fear of interference from common members, it is provided that resolutions passed even unanimously by the Annual Meeting shall have no binding force (*ibid.*). They will in effect be no more than advisory to the Assembly. Similarly, the full membership voting by mail, while still able to ratify constitutional amendments (XII, 2,3), would not, as at present, be able to vote on any resolutions.

Secretive Procedures. The body in which Wildavsky *et al.* would repose the remarkable panoply of powers taken from the Annual Meeting and from the full membership is, by euphemism, to be called "the Assembly." Yet it would normally assemble only twice a year, at time and places chosen by its own Executive Committee and announced only to members of the Assembly itself (V, 3). There is no explicit provision that these meetings must be public or accessible to other members of the Association. Whereas all divided votes of the present Council are taken by roll call recorded in the minutes, those in the Assembly would be so recorded only in response to a special request by 1/4 of its own membership (V, 5j).

A Governing Body Too Large for Action and Too Small for Representation. Wildavsky's oligarchic Assembly is to consist of 30 members, the two-year terms of the present Council being replaced by three-year terms for the Assembly, with one-third rather than one-half to be renewed every year (V, 1). Experience with the present 26-member Council (16 biennial members, 7 other elected, and 3 appointed officers) would indicate that this is too large a size for efficient business. At the same time, with only ten members replaced each year, it would clearly be too small to represent all the trends

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and interests in the Association. In short it would get the worst of both worlds.

A close reading of the document produced by Professor Wildavsky and his colleagues (at various meetings including one in Puerto Rico, at a total cost to the Association of \$25,000) shows it to be admirable for its simplicity and forthrightness. It deletes the current constitution's provision that "The highest authority for deciding the policies and managing the affairs of the Association is the membership of the Association . . ." (present Constitution, VII, 1). It sweeps aside the slow accretions of custom, experience, and understandings embodied in the present charter. Instead, with ruthless clarity and precision, it seeks to establish a *régime d'assemblée* which, like its Jacobin ancestor during the French Revolution, would enthrone the power of a tight oligarchy.

Before transmitting the Wildavsky draft to the Annual Meeting, the 1969-70 Council of the Association insisted on revising the revision. One Council amendment would have enlarged the Association's honors list by providing once again for three elected Vice Presidents. Another would have barred the immediate re-election of Assembly members. A third would have proclaimed as the Association's sole purpose not "the study" but "the *professional* study of politics." The most significant of the ex-Council's amendments would have buttressed this last provision by weeding out undergraduates, civil servants, interested citizens, and other "non-professionals." Membership would be restricted instead to Ph.D.'s, to full-time academic teachers or researchers, to graduate students, and to persons who (in the Assembly's, or perhaps in the Executive Director's opinion?) have made "Substantial contribution to or achievement in the advancement of the professional study of politics." This last proviso, one suspects, would open a loophole for admission to full membership of the Association's own burgeoning bureaucracy and of any foundation or government officials who have proved responsive to their lobbying.

The case against this narrow and self-serving view of "professionalism" has been well stated by Messrs. Hawkinson and Rosenblum. They rightly point out that the presumed dangers of open membership have proved imaginary and "that the burden of proof rests with those who would restrict membership."

Hawkinson and Rosenblum might have applied the same judicious precept to the new charter which they and other members of the Wildavsky Committee helped to devise. The Los Angeles sessions showed that Association discussions can be lively, even sharp, without being disorderly, and that a vast amount of controversial business can be handled with dispatch—if necessary by referring it to a later mail ballot. The most tedious and time-consuming item on the Los Angeles agenda, in fact, proved to be the precipitously submitted Wildavsky constitution. The burden of proof, *pace* Hawkinson and Rosenblum, still rests with those who prophesy calamity if the Association continues under its present Constitution.

We did well to give ourselves time to read the new charters proposed by Wildavsky's junketeers and by the former Council. Having read both documents we will do even better to discard them.

Democratic Elitism Close to Home

by Charles J. Fox

Claremont Graduate School
Vice Chairman, Caucus for a New
Political Science

If I, in some final reckoning, were asked to state my view of the essential impact of the proposed Wildavsky constitution, I should say that it transfers the debate from the substantive to the procedural. I would say that it abstracts, mystifies, and confuses what was originally a rather clear cut disagreement within the Association. (For a more specific critique of the provisions of the Wildavsky

draft see Dankwart A. Rustow, this issue.)

The original disagreement and the one that is still with us may be viewed as a difference of opinion as to certain boundaries: the boundaries between science and politics, science and policy, the Association and the government and/or the regime norms. Those engaged in this disagreement tend to cluster around two positions. One position, that has been called the "establishment" position, tends to draw the older and more established behavioral scholars. For their part they view the boundaries as being rather well established, and since workable, it is felt that they should be maintained. An opposing position, generally attracting younger scholars and some "traditionalists," has developed around the Caucus for a New Political Science. In its search for what might roughly be called more "relevance," it sees the "establishment" position as part of the given status quo. According to this position the boundaries are arbitrary, somewhat hypocritically maintained and supportive of a regime that is considered, if not absolutely evil, certainly ill advised as to its priorities. In a word, the distinction between science and politics is surely arbitrary, probably false, and maybe specious.

Now, *despite the fact that election returns vis a vis* candidates and resolutions clearly show that the "establishment" position seems, at present, to have the support of approximately two-thirds of the membership whereas the Caucus position is supported by roughly one-third, the "establishment" wishes to change the rules to ensure perpetual victory.

Hawkinson and Rosenblum in their Winter 71 PS article substantiate my claim:

[The] core function [of the Association] in our view is to provide forums for political inquiry and critical discussion both in print and in face to face meetings. . . . All other activities are secondary to the extent that they must be judged in terms of their compatibility with these mechanisms. . . . We believe that taking

positions on a range of public policy issues not immediately and directly related to the purpose is an inappropriate activity for a scholarly association.

I do not question here the legitimacy of this as a point of view. Clearly, it is a majority point of view within the Association. I do question the attempt to reify this point of view for all time in a constitution. The assumption that underlies this is that the constitutional committee knows the essential Truth of professional associations and like a universal it must be made eternal.

Another way of focusing on the substantive disagreement which this constitution would foreclose by vesting final authority in a thirty person assembly, is to consider how the two positions could interpret Article II: Purpose. In this Article it is stated that the Association "may take positions on issues only if they are immediately and directly concerned with the purposes stated above." This purpose is stated in Article II, 1. "The purpose of the Association is to encourage and to advance the study of politics."

The "establishment" position is that the present war in Indochina is not an issue on which the Association should take a stand, as it is not "immediately and directly concerned" with the purpose of the Association "to encourage and to advance the study of politics." An opposing position would call this terribly naive. Is there any doubt left that Harvard political scientists like Samuel Huntington get professional recognition for their work with the government? Is there any doubt left that some faculty are being dismissed for their opposition to this war and that this prevents them from studying politics? Is there any doubt left that the F.B.I. has agents sitting in political science professors' classrooms . . . the mere thought of which prevents free discussion in classrooms? Is there any doubt left that in pursuit of its foreign policy, of which Indochina is but one example, the government funds certain types of research to the exclusion of other types? Surely it can

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be argued that government policy is intimately related to the manner in which the study of politics is pursued. Surely the membership *as a whole* ought to have the right to discuss the manner in which governmental policy relates to the study of politics. If the members of the Association in their wisdom wish not to take a stand on such issues all they need do is vote it down. What in the name of Zeus or Lasswell is so difficult about that?

Or suppose that the Association wished that its Constitutional Revision Committee would not spend Association funds by meeting in Puerto Rico. Under the new constitution what recourse would the membership have? Could it count on self-restraint? Remember the words of Madison concerning faction: "Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm." (Federalist 10) Can we count on members of the Assembly not forming friendships which will be stronger than the principles of fiscal responsibility?

Now it could be argued that the Association could vent its wrath by voting the rascals out of office. But the Nominating Committee is chosen by the Assembly. Fully 200 signatures are required to nominate outside of the Nominating Committee procedures. And then, the offending members may not be up for election for two or three years. And how effective are elections at securing mandates for any given issue or cluster of issues? To indicate that this paper is not simply a result of the Caucus ox being gored, one should remember that the Caucus is one of the few sectors of the Association that would, without too much difficulty, be able to secure 200 signatures for nominating, or proposing constitutional amendments. Must other sectors of the Association now combine and develop the same kind of communication network that the Caucus has?

Why is there an attempt to take authority away from the membership at large? I can only suppose that the Wildavsky draft of the constitution is based on the assumptions and principles of what has been called pluralism, or more appropriately, democratic elitism.

One of these underlying assumptions is that conflict ought to be managed rather than allowed its free development. Thus Hawkinson and Rosenblum:

Another problem likely to develop would be the gradual redistribution of time and resources at the annual convention and at the meetings of the assembly or council. Varying minorities of members interested in passing specific public policy resolutions could easily tie up sizeable amounts of meeting time. Members hostile to proposed resolutions would feel forced to organize counter efforts.

It is clearly the hope of the constitutional committee to prevent minority views from being expressed this (or any other?) way. Thus the new constitution wishes to foreclose this eventuality. Another way of saying the same thing is that democracy has its costs which the Association is no longer willing to pay. It is much less costly to set up a thirty-man "gate keeper" committee (i.e. the Assembly) so that members won't have to bother themselves about Associational issues. This attempts to insure a silent majority.

Of course, Hawkinson and Rosenblum assert that the new Assembly will be more representative than the present Council. I know of no reason, and they have given me no reason, why this should be so. The present Council has 26 members selected from the Association. Will the addition of four members and changing its name to an Assembly make any difference? I do agree, however, with the implication that the present Council is less than representative.

This leads to a second assumption found in democratic elitism—that the masses are not to be fully trusted with the complex issues of the day. The masses can be given only limited alternatives in terms of selecting which faction of the elite should rule, but it is the elites who must rule, for only they have sufficient consensus on the "rules of the game" to insure the persistence of the system. It follows that any mechanism which facilitates mass participation must be

eliminated. In the present case that mechanism is the Annual Business Meeting. That the masses in the case of the Association are either graduate students or professional political scientists doesn't seem to matter to the committee members so imbued with this ideology.

From the tone of the Hawkinson-Rosenblum article it sounds as if the "moderates" on the committee were able to prevail over the more "hot headed right wingers" who wished to exclude graduate students and set up classes of membership in order to disenfranchise either the "leftist rabble rousers" or their constituency. The issue, in other words, was whether to exclude people from voting or to do as the American political system does—make the vote a mere symbolic expression. In all their liberal-moderate wisdom the committee chose the latter. But the last third of the Hawkinson-Rosenblum article serves fair warning to those who would disturb the tranquil sleep of the Association: disenfranchisement could still happen.

Let me end with a plea for a certain reading of recent Association history. Compared with some of the events we have witnessed or experienced on our campuses I submit that while there has been conflict within the Association it has, so far, been peacefully resolved. I submit that the current constitution has served not inadequately as a mechanism for conflict resolution. I submit that constitutions ought to allow for such conflict resolution and not foreclose the raising of conflict.

Deprived of a channel sufficiently deep to allow for varying currents of controversy, conflict overruns its banks.

Changes That Don't Improve Matters

Harvey C. Mansfield
Columbia University

Most of what Professors Hawkinson and Rosenblum have written on behalf of the proposed new Constitution for the Association—about membership qualifications, about purpose and about taking positions on current public issues—appears to me to argue equally in favor of the Constitution we already have. On these matters the two documents are not far apart. Since I find their arguments for the status quo well stated and persuasive, I shall confine my comments to some major points of difference between the documents, and to changes proposed that would, as I think, be for the worse.

1. The draft is loaded with unnecessary and impractical detail. To be sure, Hawkinson and Rosenblum make a virtue out of relieving the membership of the power to pass on the dues structure by way of constitutional amendment. I will not dispute that view myself, but I can sympathize with those who feel that a referendum on dues is not merely "pointless and wasteful." On the other hand, what is gained by specifying that the President shall (Art. VII, Sec. 2(f)) "be responsible for the preparation of the budget . . ." and that the Executive Director shall (Art. IX, Sec. 4 (b)) "assist the President in preparing the annual budget"? Who else, when the natural office for that responsibility, an elected Treasurer, is to be abolished?

And what of the mandatory requirement (Art. X, Sec. 1) that, at the Annual Meeting of members, "the members of the Assembly shall attend"? The chances that, in any given year at any designated meeting place, *all* thirty members will keep their health and find it conveniently possible to arrange their plans and schedules so as to be there seem remote. What if there are absentees? Must they be excused (by whom?) in advance? Shall the

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meeting be held in abeyance until they can be rounded up? Shall they be pilloried by having their names posted on some blacklist of delinquents?

2. For reasons altogether unexplained, the draft proposes to do away with the elective offices of the three Vice-Presidents, the Secretary and the Treasurer. This does not seem to be a case of the short-ballot principle at work, since the President's appointive powers are not extended. Rather, the several separate offices are simply to be abolished. Their duties, presumably, would be absorbed by the Executive Director and his staff, in the absence of explicit provision.

No doubt the Association could survive this change, but at a distinct cost, and to no apparent advantage. The Vice-Presidencies are sinecures in ordinary circumstances—though lately a few (I think Professor Festler in 1969) have been called upon for onerous service—not stepping stones but awards of recognition on various grounds. There are many more occasions of service and achievement, and many more deserving candidates and constituencies, than can be acknowledged, either physically or fittingly, in the annual rotation of the Presidency. Three is not so large a number as to make the recognition meaningless. What is gained by abolishing this costless resource?

The Secretary ranks a little lower in the honors list and must do the unrewarding task of preparing Council minutes and stand ready for his moment on the stage at the business meeting. The office is a convenient way of recruiting a responsible member into participation in the Association's business affairs. What is gained by cutting off this enlargement of acquaintance?

The Treasurer signs no checks, has custody of no funds and makes no investments of Association moneys. But he has automatic access to the books, is responsible for the general guidelines according to which they are kept, reviews the system of internal controls over the handling of financial

transactions, keeps track of operating and investment results, reviews the annual independent audit, and cultivates additional sources of revenues and endowment. No doubt these activities are all within the Executive Director's ken. But at least since Alexander Hamilton had a hand in establishing the Treasury Department in 1789 it has been thought prudent to maintain separate offices with shared powers over financial administration. Specifically, the Association has a member, not an employee nor a guest, nor an outside intruder, but an officer elected by the membership for the purpose, continuously involved in the oversight of its finances, responsible for reporting annual results and budgetary plans to the business meeting, and for presenting the report of an independent auditor. The Treasurer is dedicated to the improvement of our financial condition and capability. What is gained by throwing away this safeguard and this resource?

3. Important objections also lie against the so-called Assembly and the proposed redistribution of authority as between it and the Annual Business Meeting on the one hand, and the Executive Committee and the President on the other.

It is a misnomer, to begin with, to call a body of 30, drawn from a membership of ten thousand or so, an "assembly." This is an enlarged Council. But because of the lengthened terms it does not greatly increase the aggregate number of members who share in determining Association policies. Over any three-year period the present Council draws 24 newcomers into its ranks as against the Assembly's proposed 30. Any given meeting of the Council, however, brings together about two dozen people, counting *ex officio* members and a few staff, while an Assembly session on a comparable reckoning would run to near 40. With a skillful chairman and working papers duplicated in advance, the Council, meeting two or three times a year, can reckon on reaching the stage of informed deliberation on one or two matters before the end of the first day's session, beyond listening to reports, asking clarifying questions

and ventilating *a priori* impressions and prejudices. The time required to reach that stage increases with the square of the numbers in attendance. (Mansfield's Second Law; Karl Deutsch take note). The Assembly, that is to say, will run up nearly twice the Council's budget for travel expenses, and will prove unwieldy for its intended purpose, without any corresponding prospect of improved quality in performance.

The former sovereignty of the Annual Business Meeting has lately been subjected to the check of a mail ballot by the membership on contested matters. With that safeguard in place it seems perversely anti-democratic to go further and strip the Business Meeting of all functions but talk. The draft proposal leaves the Business Meeting with final authority only to "alter the agenda prepared for it by the Executive Committee." On substantive matters it is to become a sort of Hyde Park corner, or committee of the whole for preliminary airing of measures to be disposed of later by the Assembly, or by mail ballot. Should it not at the very least be able to ratify measures about which substantial agreement is obtained, without further proceedings? The proposal as made displays a distrust of the good sense and responsibility of the majority of the members who turn out, a distrust not warranted by experience, as turbulent as that has lately been.

The Executive Committee presently consists mostly of *ex officio* members—President, President-Elect, Executive Director, Managing Editor and Chairman of the Program Committee, together with two Council members of the President's choice. It seems perverse to constitute such a body, as proposed, by election by and from the Assembly and thrust it willy-nilly on a President who owes his own election to a different and larger constituency, with at least as great a claim to legitimacy. If the President does not find the composition of the committee congenial he may simply fail to convene it, or work around it through special committees, or else fall back into a passive

concept of his role as merely a presiding officer. If the latter, why include a mandatory provision (Art. V, Sec. 5 (f)) for buying more of his time by reimbursing a proportion of his salary? If he is expected to furnish leadership and drive, he should be allowed to find places on the Executive Committee for at least a few members on whom he can count to share his special confidence and enthusiasms.

It is not necessary that the Executive Director, Managing Editor and Program Chairman be voting members of the Executive Committee; it is only indispensable that they regularly attend its meetings. Otherwise the committee will operate in a vacuum, shut off from the main sources of information, contacts and familiarity with concrete problems; and these officers, shut off from the benefit of participation in committee deliberations, will be downgraded in the direction of clerkships, unattractive to the calibre of men and women the Association would hope to employ.

In sum, the proposed Assembly and the changed relationships of other organs to it appear to be an effort to engraft a fragment of parliamentary government that is quite inconsistent with the other components of the system. No plausible rationale has been offered for supposing that this would be an improvement, and it will surely add materially to overhead costs.

The Road to a Closed Forum: The Council's Membership Amendments

George H. Knoll

Department of Environmental Resources
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

I have just read with dismay, Council-proposed amendments to the proposed Constitution, *PS*, Winter, 1971, page 17, Article III.

Apparently Council members feel only those who possess Doctor of Philosophy degrees are capable of knowledge and perceiving

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"truth". This type of blatant elitism is difficult to believe or understand coming from those professing a concern for the minorities within APSA who have difficulty communicating and developing. I wonder if Council members feel restricting membership will increase the participation of the minorities.

Under these membership restrictions APSA would cease to be an organization devoted to the study and dissemination of politics and related fields, becoming instead a sort of "old school tie" club, primarily university-research oriented and a forum for petty bickering of members on methodology and "final value". APSA should not become a closed forum for small groups to shout down each others' particular claim to truth.

I do not possess advanced degrees. However, in my career as a civil servant, I feel I have had a small degree of impact on the environment and I don't feel my lack of a Doctorate hampers my ability to assimilate facts and make reasoned judgments. In fact, I don't think it even hampers my ability to observe the environment. I have always found the APSA publications extremely beneficial to me personally and to my work. Now, however, this value will no longer be available to those who are not initiated into the mystic. Information will no longer be available to the hoi polloi.

Apparently the Council members feel that certain memberships and dues are not worthwhile to the organization. I can only hope that those proposing restricting membership understand the fate of closed, static, elitistic groups.

Obviously, pursuit of knowledge, dissemination of information, and participatory democracy are no longer principles under which APSA may operate.

**Don't Vote for Less Democracy.
Don't Send Good Money After Bad.
Vote No on the Proposed
Constitution**

Donald G. Herzberg
The Eagleton Institute

I was a late appointee to the Constitutional Revision Committee, appointed by President Deutsch. Unfortunately, no meeting of the Committee was arranged at a time when I could attend.

Had I been able to attend meetings of the Committee, I would have vigorously opposed the proposed Constitution for many reasons. I will mention ONLY ONE; the proposed Constitution sharply reduces the opportunity for members of APSA to participate in important decisions. During the last three years, the Ad Hoc Committee has proposed three amendments to the present Constitution providing for broader participation by the whole membership in the governance of the Association. These amendments gave members an opportunity to vote for officers and Council members in contested elections, to vote on constitutional amendments, and to vote on resolutions. All three amendments were adopted by large majorities. I cannot believe that those who voted for these amendments will vote for a new Constitution that greatly curtails their chance to participate in governing the Association.

Given this fact and the apparently overwhelming opposition to the proposed Constitution, I hope that the Council will refuse to endorse it and that it can be disposed of in the Business Meeting in Chicago. If not, we will have to go through a cumbersome two-stage referenda provided for by the Rules Committee. This simply is to send good money after bad; we will spend \$25,000 to defeat what, most unfortunately, we spent \$25,000 to create. In a time of financial difficulties, this surely is no way to balance the budget.

Peasant at the Creation: Some Highlights of an Eventful Life as if Told by Mr. Acheson

Nelson W. Polsby

University of California, Berkeley

The offer to join the University of California faculty came soon after the New Year, when we had returned to Middletown, Connecticut, after our trip to Washington, D.C., recounted in the last chapter, where we renewed our life-long friendship with my mother, Edythe Polsby (later Mrs. H. X. Salzberger), the well-known capital hostess and short-order cook.

My wife had a slight cold, and so did not join me for the evening at the home of our neighbor, Professor Clement E. Vose, then Chairman of the Wesleyan University Department of Government. Vose was a sparkling raconteur and wit, a fact not known to many people. In consequence they were often puzzled by his conversation. He was in rare form that evening, no doubt stimulated by the presence of several of the wives of the younger faculty, and also by the guest of honor, Professor Samuel Krislov of the University of Minnesota, then on leave and teaching at Columbia. Vose described in detail the process by which he had acquired knowledge of efforts to repeal the 18th Amendment, and this in turn led naturally to a series of toasts to the memories of Messrs. Joseph Choate, John W. Davis, Harrison Tweed, and so on, all of whom had been in the forefront of that important movement.

As the evening drew to a close, my colleague Professor Reginald Bartholemew and I, in order to spare our host the chore of venturing out in the frigid New England air*, offered to drive Professor Krislov to the University guest house, where he was staying the night. This entailed walking around to my house, a block away, to pick up my car. Chilled by the bitter weather, we stopped in at my residence for a nightcap, and there discovered a note from my wife (who had retired) propped up by the telephone. It is before me as I write, and I quote from it: "Call Aaron in Berkeley," it said, giving a number. "As soon as possible."

Aaron was of course Professor Aaron Wildavsky, chairman of the Berkeley Political Science Department and later Dean of the Berkeley Graduate School of Public Affairs, with whom I had been to graduate school and subsequently written a book. As a result we were on a first-name basis, a circumstance which I found made it possible for us to conduct negotiations with dispatch.

He was a person of remarkable character, not given to academic gossip or badinage about real estate, which is the usual conversation of professors. This left the subject of budgeting, about which he had an inexhaustible story of anecdotes. Many of these proved to be of great significance in the government-wide resistance to the installation of program budgeting systems after the first flush of their success in the Defense Department. What readers and admirers of Wildavsky's brilliant articles and his book on budgeting could not possibly realize is how well they revealed the man himself. They were deficient only in the extent to which they failed to disclose how often Wildavsky used the time-saving device of answering questions with other questions.

In our earlier years, Wildavsky and I had adopted the custom of taking long aimless walks together, a practice we resumed upon my arrival in Berkeley, frequently accompanied by one or more of his children, or his dog, Alice Wildavsky, with whom I am also on a first-name basis.

Alice was the cause of one of my more light-hearted moments in Berkeley. One day I was driven to a rather formal luncheon at the School of Public Affairs in the Wildavsky station-wagon, and sat next to Alice, who was shedding hair rather profusely. At lunch, Associate Dean Leroy Graymer complimented me on my tweed jacket, and I was constrained to admit that when I had put it on that morning the jacket was not tweed, but blue serge.

This, however, takes us ahead of our story and is covered in a later chapter. At the time

*The weather report for that night according to *The Middletown Press* shows a temperature of 5° Fahrenheit and goes on, in the manner of journalists, to recommend anti-freeze.

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of which I am now writing, I was having a night-cap with Professor Krislov and Professor Bartholemew (who later served on the policy planning staff of the Secretary of Defense) and we fell to speculating on the nature of Professor Wildavsky's call.

In the course of refilling Professor Bartholemew's glass, I had occasion to spill some scotch on my wife's note, thereby obliterating the number Professor Wildavsky had left. As a result it was not until the next day that I learned that the Berkeley Political Science Faculty had by an overwhelming vote of 14 to 12 with 7 abstentions decided to invite me to join their ranks.

I was, of course, deeply touched by their confidence. The invitation came at a time when there were four feet of snow in Middletown. This prevented me from moving my car and I ended up escorting Professor Krislov to his room on foot. The next day it proved difficult to locate Krislov, who is very short, in among the snowdrifts outside the University guest house. Fortunately, however, he wore a reflectorized stocking cap, which, he said, could be seen from a helicopter 1800 feet off the ground.

I have described what we had for breakfast in an earlier book. Our conversation must have turned to the Berkeley offer, but my notes are incomplete; the only intelligible phrase is a cryptic reference to a "ten-foot pole". The rest of my diary at that point is smeared with marmalade. The chef can, in any event, take pleasure in the knowledge that in conception and execution the repast was nobly done.

Later, after I developed a severe heartburn, I had reason to question this judgment. But the full exposition of that story, and the slight tendency to flatulence that later resulted, must await another volume.

The Politics of American Political Scientists

Everett Carl Ladd, Jr.
University of Connecticut

Seymour Martin Lipset
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At the heart of the debates which have resounded around political science these past few years are charges and counter-charges as to the "politics" of the contenders. Terms like *conservative*, *liberal* and *radical* are no longer reserved for analysis of positions in the larger society; they have become part of the regular vocabulary with which political scientists evaluate their colleagues. This increase in visible and self-conscious political dissensus extends, of course, throughout the university, but it has left a special mark on political science and the other social sciences where the issues and objects of political disagreement are so enmeshed with the regular subject matter of the discipline.

In spite of all of the discussion, and the now seemingly general recognition that the politics of members of the profession has a lot to do with its development and contributions, we still don't have very much firm information on the distribution of political views among the approximately 6,000 faculty members regularly engaged in the teaching of political science in the United States. There have been a number of studies, of course, of party identification and voting behavior, showing political science to be one of the most Democratic fields in academe. Spaulding and Turner have reported on surveys which found 74 percent of the political scientists to be Democratic identifiers, about the same as sociologists (78 percent), historians (72 percent), and psychologists (70 percent); but more Democratic than the physical and biological sciences (for example, botanists 50 percent), and much more than the applied fields (engineers 27 percent).¹ This high Democratic support is reflective of generally liberal

politics. Spaulding and Turner, working with a 14 item index designed to measure the liberal-conservative dimension, classified just 10 percent of the political scientists in their sample as conservatives compared to 51 percent of the botanists, 61 percent of the geologists and 66 percent of the engineers.²

Such data bear on only the most general sorts of national political commitments. There has been very little survey work reported on the opinions of political scientists on major social and political issues before the nation, such as the war and civil rights.³ Nor is there any more information on the responses of political scientists to the many issues associated with the growth of campus political activism in the last half decade.⁴ There has been a lot of speculation on this latter subject, with the point often made that political science is for some reason a "conservative" discipline.⁵

Now, however, a major survey of college and university professors gives us the opportunity to measure the opinions of political scientists on a broad range of social and political issues. This article is a report to the profession on the survey and its findings.

2 Spaulding and Turner, *loc. cit.*

3 One useful, although limited, investigation of the opinions of political scientists on the war was reported by Gabriel Almond, et al., in the *Communications* section of the *American Political Science Review*, 64 (June 1970), pp. 589-590.

4 One modest body of data is provided by Ladd, "American University Teachers and Opposition to the Vietnam War," *Minerva*, 8 (October 1970), pp. 553-555.

5 For example, Alan Wolfe has written that "political science is one of those professions in which radical organizing does not make sense. Something seems to happen to people when they become political scientists, or maybe people who become political scientists were strange to begin with. But whatever the causal relationship, this profession is one of the least movable there is. (Economics may be worse.) Allied disciplines such as sociology and history have recognizable subgroups of scholars whose dissents from the prevailing orthodoxies were well-known to incipient radicals. . . . Radicals, in a few words, do not really exist in the discipline of political science." "The Professional Mystique," in Alan Wolfe and Marvin Surkin (eds.), *An End to Political Science* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 304-305.

1 Charles B. Spaulding and Henry A. Turner, "Political Orientation and Field of Specialization Among College Professors," *Sociology of Education*, 47 (Summer 1968), p. 253. Other studies showing essentially the same distribution, include Robert Yee, "Faculty Participation in the 1960 Presidential Election," *Western Political Quarterly*, 16 (March 1963), pp. 213-220; and D. Stanley Eitzen and Gary M. Maranell, "The Political Affiliations of College Professors," *Social Forces*, 47 (December 1968), pp. 145-153.

The Politics of American Political Scientists

I. The Carnegie Survey of the American Professoriate

In 1969, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education initiated several large scale national surveys of students, faculty and administrators. These studies were administered by the Survey Research Center of the University of California, Berkeley, with advice and technical assistance from the Office of Research of the American Council on Education.⁶ We are now engaged in analyzing data from the faculty survey.

The questionnaire requested about 300 items of information from each respondent, including in detail the faculty member's social background, his professional activities and achievements, and his opinions on a wide range of issues and controversies—from those exclusively within the domain of the academy to matters of national and international affairs. The unusual size of the sample, slightly over 60,000, lets us attend to subgroups too small for any detailed analysis in national surveys of a conventional size. Just 2.1 percent of the respondents are political scientists, but this is 1,267 faculty members, about 20 percent of those employed in full-time teaching positions in political science in American colleges and universities. This is by far the largest number ever included in a survey which measures a rich array of biographic and demographic characteristics, and social and political opinions. Sampling and weighting procedures allow us to generalize from the survey's respondents

to the entire body of full-time faculty in the United States.⁷

We will be interested in two general sorts of comparisons as we examine the politics of political scientists in this piece. One is "external," comparing political scientists to their colleagues in other fields. The subject matter of an academic discipline involves its practitioners in a bundle of distinctive problems and concerns, and carries with it a conceptual frame developed in response to the tasks at hand but obviously applied outside the boundaries of the discipline. Subject matter also importantly influences the sorts of associations and identifications a faculty member is likely to have outside academe. A professor of engineering typically has much more contact with executives of business enterprises than a professor of English literature, and can be expected to feel closer to business interests. These features of subject matter—the area of activity it encompasses, the problems it involves one with, and the interests outside the university which it defines—together influence the type of person recruited into the field. That is to say, disciplines selectively recruit persons with consistent interests and values.⁸ From the companion processes of recruitment and socialization, the various discipline subcultures have emerged. We lack the

7 A disproportionate random sampling procedure was used to select colleges and universities, in order to obtain adequate numbers of institutions of various types and characteristics. The 303 schools thus chosen include 57 junior colleges, 168 four-year colleges and 78 universities. Next, a six in seven random sample of faculty was drawn from the rosters of the included institutions, yielding a sample of 100,315. A very high return of 60,028 completed questionnaires (60%) was achieved as a result of the standing of the sponsors (The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and the American Council on Education), the careful administration of the survey, and the systematic follow-up with faculty not initially responding. The returned questionnaires, finally, were differentially weighted, adjusting the data for the disproportionate sampling of institutions and for the unequal rates of response. Tabulations from the weighted data of this survey, then, may be taken as reasonably representative of the entire population of teaching faculty at colleges and universities in the United States.

6 These surveys were conducted with the financial support of the Carnegie Commission and the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The interpretations expressed in this publication are, of course, solely the responsibility of the authors.

8 See Morris Rosenberg, *Occupations and Values* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957); and James A. Davis, *Undergraduate Career Decisions* (Chicago, Illinois: Aldine, 1965).

space in this article to explore seriously so large a subject, but can at least note some of the distinctive orientations of political science.

The other set of comparisons are internal, of different groups within the profession. How influential, for example, is age in differentiating the opinions of political scientists? Social background? Academic prominence or the lack of thereof? The type of school at which the faculty member teaches? The questionnaire did not, unfortunately, ask the respondents to identify their subfields within political science, but the other variables potentially influential can be systematically explored.

The Carnegie survey included a wide variety of questions on political matters, from national and international affairs to such campus controversies as those over black studies programs and the appropriate role of students in university decision making. Judgments about the politics of professors are no longer based exclusively upon their views on national questions; campus issues have become important referents. Given the climate of the academic community at the time of the survey, it is very difficult to specify, on an *a priori* basis, which are properly considered "political" issues. Even the most commonplace judgments, such as the basis for faculty promotion, became in the 1960s sources of conflict and dissension. We chose to work with all questions of how decisions should be made in the university, what goals and purposes the academy should serve, the distribution of institutional resources, and the relationship of the university to components of the society outside *which have in fact become major points of contention in schools around the country*.

It was difficult to reduce the complex interrelations among faculty opinions on such a range of political matters (that is, their correlations) to a small number of neat and distinct categories. Factor analysis, however,

did reveal the mass of opinions coalescing around four primary dimensions, three involving campus politics and one containing issues in the national arena.⁹ Scales

measuring each of these dimensions were subsequently constructed: a five item *liberalism-conservatism scale* for national issues, comprising positions on the Vietnam war, the legalization of marijuana, the causes of Negro riots, and on busing to achieve school integration, and as well the faculty member's self-characterization of his political views; a four item *campus activism scale*, including questions calling for both a general evaluation of "the emergence of radical student activism" and for prescribing the appropriate university response to protests and demonstrations; a *student role scale* composed of five questions each beginning, "What role do you believe undergraduates should play in . . .?", and covering faculty appointment and promotion, undergraduate admission policy, the provision and content of courses, and student discipline—with the alternatives ranging from "control" to "little or no role"; and finally a five item scale measuring faculty judgments as to *university policy toward blacks*, whether "normal academic standards" should be relaxed in recruiting black undergraduates and faculty, whether black studies programs should be established upon the demand of black students and controlled by blacks, and whether the overall response of American colleges and universities should be considered "racist."¹⁰

We should note that opinions on questions as diverse as Vietnam, race, and the legalization of marijuana almost certainly could not be organized into a single liberal-conservative dimension for the general population. That these opinions did

9 A factor analysis and orthogonal rotation was performed on the data.

10 Space does not permit us to provide the text of all of the questions in the four scales or to describe precisely the construction of each scale. This information is available upon request.

consistently represent a single dimension in the factor analysis of the faculty survey data can be attributed to the fact that we are dealing here with a community of professional intellectuals whose very "business" requires them to maintain a basic consistency of ideas. It is to be expected that professors' opinions are more highly structured and interrelated than those of most groups in the society.

We computed the raw scores for all 60,000 faculty members in the Carnegie sample on each of the scales—from most liberal to most conservative or from the most supportive of student activism and variously (a broadened student role, the demands of blacks) to the most opposed—and then collapsed the raw scores into five approximately equal categories: that 20 percent of the faculty with the most liberal (supportive) responses, on down to the 20 percent most conservative (opposed). If the percentage in a field classified as *very liberal* exceeds 20 percent, then, a larger proportion of this field is very liberal than of the whole professoriate.

II. The Politics of Political Scientists: Comparisons to Other Disciplines

The Carnegie data clearly show the existence of immense differences in the politics of the faculties of the various academic fields, and reveal as well a persistent pattern in relative field positions across the several dimensions of political orientation encompassed by our scales. Social scientists, Table 1 shows, are the most liberal-left in national politics, and are the most critical and change-oriented in the university context—the most supportive of the student protests, the most receptive to a broadened student role in university governance, and the most willing to change university procedures to benefit disadvantaged groups. Next in degree of general liberalism and receptivity to the

several dimensions of protest and change in the university are the faculties of the humanities and the fine arts, and of the most social-problems-oriented professional schools, law and education. Clustered together at a notch substantially less "liberal" are the natural scientists—physical and biological, and the latter's related professional field, medicine. Finally, the most "conservative" in academe, are the applied fields with a close link to business and agriculture.

The notion of political science as a "conservative" field is emphatically not sustained. In both national and campus politics, political scientists are more liberal and change-oriented than the faculty in any of the other principal field groups, and within the social sciences yield only to their colleagues in sociology. Perhaps it is because the comparison is often made to sociology that political science is depicted as a conservative discipline. A full examination of the survey data shows that political scientists display a higher measure of system affect than sociologists, feel a stronger attachment to the regular processes of decision making, and are somewhat less supportive of change. This may well be because political science has long emphasized a "hard-headed," "realistic" approach to power and its uses, in contrast to an old tradition in sociology, now resurgent, oriented to social reform and social action. Political science lacks a tradition of social criticism comparable to that from Marx to Mills and other contemporary sociologists.

The persistence of a pattern involving the relative positions of political science and the other fields is especially striking because substantively the four scales cover an immense amount of ground, from Vietnam to the hiring of black faculty, from busing on behalf of integration to the proper student role in setting course content. The extent of the interrelatedness of opinion on this diverse array of political issues reveals, of course, the intensely ideological

Table 1

Faculty Positions on the Campus Activism, Black Support, Student Role and Liberalism-Conservatism Scales, by Field
(as percentages of *n*)

Field	Campus Activism Scale Percentage Strongly Supportive and Moderately Supportive*	Black Support Scale Percentage Strongly Supportive and Moderately Supportive	Student Role Scale Percentage Strongly Supportive and Moderately Supportive	Liberalism- Conservatism Scale Percentage Very Liberal and Liberal
Sociology (n=1,033)	72	58	64	72
POLITICAL SCIENCE (n=1,267)	63	49	59	61
All Social Sciences (n=7,122)	61	48	59	63
Psychology (n=2,103)	59	48	60	62
Anthropology (n=421)	55	41	50	64
Economics (n=1,490)	52	40	53	57
Humanities (n=9,546)	52	42	51	55
Law (n=611)	46	38	50	51
Fine Arts (n=3,475)	43	41	47	45
All Fields** (n=52,364)	40	34	46	41
Education (n=3,277)	39	37	52	32
Physical Sciences (n=7,599)	35	28	41	38
Medicine (n=2,384)	34	31	41	38
Biological Sciences (n=4,403)	34	28	40	35
Business (n=2,080)	25	21	35	20
Engineering (n=4,165)	24	21	30	24
Agriculture (n=1,348)	16	19	31	13

*Includes the percentage of the field with scores in the range of the two most supportive (liberal) quintiles for the faculty as a whole.

**Some 7,664 respondents did not answer the question, "What is your principal teaching field?" and are excluded from the total. Included in the total are some fields not shown in this table.

character of the political thinking of American college and university professors.¹¹

We are not willing to describe support for student control of admission policy as *liberal*, or opposition to this as *conservative*; but it is apparent that for the faculty there is some overarching conceptual dimension which extends across the four scales.

11 We are using *ideology* in the sense Philip Converse has ("The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* [New York: The Free Press, 1964], pp. 215-216), as the imposition of "a relatively abstract and far-reaching conceptual dimension as a yardstick against which political objects and their shifting policy significance over time [are] evaluated." The four scales are very highly intercorrelated (Pearson *rs*):

	Campus activism	Student role	Black support
Liberalism	.75	.53	.62
Campus activism		.58	.61
Student role			.57

III. The Politics of Political Scientists: Differences within the Profession

Having located the political orientations of political scientists in the context of faculty opinion generally, we can now examine the correlates of divisions within the profession. Three sets of characteristics of professors thought possibly to be associated with different political orientations were systematically explored as to their influence. One of these is social background. We know from studies of the general public that ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic background contribute significantly to differences in political opinions and behavior. The professoriate, of course, is not the general public; it is comprised of men and women who have undergone lengthy training and internship in an advanced profession, who now do similar work in similar institutions, and who occupy roughly

comparable class positions. The relationship of social background to present political views should be much weaker for such a professional group than for the population at large.

A second set includes age and academic generation. Young political scientists are closer to the experiences of students than their older colleagues. And they are, typically, more recent arrivals at the institutions where they are presently teaching, with looser ties to them. They have had less time to move to positions of security and influence in their university and their profession. Faculty in the several age strata are also members of different academic generations, having arrived at different times in what has been the rapidly changing context of academic life. They are of different political generations generally, having come of age politically in varying climates and concerns.

Thirdly, professors differ as to the course their careers have followed. Some have been successful while others have failed—admitting the varying applications and understandings of these terms. Some earn large salaries, others relatively small. They have made different commitments, for example, between having close associations with students and the teaching function, and following the goddess research. They teach in quite different sorts of institutions, from St. Rita's to Berkeley, are part, then, of contrasting university subcultures. One very important facet of career in academe is, of course, held constant in this analysis; we are dealing with faculty members who have entered just one of the discipline "houses" of the academy, political science.

A fourth type of association, as we noted in the introduction, cannot be examined here—that between area of specialization in political science and political views. It is surely an interesting one, but the Carnegie survey did not ask political scientists to state their subspecialty.

Social Background

Whether the faculty member was brought up in a working class family of parents who had not completed the 12th grade or was the child of a university-trained professional is of little importance to his present political opinions in any of the areas covered. Neither parental occupation or parental education is significantly correlated with any of the indexes, or for that matter with any political opinion variable in the Carnegie survey. This holds for all fields; and it is true for faculty in the several academic generations. There simply are no significant class-related differences in political orientation within the professoriate.

The one important association is with ethnocultural background. There are too few black political scientists to justify any general comments, although blacks in the faculty as a whole are more left-of-center and change-committed than white professors. The principal ethnocultural division within political science is between Jews and Gentiles.¹² The data in Table 2 show that faculty of Protestant and Catholic backgrounds are not consistently different in their political positions, but that Jews are in all cases more "liberal."

The differences between political scientists of Christian and Jewish backgrounds are greatest in national politics, smallest in the campus questions on student role. The relative political liberalism of American Jews really does not require further treatment here, and Jewish political scientists obviously share in that tradition. When one moves in campus politics away from issues which link up with national questions to matters with a purely academic dimension—and the student role questions are a good example of the latter—Jews and Gentiles show not very dissimilar opinion distributions.

12 The survey question was: "In what religion were you raised?"

Table 2

The Positions of Political Scientists on the Campus Activism, Black Support, Student Role and Liberalism-Conservatism Scales, by Religious Background and Age
(as percentages of *n*)

Religious Background	Campus Activism Scale Percentage Strongly Supportive and Moderately Supportive	Black Support Scale Percentage Strongly Supportive and Moderately Supportive	Student Role Scale Percentage Strongly Supportive and Moderately Supportive	Liberalism- Conservatism Scale Percentage Very Liberal and Liberal
Protestants (n=770)	63	48	57	60
Catholics (n=163)	57	49	64	56
Jews (n=201)	78	57	68	81
Age				
Over 50 Years of age (n=219)	39	33	44	40
40-49 (n=293)	56	50	46	54
30-39 (n=480)	68	52	52	68
Under 30 Years of age (n=275)	77	52	68	73

Age and Academic Generation

No other variables discriminate as powerfully among the political opinions of political scientists as those revolving around age. We cannot untangle that mixture of interests and experiences which define the positions of the age strata in the professoriate; but the overall impact of the components is massively apparent.

Looking at Table 2 we see that the *direction* of change in opinion distribution is everywhere the same across the four scales with movement from the oldest to the youngest stratum, but that the *amount* of change from one stratum to another varies substantially with the policy area. Political scientists over fifty years of age, most of whom did their graduate work before World War II, are in all the areas the most "conservative." On questions involving student role in university decision making, however, they show an opinion distribution not significantly different from their colleagues ages 40 to 49 who were in graduate school mostly in the 10 years after the war. On the other hand, the big divide in support for new university responses to meet the needs of blacks is between the pre-war and post-war (in time of graduate training) political science generations:

the differences among the 40-49, 30-39, and under 30 strata here are insignificant.

On questions of campus activism and student role, the gap between faculty members who did their graduate work in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and those in graduate school in the 1960s, is immense. These issues are "newer" ones, and they comprise interests which are directly age-related. The youngest political scientists are obviously much more in sympathy with student demands and perspectives than their older colleagues.

Such extensive differences among the several age groups on the general liberalism scale were not expected. We naturally looked for young political scientists to give a lot more support for campus activism than their older brethren, but thought that there would be much more agreement among the age strata on political issues outside academe. Instead, the margin between the percentage *very liberal* and *liberal* in the 50 and over and in the under 30 strata—33 percent—is greater than that between these two strata for comparable positions in two of the other scales, and is exceeded only slightly by the margin in the campus activism scale—38 percent. Forty percent of

Table 3

Political Positions of Political Scientists, by Age and Religious Backgrounds
(Percentages are *very liberal* and *liberal*, or *strongly supportive* and *moderately supportive*)

Age	Liberalism-conservatism scale		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish
50 years and over	42	50	65
35-49	56	63	78
Under 35	75	68	87
Campus activism scale			
50 years and over	39	33	47
35-49	57	58	74
Under 35	74	65	81
Student role scale			
50 years and over	40	45	53
35-49	56	53	62
Under 35	68	67	68
Black support scale			
50 years and over	33	39	47
35-49	45	41	45
Under 35	52	45	65

the political scientists over fifty years of age had scale scores which put them in the two "more liberal," quintiles, the same distribution, that is, as the faculty as a whole. In contrast, 73 percent of the youngest members of the discipline occupy these more liberal positions, and only 13 percent the two more conservative.

Political scientists gave much less backing to Eugene McCarthy in his 1968 bid for the Presidency than their colleagues in the other social sciences. The overall preference of the discipline for Humphrey over McCarthy conceals a distribution highly skewed by age. Political scientists over forty were overwhelmingly for Humphrey: 77 percent of those sixty and over; 66 percent of those in their fifties; and 61 percent in their forties. On the other hand, political scientists in their thirties split about evenly—53 percent for Humphrey—and those under thirty were for McCarthy by a margin of exactly two to one. Sharp age differences in the political views of political scientists extend, then, across a broad range of

national issues and controversies.

Together, age and religious background exert an extraordinary differentiation upon the political orientations of American political scientists. Thus Jews are more "liberal" than Gentiles in each of the opinion areas; and younger political scientists are more "liberal" than their older colleagues within each religious group (Table 3).

The difference in the percentage *very liberal* and *liberal* on the liberalism-conservatism scale between faculty of Jewish backgrounds under thirty-five years of age (87 percent) and Protestants over fifty (42 percent) is really quite striking, especially since we are dealing with a group of professionals in one quite specialized discipline, and since the age and religious distinctions are so gross or generally inclusive.

Career in Academe

None of the variables associated with the course of the political scientist's career in the university—the standing he has acquired,

his salary relative to his colleagues, his achievements or the lack thereof in scholarship, the type of college or university he has settled in, and so on—are *independently* correlated with political views nearly so highly as are age and religious background. Rank does show comparably high correlations, but controlling for age we find the differences by academic rank and tenure to be very modest. For example, the simple correlation between rank and the student role scale is .23 (instructors and assistant professors the most supportive), but the partial correlation coefficient, holding age constant, is $-.02$.

We were especially interested in comparing the views of two general groups of political scientists as defined by career commitments and success—those highly published and research oriented, located disproportionately at the major colleges and universities; and those who had not engaged, at least not successfully, in scholarly research, who thus were not on the principal ladder to academic success, and who for the most part occupied positions at the lesser institutions. There was reason for some contradictory expectations concerning the politics of political scientists so distinguished. On the one hand, there is a large body of literature dealing with the critical role of intellectuals. Inherent in the work of intellectuals—probing, questioning, examining the basic premises on which societies operate—are commitments which have made them everywhere opponents of the status quo, proponents of reform and change. And in the United States in this century, this change-directed politics of intellectuals has for the most part been a liberal or left-of-center politics, critical of the polity for not realizing fully the equalitarian premises on which it was built. It would follow from this that academics the most involved in creative scholarship—and thus the most engaged in the work of the intellectual—should be the most liberal politically.

On the other hand, one might plausibly hypothesize that since scholarly achievement

means success in academe, and success in turn makes he who possesses it a “have” with a position to defend against demands for change, that those most successful in research and publication should be the most conservative. Academic “failures” should be the most discontented, the most receptive to change, especially to change within the university. It is also possible, of course, that both sets of hypotheses are valid, and thus that contradictory pressures are at work. And in fact, this seems to be the case, although our data do not permit us to resolve the question in any conclusive fashion.

The highest correlations, in the range of .12 to .25, are between the variables associated with scholarly achievement and the general liberalism-conservatism scale. Political scientists committed to research, currently publishing at a high level and teaching at major universities are, in each age stratum, the most liberal.

On the other hand, looking at campus controversies, there are no significant or consistent correlations between political position and the variables associated with scholarly achievement and success. Young political scientists (under 35) who have acquired positions at the major schools are slightly more supportive of campus activism and demands for a larger student voice in university policy making than their counterparts at lesser schools; but young members of the profession who have not published any scholarly works and are committed primarily to teaching are here more supportive than their peers who claim a substantial level of publications and who are oriented to research activity. In general we did find that political scientists holding a lower rank than most colleagues of their age level are more in favor of change in the campus context, but are not more liberal in national affairs.

All this gives loose support, then, to the conclusion that scholarly members of the profession are pushed by their

intellectuality to a more critical position in national controversies; but as more successful academic men have a greater stake in the university status quo and hence in campus politics are less "liberal."

V. Conclusions

Contrary to speculation which seems abundant, political science is not a "conservative" discipline, in either the national or the campus dimension; certainly not if comparison is made to the entire professoriate, and not even if it is limited to the social sciences. The Carnegie data make clear that political science is among the most liberal disciplines in academe. Only when the politics of political scientists is set against that of sociologists do the former appear as relatively "conservative."

Among the faculty as a whole, field powerfully differentiates as to public opinions. Within political science, as in most disciplines, academic generation and religious background are associated with much larger differences than any of the other variables included in the Carnegie survey. The magnitude of the difference in the political opinions and perceptions of young political scientists of Jewish background and the most senior members of the field of Protestant parentage is on the order one would expect to encounter among such grossly differentiated groups as blacks and whites in the larger society, but not among fellow professionals. It seems likely that the sharp generational divide points to a long-range shift in the basic political orientations of the profession, that the more critical and change-supporting young political scientists will carry something of these commitments with them as they advance in their careers, while perhaps sloughing off part as they acquire higher status.

On Book Reviews

James A. Stegenga
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Like any nervous author, I anxiously awaited and carefully scrutinized each of the reviews of my book (*The United Nations Force in Cyprus*, Ohio State University Press, 1968). It's been a sobering experience reading the fifteen or so reviews that appeared. I suppose I should be pleased and hold my tongue, since nearly all the reviews are "favorable," a few even embarrassingly gushy; but if my experience is typical, it seems to me that book reviewing as a form of intellectual communication is in such a poor state that we all ought to be concerned, if not alarmed. So I offer my personal observations and proposals to promote the time-honored purpose of stimulating the consideration and discussion that must precede reform.

First, some critical observations:

1. Too many journals and magazines that ought to have reviewed the book skipped it entirely. The OSU Press mailed out over one hundred review copies, around ninety of which must have been thrown away or black marketed. Every author hopes for a front page notice in the *New York Times Book Review* or (in my field) a long "review essay" in *World Politics*, but is hardly surprised or shattered when a review of John Updike's latest novel or Raymond Aron's masterwork gets the space. But the first detailed, serious piece of scholarship on a major UN operation (UNFICYP) probably deserves some kind of notice in the international relations and international law journals at least. Of the twenty or so leading journals in these two fields, six carried reviews of my book. A "review" (of 47 words) appeared in only one of the specialized military affairs journals. My book about UN peace-keeping was ignored by the "peace movement" press. Of the top twenty or so general political journals, only three carried reviews. There were no reviews in the journals that specialize in Commonwealth affairs or European politics. Just one of the leading journals in Middle Eastern politics published a review. All the leading high brow magazines of the *Atlantic-Encounter-Saturday Review* variety passed up the book (despite Norman Cousins' pious contention, in one of his *S.R.* columns that I clipped and still cherish for motivational

purposes, that "The biggest lesson of all to be learned about contemporary civilization is that nothing anyone is doing today makes any sense unless it is connected to the making of a genuine peace"). *Time*, *Newsweek*, and the "better papers" were, of course, all too busy reviewing the latest soft core pornographic potboilers. Finally, perhaps the slight that hurt the most was getting ignored by the Virginia Kirkus Service, which librarians depend upon to tell them which books to buy; Virginia Kirkus never reviews university press books.

2. My book was too often reviewed by the wrong people. It is obviously first and foremost a book about UN peace-keeping and only secondarily a book about Cyprus (which just happened to be the site of the latest important UN peace-keeping effort when I started my research in 1965; had world events unfolded slightly differently, I might have written *The United Nations Force in Tanzania*). A generous foreword was kindly supplied by Inis Claude, a distinguished scholar in the field of international relations and international organization affairs. Nonetheless, half of the fifteen book review editors commissioned Mediterranean area specialists without background or interest in the UN; accordingly, many of the reviewers quibble a bit with my inevitably oversimplified interpretation of Cypriot history and political dynamics, but say little about my central theses regarding UNFICYP and UN peace-keeping generally. (Perhaps I should be thankful for small favors; if Leland Goodrich or Lincoln Bloomfield or Ernest Lefever had examined my work, perhaps I'd be staggering under their blows by now . . . though I'll always be perversely curious about how I'd have fared at the hands of UN specialists.) Moreover, several of the reviewers are of Greek extraction, and I'm afraid some bias enters into their reviews of a book regarding the UN's attempt to cope with Greek-Cypriot versus Turkish-Cypriot communal violence; for instance, without dealing directly with my rather elaborate supporting evidence, several reject out of hand my argument that Archbishop Makarios precipitated the violence in 1963 for political purposes.

3. Too many of the reviews are really non-reviewing reviews. Written by scholars with their own favorite theses to advance, the non-reviewing reviews briefly mention the book at the outset and then ignore it in subsequent paragraphs. In this arty form, the reader seldom finds out much about the book supposedly under consideration. Its subject matter, scope, organization, theses, and, most importantly, its merits and defects are not conveyed by the reviewer too busy attempting several other tasks that he probably considers more important and hence more suited to his talents.

4. Many of the reviews are surprisingly irresponsibly written. In the first place, I got a few lumps for not having written a different book (an exhaustive, book-length analysis of the ethnic roots of the conflict, for example; or a "general theory" of UN peace-keeping, whatever that might mean; or a thorough examination of all the fine legal intricacies UNFICYP involved; or a "solution" for the intractable Cypriot imbroglio; or a whitewash of Makarios; or a paean to the UN). Second, many of the reviews are pretty sloppy; there are several unjustified criticisms (usually with the reviewer suggesting things he mistakenly thought I'd omitted or failed to investigate) as well as a handful of distortions, misrepresentations, and misquotes. Third and finally, I was astonished by the amount of plagiarism I found in the reviews. Most of the reviewers have lifted whole passages from the book without identifying the words as mine. Several of the reviewers even pass off as their own words some passages they lifted from the dust jacket blurb or, worse yet, from Inis Claude's foreword!

* * *

I suspect other readers have had similar reactions to the reviews their books have stimulated. Perhaps they will have some suggestions to add to those that follow:

1. Book review editors should take serious scholarship more seriously. The professional journals ought to be given more space to publish more reviews. Most reviews probably

ought to be more extensive than they presently are. Textbooks and edited books of readings should not be reviewed at all except under highly unusual circumstances. Maybe if we really think our scholarship is important, we ought to be willing to support new journals devoted entirely to reviewing this supposedly important new work. The high class popular periodicals might even consider whether it makes any sense to go on reviewing Harold Robbins, cookbooks, and whodunits while ignoring serious scholarship and yet bemoaning mankind's present precarious condition.

2. Book review editors should commission reviews more carefully to get the most qualified, least biased, and most honest reviewers possible.

3. Reviewers should describe and appraise the book under consideration, and save most of their own theses for later articles. It might not even be a bad idea to ask reviewers to grade six or seven key aspects of the book (significance, organization, thoroughness, soundness, imaginativeness, style, etc.) and print these grades (in letters or stars or something) at the close of each review.

4. It should hardly be necessary to suggest that reviewers observe basic scholarly ethics in order to eliminate, or at least reduce, unfairness and dishonesty.

5. Authors probably ought to complain to book review editors if they feel a reviewer has been unfair or unethical (even, maybe especially, if the review has been "favorable"). Usually only the author knows his book well enough to be able to blow the whistle on a disreputable reviewer.

6. At least until some of my suggestions are implemented (which seems a long-run hope rather than a short-term likelihood), readers probably ought to be on guard and scan book reviews with more than the usual grain of salt they bring with them to their reading of journal articles. If my experience is typical, most reviews are not a very reliable aid to the harried scholar trying to keep abreast of several rapidly changing fields.

Open Letter to Members of the Association from Robert E. Lane, President

May 1971

Dear Colleague:

Where does the money go? What do you get for your Association dues? What in the world do they do in the National Office?

I'll speak of the 1970-71 situation, since it is the one most relevant to your interests and one on which we have pretty good estimates.

The total expenditures in this year will be about \$786,000. The total income will be about \$598,000. Thus this year, when the new dues only came into effect in the third quarterly billing (except for some welcome voluntary dues payments), we will be running a deficit of about \$189,000. The new individual dues payments for a full year will increase income by about \$53,000. As you can see, we have had to cut back drastically our planned expenses for next year.

The REVIEW is the biggest single item, with direct costs of about \$162,000. But that figure doesn't include keeping the membership (circulation) lists, the cost of a bookkeeping department, the cost of the person in the national office who promotes advertising for the REVIEW, or any of the legal, auditing, or other national office expenses. They are hard to assign; I'll refer just to direct hard costs here and then take up the overhead costs later.

The REVIEW also produces income. The Institutional Memberships which includes the REVIEW and PS (libraries and government offices for the most part), bring in about \$94,000. Advertising in the REVIEW brings in \$60,000. Thus, one could say the REVIEW covers its direct costs, although not the overhead.

PS serves very useful functions in the Association; indeed, I believe it should be expanded so that it is as useful a publication as THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST or THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGIST. Readership studies in psychology show that of all their publications (and they have thirteen!) the AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST is the most frequently and most thoroughly read. Perhaps PS readership follows the same pattern in political science. In any event, its direct costs (almost all printing and mailing) will be about \$51,000 in 1970-71. This does not include the salary of the editor, a national office staff person. Unfortunately PS brings in no income so that this sum is totally a charge on dues and other sources of income.

Annual Meeting. The Annual Meeting (printing preliminary and final programs, hiring special registration personnel at the site, Program Committee expenses, national office staff—it takes about one half of the time of a staff member of the Association to handle this large administrative task—travel of the entire staff to the meeting site, hotel expenses, etc.) costs about \$79,000. On the other hand, there is some income from this enterprise: exhibits \$24,000; registration fees \$13,000; advertising in the programs \$28,000, or a total income of \$65,000. Although the Annual Meeting contributed \$15,000 to the deficit this year, when we raise the registration fees for the September 1971 meeting, we should just about break even.

Personnel Service. It costs us about \$27,000 to run the personnel service, including a small amount for the national manpower register (for which NSF pays). I think you will agree that this service has been greatly improved this year and we are moving toward a more rational scientific manpower marketplace. For example, this year over 400 different positions have been listed in the *Personnel Service Newsletter*. To help pay for this service, we receive about \$9,000 in subscriptions (fees for the newsletter, a few department fees, and special payments to handle dossiers for those who request it). We also get about \$4,000 from NSF for the manpower register—a project not to be continued next year. In fiscal 1971, then, the personnel service contributed about \$14,000 to our deficit.

Directory. The profession is now working with a Biographical Directory that contains information gathered in 1967. In that year we had about 11,000 individual members while today we have about 14,500 individual members. It is estimated that the average member of our profession changes his location about every three years. Since the Directory is used by the membership for recruiting, locating specialists, addressing colleagues, and every other manpower function, it is clear that we are grossly handicapped by our lack of a current directory, a situation that works its serious hardships on the younger members of the profession. Yet because of our deficit, we did not provide for work on a new directory in 1970-71 (although we have done so for next year). Sales of the directory help to cover the costs, but without subsidy the operation has always incurred a deficit. This year we received an income of about \$1,000 from the sales of our obsolete directory.

**Open Letter to Members of the
Association from Robert E. Lane,
President**

Professional Equality. As you know, we have been making special efforts to improve the status of Blacks, Chicanos, Women, and others in our profession. These efforts have three components: (a) a graduate fellowship program for Blacks, (b) meetings for the several groups to consider their problems and surveys of their memberships and circumstances in the profession, and (c) attempts to improve recruitment, the protection of legal rights, and research opportunities for these and other groups. Costs are hard to assign, since much of the cost is incurred by national office salaries, mailings, and overhead items. The direct costs are these: Black fellowships \$18,000; Meetings of Committees and studies for Blacks, Chicanos, and Women \$33,000; costs of recruitment, legal protection, and development of research funds are all overhead expenses and difficult to ascertain. Thus the total direct cost of this enterprise is about \$51,000. Our application to the Ford Foundation to help us with the Black fellowship and research funding enterprise was not successful, hence there is no program money to help us with these costs. We are currently seeking funds elsewhere.

Education. The Association has four kinds of educational programs currently operating. The first is a program of work to develop better *pre-collegiate* education, funded currently by the Office of Education. The headquarters for this program is at the University of Indiana (but there are allied projects at seven other universities) and, aside from a contribution of about \$3,000 for a general conference on education in political science, the Association itself receives no funds from this program, except support for the Committee. This is not a place for a review of the program, but it has already done much to improve curricula and teacher training in political science at the high school level.

The *undergraduate* education committee has devoted its energies this year to developing a proposal on curriculum improvement to be submitted to NSF. Since this is a large and important program, the energies of the committee and a special conference on undergraduate education have been devoted to thinking through what we should be doing, a matter in which department chairmen have cooperated extensively. This committee and conference cost us about \$6,000, but some of this was paid for from other sources. The net costs to the Association were about \$3,000, a figure that seems to me to

be low, given the vocation of most of our members and the expressed need for help in this area.

We have done almost nothing about graduate education this year, although you will recall that in 1969-70, a group of (primarily) graduate students conducted a study later published in *PS*, "Obstacles to Graduate Education in Political Science." If we had the staff resources further follow-up work in this area would have a high priority.

Internships. For many years the Association has conducted two internship programs: the Congressional Fellowship Program and the State and Local Government Internship Program. By all accounts these have provided valuable education of a special kind this year for about 59 persons (8 political science Congressional Fellows, 9 journalism Congressional Fellows, and about 40 State and Local Government interns). The total spent on these fellowships in 1970-71 is about \$261,000, but of course that is not part of the regular budget of the Association and comes entirely from foundation funds. What is important here, is that the provisions for salaries and overhead in these grants have helped the Association considerably; the sum amounts to about \$38,000. While it costs about this amount to administer the programs, the work load they require is uneven, and the larger staff these funds provide can, in relatively slack program periods, do other things. On the whole, the Association's many other functions benefit from these fiscal arrangements.

Public or continuing education. Newspapers, television and radio provide much, perhaps most, of the political education that non-students (and students) receive. As a consequence, it makes sense for the Association to continue its long-standing concern with this phase of education. We have a program of fellowships for journalists providing opportunities for them to take leaves of absence to return to universities for further training in the areas they cover in their reporting. These fellowships, funded entirely by foundation support, amount to about \$127,000. In addition, the Association operates week-long seminars twice a year for journalists, and awards prizes for political reporting—also paid entirely from foundation grants. Like the other fellowship grants, the Association receives funds to operate the programs; about \$23,000, enough to cover the costs and to provide the flexibility I mentioned above. In thinking about the budget it

is important to remember that these funds are expendable only for the designated programs.

Ethics and Academic Freedom. The Association has a Committee on Professional Ethics and a Committee on Academic Freedom to advise us on these matters and to handle cases as they arise. They have no staff and hence cannot undertake studies or negotiate with universities; this year we have had to reduce their meetings to one each. Their total direct costs this year will be about \$4,000. There is no compensating income from these activities.

Public Affairs. As most of you know, academic scholars and their associations have been under considerable pressure to take a greater interest in public policy or, more specifically, to use their special expertise to improve the workings and responsiveness of government and public policies and programs. The referendum on the environmental problem passed by the membership last October, urged us to address ourselves to policy questions in this area. My mail is filled with requests for better ways of using political science research in housing, education, poverty, and race programs. We have not done much in this area, but the Legislative Service Program, foundation financed, has done some effective work in helping state legislatures improve their functioning. This program provides Association guided help in running pre-session seminars for new state legislators and for developing manuals describing the job of the legislator in each of sixteen states. The program provides grants amounting to about \$138,000, fully financed by the foundation grant, a figure, which (like the fellowship funds we administer) does not appear in the Association budget since we act primarily as transmitters of funds. The overhead and administrative costs of the program are about \$22,000, fully covered by the grant.

It is my personal view that we have not done enough in this research and public policy area; we could serve as neutral brokers of information between our research community and the governmental policy-making community with consequences that would, over a period of time, make government more responsive, reduce the inequities of certain programs, improve the delivery of health and welfare assistance to the poor, and increase the participation of Blacks, Chicanos, and others in framing the policies that affect them.

Governing the Association. Recent changes in the Association (lodging authority in a 26 person Council, as contrasted to a nine person Executive Committee; mail ballots for elections, referenda, constitutional revision, etc.) have required additional expenses. Not counting staff time, these costs are estimated at about \$56,000 in fiscal 1971. The largest items are \$25,000 for Council meetings (it costs about \$6,000 for each of the four Council meetings we have been having each year for three years), elections, including printing and mailing, handled by the American Arbitration Association for a charge of about \$13,000 (plus Nominating committee and Elections committee costs of about \$2,000), and the special costs of the Annual Business Meeting (professional parliamentarian, professional tellers, special floor microphones, etc.) about \$7,000. The cost, and the values, of democracy are high. Of course, there is no offsetting income from these operations; we would hardly expect this to be subsidized by anyone except our membership.

Overhead and Administrative Costs. In order to keep these operations going, the Association must maintain a building, provide an up to date membership list, maintain a bookkeeping office, answer the mail (nearly 2,000 first class items a week), handle requests for permission to reprint articles in the REVIEW, and other matters. The costs that can be allocated are as follows:

Membership department (4 persons)	\$39,000
Bookkeeping department (2 persons)	\$19,000
Auditing and legal fees	\$ 8,000
Building costs	\$38,000

There is some income received from sales of membership lists (it is about \$13,000) and from renting part of the building (\$27,000). The salaries not included in any of the above calculations (secretarial, librarian, receptionist, Executive Director, etc.) are about \$79,000. The costs of supplies, telephone, staff travel, stationery, reproduction, postage, etc., come to another \$74,000. It is a busy office, some of these expenses will be reduced next year, but some services will suffer from these reductions.

Summary: As you can see, the Association is engaged in many activities, some of them of direct benefit to our members and others designed to improve our society. The allocation of costs and income is difficult, largely because it is

**Open Letter to Members of the
Association from Robert E. Lane,
President**

APSA INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FOR 1970-71 (Estimated)

(in Thousands)

Program	Direct Expenditures and Administrative Costs		Program Income		Net Income or (Cost)
	Items	Program	Items	Program	
Publications and Information Exchange		\$222		\$154	(\$ 68)
Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.	\$162		(154)		
PS	51				
Info. Exch. (Abstracts, comm., etc.)	9				
Annual Meeting		79		65	(14)
Manpower		27		14	(13)
Personnel Svc. (Incl. Natl. Reg.)	27		14		
Directory			1		
Education		69		64	(5)
Pre-Collegiate	2				
Undergraduate	6		3		
Graduate					
Internships	38		38		
Public & Continuing	23		23		
Ethics & Academic Freedom		4			(4)
Professional Equality (Blacks, Chicanos, Women)		51			(51)
Public Affairs (Leg. Svc.)		22		22	
Governing Association		55			(55)
Council	25				
Elections (Am. Arbitr. Assoc., Nom. Comm., Elections Comm.)	15				
Business Meeting	7				
Other (Pres. Trvl., Rules Comm., Const. Rev. Comm., etc.)	8				
Administrative & Overhead		257		40	(217)
Membership lists	39		13		
Bookkeeping	19				
Auditing & Legal fees	8				
Building (maint., custodial, etc.)	38		27		
Office salaries (not incl. in above)	79				
Office exp. (not incl. in above)	63				
Other (APSA memb. fees, cost of sales)	11				
Totals		786		360	(426)
				359	(427)
Income not attributable to programs				238	
Individual dues	172				
Dividends and interest	41				
Sales (panel papers, reprints, dept. chmn. lists, back issues)	12				
Royalties	10				
Miscellaneous & contributions	3				
Total Income (program and other)				597	
Total Expenditures				786	
Projected deficit for 1970-71				(189)	

impossible to allocate administrative costs to specific matters. Let me try to recapitulate what I have said in rough terms, in a way I hope will give a reasonably clear picture of income and expenditure.

There are some lessons in this:

(1) Individual dues represent a relatively small fraction of our income. Even if next year, with the full increase of 1970 in effect, they come to the projected \$225,000, this will not keep the Association going at its current level; the dues increase barely accounts for the inflation that has taken place since dues were set at \$15. Even at their present rate, they represent a smaller fraction of a member's salary (or fellowship?) than was true when the \$15 and \$6 were set. I think a referendum authorizing a gradual dues increase over the next five years is necessary.

(2) We must pay more attention to outside sources of income, especially foundation programs and government educational programs, when the interests of the donors correspond with ours.

(3) We must charge for our services at an economic rate where we can.

(4) We must economize in all phases of our operations.

(5) We must explore the possibility of departmental fees, such as those charged by some of the natural sciences.

The Association is in a position to improve the discipline and serve society; it should be financed so that it performs these services adequately.

Robert E. Lane
President

Teaching Notes On Preparing Teachers

Stephen L. Wasby
Southern Illinois University*

This "Teaching Note" is prompted by Gerald Benjamin's "On Making Teaching 'U'" (*P.S.*, Winter, 1971). Benjamin, it seems to me, overemphasizes formal entries in university catalogs in asserting that not enough is being done about preparing teachers of political science. While it is unclear where he stands with respect to the formal offerings he cites ("The course descriptions speak for themselves"), I get the feeling that he downgrades some efforts being made at a number of institutions—granted, an insufficient number—to work with graduate students as they are teaching. While they may not be reflected in catalogs, such efforts exist and bear at least the potential for helping the incipient teacher get his bearings. The following is offered in the interest of providing some balance to the picture Benjamin presents and of sharing one school's experience.

Beginning in September, 1969, the Department of Government at Southern Illinois University/Carbondale created the position of Supervisor of Teaching Assistants. Most of the Department's more than a dozen Teaching Assistants are employed in a basic American Government course. The professor holding the supervisory position teaches a large lecture section each term and receives either a slight course reduction or the services of a Research Assistant as recompense for his work. His task involves directly supervising discussion group leaders connected with his own lecture section of the course (one of two each term); supervising senior teaching assistants who are in charge of their own "independent" sections of the same course; running a "Teaching Seminar," a non-credit meeting of all the T.A.'s which meets two-three times per academic quarter; and consulting with the other professor (one each term) teaching a large lecture section, who supervises and evaluates his own discussion group leaders. In addition, he assists the Chairman in assignment of T.A.'s.

Supervision of his own discussion group leaders and of the T.A.'s with their own sections involves some of the same tasks.

These include observing their teaching performance and conferring with the T.A. after each such observation and checking on the grading of exams and term papers. In the case of those with "independent" sections, the work further involves "clearing" syllabi and paperback volumes for use in the course, as well as term paper assignments and examinations before they are given. With his own discussion group leaders, it means involving them in the planning for the course, including the selection of supplementary reading materials, if assignments are made early enough, and definitely involves "clearing" their proposals for what they plan to do during the term in the discussion sections they teach.

The notion of "clearance" goes to the heart of the program. It would be possible for the supervising professor to *tell* T.A.'s what they would have to do, something which would certainly create uniformity between sections of the same course which undergraduates sometimes claim they want. However, it most assuredly would not assist the T.A.'s in the process of learning how to teach. Therefore, the supervisor has used what might be called "autonomy under supervision." The T.A.'s are asked to carry out initial planning, such as choice of reading materials and writing of exams or exam questions, as well as grading of exams and papers themselves, but to bring in their proposals and finished work for checking. This provides an opportunity for one with more experience to examine their work and to ask questions about why the Teaching Assistant wishes to do something a given way or why he has arrived at one grade rather than another. The assumption is that those teaching will develop habits of work and a conscious approach to their teaching which will carry over when they leave the supervision of the program.

The "Teaching Seminar" is primarily an opportunity to discuss problems which have arisen in connection with teaching. Sometimes

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the T.A.'s themselves raise questions; sometimes it is the supervising professor who does so, including matters which he has discovered as he has observed the T.A.'s teaching. Course objectives—"What are we trying to do?"—are discussed, as are reasons for variation in student performance and ways of "getting a course off the ground." The perennial question of one's obligations as a teaching assistant as against one's obligations as a graduate student is discussed at length—as a problem of conflicting obligations which does not disappear when graduate work is finished. In addition, the supervising professor introduces feedback from the "Class Council," a group of student representatives from the various sections of the course, with which he meets twice a term; student queries and complaints serve as a basis for some discussions. Criteria on which T.A.'s might be rated are discussed, as a basis for showing the variety of dimensions at which a teacher must look when considering his own work. Standard pedagogical questions like "What is the best type of exam?" and "What type of term paper is most meaningful?" are often debated. No one contends that the matters discussed are earthshaking or that proposed solutions are terribly new or original. What is crucial is that some of the matters may not have been faced openly before in a systematic fashion (perhaps differentiating it from bullpen discussions) and in a guided session in which those *actively involved in a work situation* share their views. The immediacy of the situation makes the discussion more useful. (The faculty participating in these seminars have learned a great deal as well, as they are reminded of matters which they may have come to take for granted.)

One might ask what the results of such a program have been. Because 1970-71 is only the second year of the endeavor, with a different professor having supervised the operation in each of its years, it is clearly may not be welcomed), in higher education, However, a number of the T.A.'s can be seen to have improved in their classroom performance on the basis of matters pointed

out to them after observation. (The observer's advantage is that he can figure out what the T.A. *should have said* while the T.A. is *wondering what he must say next*. The supervisor can serve as an alter ego, standing back and asking what might have been done to make the class better.) Some teaching improvement might have come with experience in any case, but some of the T.A.'s have noted that they were unaware of the matters pointed out to them. Some, with earlier full-time teaching experience, have indicated that they wished someone had observed and worked with them earlier so that they had not acquired "bad habits" and so they could have sooner found a "handle" on problems like grading objectively. Others seem to be indifferent to the program.

This last comment requires an observation for those who might be interested in starting such a program where one has not existed before. Particularly where T.A.'s have operated with no supervision or in forced lockstep, resistance to a program of this sort will be felt, whether in the form of indirect hostile feedback about the supervisor or passive-aggressive behavior with respect to having to meet with the supervisor to go over grading practices. Where there has been no supervision, it will be resented by many; while primary and secondary school teachers have become accustomed to visits from principals and superintendents (even though the visits may not be welcomed), in higher education intrusions into the classrooms from Deans and Chairmen are intensely disliked, and T.A.'s may feel they should not be subject to such observation—even when it is done after notice that a visit will occur and when it is done well after the beginning of the term (to let the T.A. get his feet on the ground and establish rapport with his students). Where T.A.'s have operated in lockstep, they may flounder when asked to prepare syllabi (even for ten discussion group meetings) and may resist having to make initial decisions subject to review, instead of being told what to do. Yet these problems may be largely transitional ones. If T.A.'s are told, when they enter the Department or when they are granted

Teaching Notes

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financial aid, that they will be expected to participate in a program which involves X, Y, and Z, including observations of their teaching, they may come to expect the presence of the observer (even if they never are entirely happy with his visits) and come to take participation in such sessions as the Teaching Seminar as a matter of course.

Another problem, which may also dissolve with time, is that T.A.'s may be unused to being evaluated as teachers and being shifted from assignments of greater desirability to those of lesser desirability on the basis of the supervisor's evaluation of their performance, since Teaching Assistantships, as Benjamin points out, are usually given simply as a means of support. While ability to accept the fact that people have different skill levels may be a function of personality, it is also a function of the social environment and resistance may decrease over time.

A program of the sort described here does not involve massive amounts of manpower; one professor, who regularly teaches in a basic course, can add the work to his load without a great change in his work pattern. Other professors teaching the same or related courses may be asked to devote time to evaluating discussion group leaders working under them, but if one presumes they would in any case be supervising the work of those T.A.'s, this, too, does not involve a major change. To the extent large amounts of time are involved, compensation can be arranged. Undoubtedly more elaborate programs than the one described here can be developed and have been developed, but the program described here seems a fundamental, if minimal, way in which we as members of the political science professoriate can work with our graduate students to help prepare them for teaching without turning them over to the Departments of Education, for which many of us have little taste.

THE NEW, MIDDLE AGED, AND OLD POLITICAL SCIENCE:

PREFACE FOR THE 1971 APSA ANNUAL MEETING PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

**SIDNEY VERBA
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
1971 PROGRAM CHAIRMAN**

Some institutions are totally unworkable. They are illogically organized. They have diverse and irascible participants. They are subject to conflicting demands. One such institution, of course, is the American university. Another is the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Long may they both survive! Or at least till someone invents something better.

The Annual Meeting is the best opportunity for members of the profession from all parts of the country, all branches of the discipline, and all types of institutions to come together and explore their mutual concerns—concerns having to do with improving our understanding of political things and conveying that understanding to others. The Annual Meeting should represent what is going on in the discipline: new approaches, old approaches, middle-aged approaches. And the program committee was so organized. It consists of those involved in various branches of the discipline with varied interests, methods and substantive concerns. And it consists of individuals open to diverse views.

We have tried to avoid being a too eager and activist program committee. It has not been our job to stimulate new research, so much as to locate the important research currently going on and to organize the presentation of that research in coherent and meaningful ways. It has not been our job to provide new directions for teaching political science nor to determine the other professional concerns of political scientists. Rather we sought out the innovators in teaching and those concerned with other professional matters to have them present their innovations and concerns to the discipline. And we advertised our existence so that others could seek us out. In short, our working definition of political science was: political science is what political scientists do. Our job is to organize things so that they can do it.

The results will in all probability be an intellectual chaos: all kinds of subjects will be discussed from multiple perspectives; some brilliant work will be presented, much "solid" work and perhaps even some not-so-solid work. In other words, the meeting will be what we want it to be—an accurate reflection of the best and most salient concerns of the discipline.

The Annual Meeting has been criticised as an "establishment" institution. Insofar as membership on the program committee makes one, by definition, a member of the establishment, the criticism cannot be refuted. (Though some members of the program committee got a bit edgy when I pointed out to them that they were of the establishment.) Insofar as the criticism suggests bias and "old boy" networks, I frankly think it is wrong and misguided. It is true that the modal participant in the Annual Meeting will probably continue to be the Assistant Professor from the University of Michigan with a Yale PhD (or is it vice versa?) Or if not that exactly, it will probably be a member of the same species with a Berkeley or Harvard or Chicago or some such place thrown in. To expect that someone at one of the "top" departments is no more likely to appear on the program than other members of the discipline—or to interpret their "overrepresentation" as evidence of bias—is to ignore the selectivity that goes on in choosing faculty at various schools and the self-selection in terms of motivation of those who wind up at such schools.

But, the program committee was enjoined to cast their nets very wide; to move outside their own acquaintance patterns. We tried to avoid fixing on panels too early, to allow members of the profession to respond to our invitations to participate. We were very self-conscious of a need to seek the best work wherever it might be. We think the program will reflect both the power of the powerful places as well as the wide diversity of locations in which excellent work in political science is being done. And though the bulk of the program is—and should be—devoted to current research on political mat-

ters, large sections of the program are also devoted to problems associated with teaching political science and to other professional problems of the political scientist. The Annual Meeting is an opportunity to confront and evaluate the problems of political science and political scientists in the most general way.

A few comments on some differences between this meeting and some in the past.

1. The Program Committee has been operating under a new rule of the Council of the Association barring the delegation of panels to other groups outside of the Program Committee. Thus there are no panels organized by the Caucus for a New Political Science, the Conference for a Democratic Politics, the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, or any other group—except for official committees of the Association. The program committee has, of course, remained open to suggestions for panels from all quarters; and many panels that might have appeared under the auspices of one group or another were suggested to us and appear under our auspices. The Council decision has not led to a narrowing of the range of panels offered—as it was not, I believe, the Council's intention to do.
2. At the 1971 meeting we do not intend to have a major political speaker address a plenary session of the Association. If you think this change is for the good, you will understand our reasons for this. If not, my explication of the reasons will not convince you.
3. We have tried to be somewhat innovative in format for the meetings. We are particularly interested in the "workshop" format which will be used for a fairly large proportion of the sessions. Under this format, papers will be available as a set during the summer from the Washington offices of the Association (see page 165), in the hope that those attending the workshops will be prepared. The workshops will not include presentation of the papers. Rather a more active chairman will organize and guide a discussion of the topic of the various papers. Hopefully these will make for more interesting interchange than at the ordinary multi-paper, multi-discussant panels.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Registration

Registration desks will be maintained in the Lower Lobby of the Conrad Hilton Hotel. They will be open during the following hours:

Monday, September 6—12:00 noon to 6:00 p.m.

Tuesday, September 7—9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Wednesday, September 8—9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Thursday, September 9—9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Friday, September 10—9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Saturday, September 11—9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Persons arriving on Monday and Tuesday are urged to register promptly and thereby avoid the heavy registration periods later in the week.

At registration each person will be given an official annual meeting badge and a copy of the annual meeting Program. The badge must be displayed upon entering all panel meetings and general sessions.

Location of Meetings

All panel meetings, general sessions and special meetings will be held in either the Conrad Hilton or the Sheraton Blackstone Hotel unless otherwise noted. The room locations of all meetings will be indicated in the annual meeting Program.

APSA Membership and Services

A membership desk will be located next to registration for the convenience of those desiring to join the Association. Membership rates are based on income: under

\$12,000—\$20; \$12-15,000—\$25; over \$15,000—\$30; student—\$10.

Information about the Association's membership services, including insurance programs and personnel service may also be obtained from the desk in the registration area.

Professional Placement Service

The APSA will maintain a professional placement service for its members in the East Hall (near the APSA registration area). It will be open throughout the meeting. It is not necessary to be a member of APSA's personnel service to use the Convention Placement Service. For further information and details concerning the placement service, see page 319 of this program.

Press Room

A press room will be located in Dining Room 8 on the Third Floor of the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Typewriters and telephones will be available for use by registered members of the press only. Copies of papers delivered at the meetings will also be available.

Panel Papers

Papers presented at the meeting will be available for sale in North Hall of the Conrad Hilton Hotel (near the registration area).

Exhibits

Exhibits will be located in the West Hall of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, near the registration area.

Hotel Accommodations

The Conrad Hilton Hotel is the official headquarters hotel of the annual meeting. The Conrad Hilton offers a flat rate for all rooms: \$15.00 single; \$21.00 double or twin. A reservation card for securing hotel accommodations is enclosed with this program. Members should make their room reservations promptly if they wish accommodations in the headquarters hotel. When the room capacity of the Conrad Hilton Hotel is exhausted, reservations will be forwarded to nearby hotels where the same room rates will be in effect.

Diplomatic Registration and Information Desk

For the convenience of members of foreign embassies and legations attending the meeting, a registration and information desk will be maintained near the main registration desk in the Lower Lobby.

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon; 2:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Council Meeting, *The American Political Science Association*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon; 2:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Council Meeting, *The American Political Science Association*

12:00 noon to 6:00 p.m.—Registration

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.—1972 APSA Annual Meeting Program Committee Meeting and Luncheon

2:00 p.m.—Panel Meetings

4:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Special Meeting I
 4:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Business Meeting I (tentative), *The American Political Science Association*
 7:00 p.m.—*American Political Science Review*, Editorial Board Dinner
 8:30 p.m.—Open Discussion of the APSA Constitution

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration
 9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings
 12:00 noon—Special Meetings
 2:00 p.m.—Panel Meetings
 4:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.—Business Meeting II (tentative; with dinner break), *The American Political Science Association*
 5:30 p.m.—Receptions
 8:00 p.m.—Special Session 1

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration
 9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings
 12:00 noon—Special Meetings
 2:00 p.m.—Panel Meetings
 8:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.—Presidential Address and Presentation of Awards
 10:30 p.m.—Congressional Fellowship Reception

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration
 9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings
 2:00 p.m.—Panel Meetings
 8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—Special Sessions 2 & 3

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon—Registration
 9:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings

SCHEDULE OF PANELS, SPECIAL SESSIONS, AND SPECIAL MEETINGS

Each panel is identified according to general subject area and time of presentation. The general subject area is indicated by number; the time of presentation by letter as follows:

<i>General Subject Area</i>	<i>Section Number</i>	<i>Time of Presentation</i>	<i>Letter</i>
Urban Politics	1	Tuesday afternoon, 2:00 p.m.	A
Impact of Social Science on Society:		Wednesday morning, 9:00 a.m.	B
A Retrospect on Major Policy		Wednesday afternoon, 2:00 p.m.	C
Issues	2	Thursday morning, 9:00 a.m.	D
Formal Theory	3	Thursday afternoon, 2:00 p.m.	E
New Modes of Policy Analysis	4	Friday morning, 9:00 a.m.	F
Impact of the Social Sciences on		Friday afternoon, 2:00 p.m.	G
Society:		Saturday morning, 9:00 a.m.	H
Prospects for the Major Issues			
of the Future	5		
Ethical Theory	6		
Political Development, New			
Directions	7		

Law and Social Change	8
Political Science as a Vocation	9
Conflict, Groups and Party	
Alignments	10
Technology and Politics	11
Problems of Measurement and	
Method	12
International Relations and	
Organization	13
Teaching Political Science	14
Public Administration: the Admin-	
istration of the Social Services	15
Art as Politics	16
Political Belief Systems and Their	
Formation	17
The Philosophical Analysis of the	
Science of Politics	18
The Study of Central Political	
Processes	19
Interdisciplinary Political Science	20
Political Science and the Sociological	
Imagination	21

Special Sessions

Special Session I—Wednesday, 8:00 p.m.

Special Session II—Friday, 8:00 p.m.

Special Meetings

Special Meeting I—Tuesday 4:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Special Meeting II—Wednesday, 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.

Special Meeting III—Wednesday, 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.

Special Meeting IV—Thursday, 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.

Sidney Verba, *University of Chicago*
Chairman, Program Committee

1. Urban Politics

Joel Aberbach, University of Michigan

Panel 1-A Indian Urban Politics (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Tuesday

Panel 1-B Police in the Urban Environment—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

Panel 1-C Urban Problems in the Communist World—2:00 p.m., Wednesday

Panel 1-D The Study of Urban Politics—9:00 a.m., Thursday

**Panel 1-E The Politics of Urban Marginal Groups in Latin America (Workshop)
—2:00 p.m., Thursday**

**Panel 1-G The Political Legacy of the Urban Protests in the 1960's—2:00 p.m.,
Friday**

2. Impact of Social Science on Society: a Retrospect on Major Policy Issues

Graham Allison, Harvard University

Panel 2-B Research on Poverty: Retrospect—9:00 a.m., Wednesday

- Panel 2-D1** **Bureaucracy and National Security Policy—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
- Panel 2-D2** **The Financing of Politics—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
- Panel 2-E1** **PPB: Retrospect—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 2-E2** **Organizational and Bureaucratic Political Studies: Next Steps (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 2-F1** **The All Volunteer Military and National Service—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 2-F2** **The Impact of Strategic Thought on American Foreign Policy— 9:00 a.m., Friday**

3. Formal Theory

Gordon Black, University of Rochester

- Panel 3-A** **Biological and Psychological Models of Political Behavior—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
- Panel 3-B** **Formal Models of Alternative Decision Rules—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 3-D** **Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy: 15 Years Later—9:00 a.m., Thursday (Also listed as Panel 10-D1)**
- Panel 3-E** **Models of International Politics—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 3-F** **The Structural of Political Games—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 3-G** **Expositions on the Minimal Winning Coalition Hypothesis—2:00 p.m., Friday**

4. New Modes of Policy Analysis

Patrick Crecine, University of Michigan

- Panel 4-A** **Determinants of Policy Outcomes: Integration of Positive and Normative Approaches—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
- Panel 4-B** **Policy and Decision Simulation Games—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 4-C** **Processes of Public Policy Formation and Decision Making—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 4-D** **Radical Approaches to Public Policy & Administration
(Section 1): Radical Perspectives on the Role on the State: Present, in Transition, as Utopia. Is the Society Governable?—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
- Panel 4-E** **(Section 2): Utopian Models and Harsh Imperatives—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 4-F1** **Multi-Disciplinary Policy Perspectives—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 4-F2** **Public Choice and Public Policy: (Section 1): Theories of Public Choice and Policy Analysis—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 4-G** **(Section 2): Spatial Theories of Public Choice—2:00 p.m., Friday**
- Panel 4-H** **Operations Research in the Public Sector—9:00 a.m., Saturday**

5. The Impact of the Social Science on Society: Prospects for the Major Issues of the Future

Murray Edelman, University of Wisconsin

- Panel 5-C** **The Analysis of Future Issues—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 5-E** **Can Fascism Happen Here?—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 5-F** **The Future of Public Welfare Policy—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 5-G** **Population, Ecology and the Polity: Needs and Possibilities for Political Science Research—2:00 p.m., Friday**

6. Ethical Theory

Richard Flathman, University of Chicago

- Panel 6-B** **Ethics and Politics in the Study of Latin American Politics—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 6-C** **Authority and Responsibility—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 6-F** **Symposium on Political Obligation—9:00 a.m., Friday**

7. Political Development, New Directions

Warren Ilchman, University of California, Berkeley

- Panel 7-A1** **Interpersonal Patterns of Behavior and Political Development: Roundtable of Anthropologists and Political Scientists**—2:00 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 7-A2** **Comparative Military Regimes in Developing Societies**—2:00 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 7-B** **The Micro-Setting of Political Development**—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 7-C** **Political Development: Revisionist Interpretations**—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 7-D** **Political Economy and Political Development: "The Paradox of Affluence for Political Development"**—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 7-E** **Chairmen's Invitational Panel on Political Development and Comparing Politics**—2:00 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 7-F** **Modernization as a Concept in Studying Political Development**—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 7-G** **The Micro-Setting of Political Development**—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 7-H** **Latin American Politics in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Brazil**—9:00 a.m., Saturday

8. Law and Social Change

Herbert Jacob, Northwestern University

- Panel 8-B** **Cross National Studies of the Judicial Process**—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 8-C** **Research on Police and Policing**—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 8-D** **Civil Liberties in the 70's**—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 8-E** **Studies of Compliance (Workshop)**—2:00 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 8-F** **Law and Public Policy: Approaches to Analysis and Evaluation**—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 8-G** **Consumers of Justice (Workshop)**—2:00 p.m., Friday
- Panel 8-H** **New Directions in the Study of Appellate Courts (Workshop)**—9:00 a.m., Saturday

9. Political Science as a Vocation

Merle Kling, Washington University

- Panel 9-A** **Career Patterns, Attitudes and Party Affiliations of Political Scientists**—2:00 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 9-B** **Foreign-Born Political Scientists: Their Roles in the Profession**—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 9-C** **The Role of the Political Scientist and the Role of the Intellectual**—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 9-G** **Change and Continuity in the Political Scientist's Role: The Effects of Entering Non-teaching Occupations**—2:00 p.m., Friday

10. Conflicts, Groups and Party Alignments

David Kovenock, University of North Carolina

- Panel 10-A** **Group Conflict in American Legislative Bodies**—2:00 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 10-B** **Class, Party and Power (Workshop)**—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 10-C1** **Comparative Assessments of Leader-Follower Relationships Within Political Parties**—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 10-C2** **Politics and the Disequalized**—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 10-D1** **Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy: 15 Years Later (Workshop)** (also listed as Panel 3-D)—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 10-D2** **Nominating Presidents and Prime Ministers: Comparative Perspectives**—9:00 a.m., Thursday

- Panel 10-E** **Social Conflict and Party Competition in the United States—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 10-F** **Protests, Dissent and the "Rules of the Game"—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 10-G** **Public Officials as Lobbyists and Partisan Actives—2:00 p.m., Friday**
- Panel 10-H** **Conflicts, Alignments and Groups in Communist Politics—9:00 a.m., Saturday**

11. Technology and Politics

Todd La Porte, University of California, Berkeley

- Panel 11-B** **Creative Political Philosophy in a Technopolitical Culture: Difficulties and Challenges—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 11-C** **The Technological Challenge to Political and Administrative Organization in the United States: An Analytical Colloquium—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 11-D** **U.S. Science Policy in the Developing Nations: A Roundtable Discussion—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
- Panel 11-E** **Scientists and Engineers as Political Advisors—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 11-F** **Priorities in the Study of Science, Technology and Politics: Complaint, Prospect and Open Discussion—9:00 a.m., Friday**

12. Problems of Measurement and Method

Lester Milbrath, SUNY, Buffalo

- Panel 12-B** **Evaluating the Qualities of Measuring Instruments—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 12-C** **Overview Session: The Development of Measurement in Social Science—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 12-D** **Methodologies for Evaluating Public Programs (Workshop)—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
- Panel 12-E** **Methods for Assuring Conceptual Equivalence Across Cultures (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 12-F** **Experimentation and Experimental Design (Workshop)—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 12-G1** **Improving Measurement With Aggregate Statistics—2:00 p.m., Friday**
- Panel 12-G2** **Film and Videotape as Data—2:00 p.m., Friday**
- Panel 12-H** **The Measurement of Quality in Large Scale Systems—9:00 a.m., Saturday**

13. International Relations and Organizations

Joseph Nye, Jr., Harvard University

- Panel 13-A1** **Linkage Politics Revisited (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
- Panel 13-A2** **External Dependency—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
- Panel 13-B1** **Foreign Policy and Middle Level Powers—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 13-B2** **Economic Statecraft and International Politics (Workshop)—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 13-C1** **Moral Issues in International Affairs—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 13-C2** **Concept of the Military-Industrial Complex—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
- Panel 13-D1** **What Future for the United Nations—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
- Panel 13-D2** **The U.S. and Military Alliances—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
- Panel 13-E1** **Does the State Department Make Decisions?—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 13-E2** **Transnational Relations—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
- Panel 13-F1** **International Relations Theory and Peace—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 13-F2** **Soviet Studies (Workshop)—9:00 a.m., Friday**
- Panel 13-G** **Game Theory and International Politics—2:00 p.m., Friday**

- Panel 13-H1** **Event Interaction Analysis—9:00 a.m., Saturday**
Panel 13-H2 **Japan's Wartime Administration in Southeast Asia (Workshop)—9:00 a.m., Saturday**

14. Teaching Political Science

G. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester

- Panel 14-A** **Judicial Studies: Approaches to Teaching (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
Panel 14-D **Values and Relevance in Teaching Political Science—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
Panel 14-E1 **Innovative Approaches to Teaching Political Science—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
Panel 14-E2 **Teaching Diplomacy (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
Panel 14-F **Overview: Teaching Political Science in Crisis: Obligations and Strategies—9:00 a.m., Friday**
Panel 14-G **Roundtable on an APSA Proposal to Improve Undergraduate Education in Political Science—2:00 p.m., Friday**

15. Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

Paul Puryear, Florida State University

- Panel 15-A** **New Frontiers in the Study of Social Services Administration—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
Panel 15-C **Social Administration in Developing Countries—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
Panel 15-D1 **The Measurement of Policy Outcomes in the Administration of Social Services—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
Panel 15-D2 **Politics of Health—Decision Making and Control—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
Panel 15-E **Symposium on the Delivery of Health Care Services to the Aged—2:00 p.m., Thursday**
Panel 15-F **The Analysis and Measurement of Elite Roles in the Administration of Social Services—9:00 a.m., Friday**
Panel 15-G **Welfare and Welfare Administration in the Non-Capitalist World—2:00 p.m., Friday**

16. Art As Politics

Claire Rosenfield, Brown University

- Panel 16-B** **The Language of Politics—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
Panel 16-C **The Novel as Politics—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
Panel 16-D **Music, Public Policy, and Social Change—9:00 a.m., Thursday**
Panel 16-F **Drama as Politics—9:00 a.m., Friday**

17. Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

Denis G. Sullivan, Dartmouth College

- Panel 17-A1** **Personality, Attitude Consistency, and Political Ideology—(Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
Panel 17-A2 **The Role of Education in the Formation of Political Beliefs: A Comparative Perspective (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Tuesday**
Panel 17-B1 **The Aging Process and Political Belief Systems—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
Panel 17-B2 **New Directions in Linking Psychology and Political Science—9:00 a.m., Wednesday**
Panel 17-C **Approaches to the Study of Political Values—2:00 p.m., Wednesday**
Panel 17-D **The Political Beliefs of American Intellectuals—9:00 a.m., Thursday**

- Panel 17-E** Evidence and Inference in the Explanation of American Voting Behavior: the Causal Status of Political Beliefs—2:00 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 17-F1** Dimensions of Political Involvement—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 17-F2** Computer Simulation of Political Belief Systems—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 17-G** Ethnic Identity and Political Beliefs—2:00 p.m., Friday

18. Philosophical Analysis of the Science of Politics

Michael Haas and John Wilson, University of Hawaii

- Panel 18-A** The Impact of Ethical Positions on Empirical Political Research—2:00 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 18-C** Philosophical Critiques of Contemporary Political Science—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 18-D** Does Political Science Really Exist? Phenomenology, Metaphysics, and Ontology Look at Us from a Worm's Eye View (Workshop)—9:00 a.m., Thursday

19. The Study of Central Political Processes

Robert Peabody, Johns Hopkins University

- Panel 19-A** National Policy-Making: U.S. and U.S.S.R.—2:00 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 19-B** The Comparative Study of National Legislatures—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 19-C** Congressional Elections and Professional Participation: A Roundtable Discussion—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 19-D** Congressional Research—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 19-E** Authority and Planning in East and West—2:00 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 19-F** The American Presidency and Political Leadership—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 19-G1** Policy Implications of the New Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President—2:00 p.m., Friday
- Panel 19-G2** Comparative Communism—2:00 p.m., Friday

20. Interdisciplinary Political Science

Ellis Sandoz, East Texas State University

- Panel 20-A** Biology and Politics—2:00 p.m., Tuesday
- Panel 20-B** Politics and Public Values—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 20-C** Politics, Education, and Philosophy: John Locke—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 20-D** Politics and the Press—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 20-E** The Wellsprings of Humanity—2:00 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 20-F** Literature and Politics: The Russian Novel—9:00 a.m., Friday
- Panel 20-G1** Psychology and Politics—2:00 p.m., Friday
- Panel 20-G2** Myth, Society, and History—2:00 p.m., Friday

21. Political Science and the Sociological Imagination

Peter Bachrach, Temple University

- Panel 21-B** Politics as Art—9:00 a.m., Wednesday
- Panel 21-C** The Unheavenly City, What is to Be Done?—2:00 p.m., Wednesday
- Panel 21-D** The Future of Political Education (Workshop)—9:00 a.m., Thursday
- Panel 21-E** Reconstituting Cities—2:00 p.m., Thursday
- Panel 21-G** Decentralization and Community Control: Alternatives to Majority Tyranny (Workshop)—2:00 p.m., Friday

THE DAILY PROGRAM

(Meetings, special events, titles of panel papers, and names of panel participants are indicated whenever this information was available at the time of the printing. Full information, including room locations of each function will appear in the annual meeting Program. Morning panels must be over by 11:00 a.m. and afternoon panels must be concluded by 3:30 p.m. so that the meeting rooms may be prepared for subsequent sessions.)

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.—1972 Program Committee Meeting and Luncheon

1:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Exhibits open

1:30 p.m.—Demonstration Center

1:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.—APSA Political Science Education Project Office

2:00 p.m.—Panel Meetings (Group A)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group A)

1:30 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Urban Politics

INDIAN URBAN POLITICS (Workshop)

1-A

Chairman: DONALD B. ROSENTHAL, SUNY, Buffalo

WORKSHOPS:

Research workshops have been introduced into the program of the 1971 Annual Meeting as a new format providing more open, informal participation in the sessions. Workshops are noted as such in the Program. They will be limited to small groups on a first come, first served basis. Papers prepared for the workshops will not be read at that session. They will be available on request from APSA Washington headquarters at a cost of \$2 per packet prepaid during July. A packet will contain all the papers for a particular workshop. It is expected that persons interested in attending a particular workshop will have read the papers before-hand. Those chairing the workshops will have the option of limiting the session to those who have read the papers.

To order the workshop papers, use the form below.

Circle those workshops for which you wish to order the packet of papers at \$2 per packet.

Panel

1-A	8-E	12-B	12-H	13-D2	17-A1	18-D
1-E	8-G	12-D	13-A1	13-F2	17-A2	19-E
2-E2	8-H	12-E	13-B1	13-H	17-B1	21-B
3-D	10-B	12-F	13-B2	14-A	17-B2	21-D
				14-E2	17-F1	21-G

Name _____

Address _____

_____ (Zip) _____

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 7

Participants: RODERICK A. CHURCH, Brock University
RODNEY W. JONES, Pomona College
PHILIP OLDENBURG, University of Chicago
ROBERT G. WIRSING, University of Denver
MARGUERITE BARNETT, Princeton University

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—The Impact of Social Science on Society: A Retrospect
on Major Policy Issues

SCIENTIFIC STANDARDS AND PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE: 2-A1
THE CASE OF ABM

Chairman: EDWARD SHILLS, University of Chicago
Discussants: HOWARD BERGER, Xerox Corporation
RICHARD PERLE, Subcommittee on National Security and International
Operations, U.S. Senate
ALBERT WOHLSTETTER, University of Chicago

STRATEGIES FOR USING SOCIAL SCIENCE IN GOVERNMENT 2-A2

Papers: THOMAS W. MILBURN (Chairman), DePaul University
DAVIS BOBROW, University of Minnesota
CHARLES F. HERMANN, Ohio State University
RAYMOND TANTER, University of Michigan

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

JEANNE MOZIER
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
1527 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE. N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 7

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Formal Theory

BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MODELS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR 3-A

Chairman: BARBARA DECKARD, University of California, Riverside

Papers: **"A Truth Functional Model of Belief Systems"**
BERNARD N. GROFMAN, SUNY, Stony Brook
"An Evolutionary-Adaptive Theory of Aggression"
PETER A. CORNING, University of Colorado

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—New Modes of Policy Analysis

DETERMINANTS OF POLICY OUTCOMES: INTEGRATION OF POSITIVE AND NORMATIVE APPROACHES 4-A

Chairman: JOHN E. JACKSON, Harvard University

Papers: **"A Policy-Making Approach to the Study of Local Municipalities"**
BRYAN T. DOWNES and
LEWIS FRIEDMAN, Michigan State University
"The Delaware River Valley: A Study of Social Choice"
EDWIN T. HAEFELE, Resources for the Future
"Econometric Model for Local Government Budgeting"
ROBERT P. INMAN, University of Pennsylvania

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Political Development, New Directions

INTERPERSONAL PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (WORKSHOP) 7-A1

Chairman: JOHN DUNCAN POWELL, Tufts University

Discussants: ARNOLD STRICKON, University of Wisconsin
MARC SWARTZ, University of California, San Diego
JAMES C. SCOTT, University of Wisconsin
RENE LEMARCHAND, University of Florida
FREDERICK W. FREY, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Paper may be secured in advance by writing:
Professor John Duncan Powell
Department of Political Science
Tufts University
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

COMPARATIVE MILITARY REGIMES IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES 7-A2

Chairman: ALFRED C. STEPAN, Yale University

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 7

Papers: **"Revolution from Within? Military Rule in Peru"**

LUIGI EINAUDI, Rand Corporation

"Pen, Sword, and People: Military Regimes in the Formation of Political Institutions"

EDWARD E. FEIT, University of Massachusetts

Discussant: MORRIS JANOWITZ, University of Chicago

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Political Science as a Vocation

**CAREER PATTERNS, ATTITUDES, AND PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF
POLITICAL SCIENTISTS** 9-A

Chairman: ALBERT SOMIT, SUNY, Buffalo

Papers: **"Career Patterns Among Political Scientists"**

C. R. MCKIBBIN, University of Nebraska

"Political Activities and Party Affiliations of American Political Scientists"

HENRY A. TURNER and CARL HETRICK, University of California, Santa Barbara

Discussant: STEPHEN L. WASBY, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Conflicts, Groups, and Party Alignments

GROUP CONFLICT IN AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE BODIES 10-A

Chairman: ROGER H. DAVIDSON, University of California, Santa Barbara

Papers: **"The Committee Assignment Process: A Case Study of Social Choice"**

KENNETH A. SHEPSLE, Washington University and

DAVID W. ROHDE, Michigan State University

"The Development of Legislative Subgroups: Conflict and Consensus"

CHARLES G. BELL, California State College, Fullerton and

CHARLES M. PRICE, Chico State College

"The Democratic Study Group: A Longitudinal Analysis"

THOMAS E. MANN, American Political Science Association,

ARTHUR H. MILLER, Ohio State University, and

ARTHUR G. STEVENS, JR., University of Virginia

Discussant: LEWIS ANTHONY DEXTER, University of Massachusetts, Boston

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—International Relations and Organization

LINKAGE POLITICS REVISTED (Workshop) 13-A1

Chairman: ALBERT F. ELDRIDGE, JR., Duke University

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 7

Papers: "Linkage Politics Revisted"

JAMES N. ROSENAU, Ohio State University

"A Linkage Approach to Security in the Indian Ocean Arc"

SHELDON W. SIMON, University of Kentucky

"External Outputs and Population Policy Making in Latin America"

TERRY L. MCCOY, Ohio State University

Discussant: DOUGLAS A. CHALMERS, Columbia University

EXTERNAL DEPENDENCY

13-A2

Chairman: ARPAD VON LAZAR, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Discussants: ALBERT SZYMANSKI, University of Oregon

MAGNUS GUNTHER, York University

JAMES KURTH, Harvard University

RICHARD COTTAM, University of Pittsburgh

CHARLES PARRISH, University of Texas

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Teaching Political Science

JUDICIAL STUDIES:

14-A

APPROACHES TO TEACHING (Workshop)

Chairman: HARRY P. STUMPF, University of New Mexico

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

**NEW FRONTIERS IN THE STUDY OF
SOCIAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION**

15-A

Chairman: RICHARD CHAKERIAN, Florida State University

Papers: "The Case for Social Equity in the New Public Administration"

H. GEORGE FREDRICKSON, Syracuse University

"Social Services Administration and the New Science of Epistemics"

WILLIAM J. WILLIAMS, University of Southern California

**"An Investigation of Alternative Theories of the Relationship Among
Administrators, Referees, and Involuntary Social Science Clients"**

G. DAVID GARSON, Tufts University

"The Politics of Welfare in Boston and San Francisco"

SHARON P. KREFETZ, Brandeis University

Discussants: TOBE JOHNSON, Morehouse College

BURTON LEVY, Wayne State University

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 7

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

**PERSONALITY, ATTITUDE CONSISTENCY,
AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY (Workshop)**

17-A1

Chairman: DOUGLAS E. ASHFORD, Cornell University

Papers: "The Theoretical Analysis of Authority Dispositions"

FREDERICK D. HERZON, Kansas State University

"The Nature of Political Ideologies: Theory and Experiment"

PAUL A. DAWSON, Oberlin College

"Personality Dispositions to Political Beliefs"

JEANNE N. KNUTSON, Wright Institute

"Social Psychological Explanations of Political Opinion Polarization"

HENRY ALKER, Department of Psychology, Cornell University

"Law Abidingness Among Liberals and Conservatives"

EARL R. KRUSCHKE, Chico State College

"Political Belief Systems of the Protestant Clergy in the United States"

HAROLD E. QUINLEY, Brown University

"Student Alienation and Ideology: Attitude Consistency and Future Implications"

ROBERT ISAAK, Fordham University

**THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL BELIEFS:
A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (Workshop)**

17-A2

Chairman: HANS N. WEILER, Stanford University

"Schools and the Learning of Conflict Norm: A Study of West German Youths"

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Philosophical Analysis of the Science of Politics

**THE IMPACT OF ETHICAL POSITIONS ON
EMPIRICAL POLITICAL RESEARCH**

18-A

Chairman: MORTON J. FRISCH, Northern Illinois University

Papers: "The Dependence of Fact Upon Value"

MARTIN DIAMOND, Claremont Men's College

"Explanations and Value Judgment"

EUGENE J. MEEHAN, University of Missouri, St. Louis

Discussants: LAWRENCE PETERMAN, University of California, Davis

JOHN KAYSER, University of New Hampshire

ARTHUR L. KALLEBERG, University of Missouri

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 7

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—The Study of Central Political Processes

NATIONAL POLICY-MAKING: U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R. 19-A

Chairman: JEROME M. GILSON, The Johns Hopkins University

Papers: "Models and Realities in Foreign Policy Formulation: The Southern African Case"

JOHN SEILER, University of Maine, Portland-Gorham

"The Adjuncts and the Soviet Monohierarchy"

ROY D. LAIRD, University of Kansas

"The Defense Budget Process in the United States, 1953-1970: An Examination and An Evaluation"

LAWRENCE J. KORB, University of Dayton

"Standing Commissions of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet"

HENRY KRISCH, University of Connecticut

Discussants: WILLIAM J. GORE, University of Washington

JOEL J. SCHWARTZ, University of North Carolina

2:00 p.m. Tues., Sept. 7—Interdisciplinary Political Science

BIOLOGY AND POLITICS 20-A

Chairman: THOMAS C. WIEGELE, Northern Illinois University

Papers: "Biological and Environmental Factors as Political Variables"

MANFRED W. WENNER, University of Washington

"Biology, Darwinism, and Political Science: Some New and Old Frontiers"

JAMES C. DAVIES, University of Oregon

2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.—Workshop for Instruction and Orientation in Filmmaking
(Open to all interested in filming the Annual Meeting).

4:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.—Special Meeting I

**APSA COMMITTEE OF DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN
THE UNDERGRADUATE POLITICAL SCIENCE CURRICULUM**

Chairman: GEORGE A. LIPSKY, Wabash College

Participants: GEORGE A. BRINKLEY, University of Notre Dame

GEORGE A. LANYI, Oberlin College

VICTOR G. ROSENBLUM, Northwestern University

PAUL SEABURY, University of California, Berkeley

TUESDAY EVENING, WEDNESDAY MORNING

4:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Business Meeting I (tentative)
The American Political Science Association

7:00 p.m.—APSR Editorial Board Dinner

8:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—Open Discussion on APSA Constitution

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Exhibits Open

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Demonstration Center

9:00 am.—APSA Political Science Education Project Office

9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings (Section B)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group B)

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Urban Politics

POLICE IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

1-B

Chairman: MURRAY S. STEDMAN, JR., Temple University

Papers: **"Police Politics: A Comparison of Three Cities"**

LEONARD RUCHELMAN, Lehigh University

"Urban Problem Perceptions"

DAVID A. CAPUTO, Purdue University

"Police Cadets' Attitudes Toward Racial Integration and Black Separatism"

FREDERICK A. LAZIN, University of Chicago

Discussants: LOUIS H. MASOTTI, Northwestern University

JAMES D. WALKER, Wright State University

9:00 a.m. Weds., Sept. 8—The Impact of Social Science on Society: A
Retrospect on Major Policy Issues

THE POVERTY OF POVERTY RESEARCH?

2-B1

Chairman: THEODORE R. MARMOR, University of Minnesota

Paper: **"A Report on Poverty Research"**

RICHARD NELSON, Yale University

Discussants: JAMES E. ANDERSON, University of Houston

WALTER WILLIAMS, University of Washington

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 8

PREDICTION: FORECASTING THE FUTURE

2-B2

Chairman: ANDREW W. MARSHALL, Economics Department,
RAND Corporation

Papers: **"Prediction and Policy Analysis"**
GRAHAM ALLISON, Harvard University
"Forecasting the Impact of Changes in Communication"
J. P. CRECINE and RON BRUNNER, University of Michigan

Discussants: THOMAS A. BROWN, Mathematics Department, RAND Corporation

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Formal Theory

FORMAL MODELS OF ALTERNATIVE DECISION RULES

3-B

Chairman: ARTHUR S. GOLDBERG, University of Rochester

Papers: **"Electoral College Versus Popular Vote: Implications for Presidential
Campaigning and Democratic Theory"**
STEVEN J. BRAMS, New York University
"Political Participation in Alternative Election Systems"
PETER H. ARANSON, University of Rochester

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—New Modes of Policy Analysis

POLICY AND DECISION SIMULATION GAMES

4-B

Chairman: CARL RINNE, Environmental Simulation Laboratory, The University
of Michigan

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Ethical Theory

**ETHICS AND POLITICS IN THE STUDY OF LATIN
AMERICAN POLITICS**

6-B

Papers: **"The Latin Tradition and the Liberal Tradition in Latin American
Politics"**
GLEN DEALY, Oregon State University
"Normative Bases of Andean Indigenismo"
JOHN D. MARTZ, University of North Carolina

Discussant: ROBERT SCOTT, University of Illinois

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Development, New Directions

THE MICRO-SETTING OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

7-B

Chairman: HERBERT H. WERLIN, University of Maryland

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 8

Papers: "Bureaucratization of Suburban Chicago Cities"

JOHN A. REHFUSS, Northern Illinois University

"Local Level Institutions in Thailand"

CLARK D. NEHER, Northern Illinois University

"Urban Political Development: India"

ROBERT T. NORMAN, University of Pittsburgh

"Local Politics in Tanzania"

JEAN F. O'BARR, University of North Carolina

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Law and Social Change

CROSS NATIONAL STUDIES OF THE JUDICIAL PROCESS

8-B

Chairman: DONALD P. KOMMERS, University of Notre Dame

Commentators: WALTER F. MURPHY, Princeton University

MICHAEL BARKUN, Syracuse University

Discussants: GLENDON A. SCHUBERT, York University

DAVID J. DANIELSKI, Cornell University

THEODORE S. BECKER, University of Hawaii

GEORGE H. GADBOIS, University of Kentucky

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Science as a Vocation

**FOREIGN-BORN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS:
THEIR ROLES IN THE PROFESSION**

9-B

Chairman: M. LAL GOEL, University of West Florida

Papers: "Asian Political Scientists in the United States: Their Aspirations and Problems"

YASUMASA KURODA, University of Hawaii

"Patterns of Discrimination against Foreign-Born Political Scientists in the United States"

RALPH C. CHANDLER, University of West Florida, Pensacola

Discussants: ANTONIO E. LAPITAN, University of Dayton

GEORGE G. VERNARDAKIS, Middle Tennessee State University

Following the presentation of papers, there will be a broader roundtable discussion on the problems faced by Third-World Political Scientists. Audience participation will be encouraged.

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Conflicts, Groups, and Party Alignments

CLASS, PARTY, AND POWER (Workshop)

10-B

Chairman:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 8

Participants: JOSEPH R. FISZMAN, University of Oregon (on Poland)
HARLAN HAHN, University of California, Riverside (on the U.S.)
HENRY J. JACEK, McMaster University (on Canada)
VINCENT E. MCHALE, University of Pennsylvania (on France)
I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN, New York University (on Algeria)
ALAN S. ZUCKERMAN, Brown University (on Italy)

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Technology and Politics

CREATIVE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY IN A TECHNOPOLITICAL CULTURE: DIFFICULTIES AND CHALLENGES 11-B

Brief presentations with round table discussion

Chairman: VICTOR C. FERKISS, Georgetown University

Papers: **"Technology and the Emerging Future: A Framework for Normative Theory"**

JOSEPH HABERER, Rutgers University

"New Prospects in Biological Engineering: Their Implications for Political and Moral Philosophy"

ROSALIND PETCHESKY, Columbia University

"The Search for a Humanist Political Theory in the Technological Age"

JOAN ROTHSCHILD, Cambridge, Massachusetts

"Technology and Utopian Thought"

MULFORD Q. SIBLEY, University of Minnesota

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Problems of Measurement and Method

**EVALUATING THE QUALITIES OF MEASURING INSTRUMENTS 12-B
(Workshop)**

Chairman: DAVID C. LEEGE, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

I. Problems of Conceptual-Operational Coordination.

'Multiple Indicators in Survey Research: The Concept 'Sense of Political Efficacy' "

GEORGE I. BALCH, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

"Evaluating the Qualities of Measuring Instruments"

DONALD W. FISKE, University of Chicago

"The Meaning One Measures When One Measures Meaning"

WILLIAM A. LUCAS, National Science Foundation

"Complex Policy Systems: Conceptual Problems"

PHILLIP M. GREGG, University of Michigan

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 8

II. Variance Resulting from Data-Generating Techniques.

"Reliability and Validity of Survey and Non-Survey Data about the Family"

RICHARD G. NIEMI, University of Rochester

"Method Effects in Measurement"

LEE SECHREST, Northwestern University

III. Variance Resulting from Selection of a Measurement Model.

"True Variance Estimation: Comparing Scalogram and Psychometric Models"

BRENT M. RUTHERFORD, University of Oregon

"Magnitude Estimation: Some Applications to Social Indicators"

ALLEN M. SHINN, JR., University of Texas

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—International Relations and Organization

FOREIGN POLICY AND MIDDLE LEVEL POWERS

13-B1

Chairman: GEORGE QUESTER, Cornell University

Papers: **"France: The Politics of Weakness"**

EDWARD A. KOLODZIEJ, University of Virginia

"Japanese Policy in the 1970s"

DOUGLAS H. MENDEL, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Discussants: RICHARD ROSECRANCE, Cornell University

STEVEN SPIEGEL, UCLA

ECONOMIC STATECRAFT AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (Workshop)

13-B2

Chairman: DAVID A. BALDWIN, Dartmouth College

Papers: **"Psychological Determinants of Foreign Aid Programs"**

GILBERT R. WINHAM, McMaster University

"The Nixon Administration's Policy to Latin America"

WILLIAM C. BINNING, Youngstown State University

Discussant: ROBERT BLACK, AID

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Art as Politics

THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICS

16-B

Chairman: LINDA V. MILLER, Wellesley College

Papers: ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL, Center for International Affairs, MIT

WAYNE O'NEIL, Department of Humanities, MIT

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

AGE FACTORS IN POLITICAL BELIEFS (Workshop)

17-B1

Chairman: FRED R. EISLE, New York University

Papers: **"Age Stratification and Ideological Conflict"**

ANNE FONER, Department of Sociology, Rutgers University

"Some Political Consequences of Prestige Loss Among the Aged"

STEPHEN CUTLER, Department of Sociology, Oberlin College

"Some Strategies for Seeking Age Relationships in Political Behavior"

WILLIAM R. KLECKA, Northwestern University

"Generational Factors in Determining Political Consciousness"

ALLAN LAMBERT, Department of Sociology, Rice University

"Alienation in Three Generations: A Content-Specific Approach"

VERN L. BENGSTON, Gerontology Institute, University of Southern California and

W. MARTIN, Department of Sociology, Chico State College

"The Study of Political Generations and the Conflict of Age Explanations"

NEIL CUTLER, University of Pennsylvania

**NEW DIRECTIONS IN LINKING PSYCHOLOGY AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE (Workshop)**

17-B2

Chairman: DENIS G. SULLIVAN, Dartmouth College

9:00 a.m. to 10:20 a.m.—Physiology and Politics

Paper: **"Psycho-physiological Measurement of Political Attitudes"**

BERNARD TURSKY, Harvard Medical School and

MILTON LODGE, SUNY, Stony Brook

**10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon—Some Applications of Psychological Theory
to Political Material**

Papers: **"Positivity Biases in Political Evaluation"**

DAVID SEARS, Department of Psychology, UCLA

"An Attribution Theory Approach to the Formation and Changing of Political Images"

IRA S. ROHTER, University of Hawaii

"The Effect of Public Opinion Polling on Increasing the Level of Political Participation"

JOHN B. MCCONAHAY, Yale University

MICHAEL LERNER, Yale University

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—The Study of Central Political Processes

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NATIONAL LEGISLATURES 19-B

Chairman: SAMUEL C. PATTERSON, University of Iowa

Papers: **"Representational Role Perception of Members of the Japanese House of Representatives"**

ROY D. MOREY, Dennison University

"Veterans' Affairs in the U.S. House and Senate: Some Comparative Aspects"

WILLIAM H. HARADER, Indiana State University

"Edmund Burke's Concept of Representation: A Comparative Analysis"

CALVIN CLARK, University of Illinois

"Congressional Committee Assignments: A Linear Programming Technique"

ERIC M. USLANER, Indiana University

Discussants: DAVID B. MELTZ, Michigan State University

F. TED HEBERT, University of Oklahoma

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Interdisciplinary Political Science

POLITICS AND PUBLIC VALUES 20-B

Chairman: THEODORE L. SHAY, Willamette University

Papers: CONRAD JOYNER, University of Arizona

GEORGE CAREY, Georgetown University

SUSAN LEESON, Willamette University

Discussants: JOHN P. EAST, East Carolina University

FRANCIS G. WILSON, University of Illinois

9:00 a.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Science and the Sociological Imagination

POLITICS AS ART 21-B

Chairman: CAREY MCWILLIAMS, Livingston College

Participants: JONATHAN EISEN, New York City

STANFORD M. LYMAN, University of California, San Diego

JOHN H. SCHAAR, University of California, Santa Cruz

TRACY B. STRONG, University of Texas

ARISTIDE R. ZOLBERG, University of Chicago

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AFTERNOON

9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.—APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Chairman: RICHARD C. SNYDER, Mershon Center for Education in National Security, Ohio State University

11:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.—Special Meeting II

Open Session for Officers of the Regional Political Science Associations

12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.—Special Meeting III

APSA Committee of Department Chairmen

**GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS IN THE 70s:
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS**

Chairman: DON C. PIPER, University of Maryland

Participants: WILLIAM P. GERBERDING, UCLA

ROBERT T. GOLEMBIEWSKI, University of Georgia

WILLIAM J. KEEFE, University of Pittsburgh

SAMUEL KRISLOV, University of Minnesota

MILTON CUMMINGS, Johns Hopkins University

PANEL MEETINGS (Group C)

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Urban Politics

URBAN PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD

1-C

Chairman: PETER A. BERTON, University of Southern California

Papers: **"The Communist Model of Urban Development"**

B. MICHAEL FROLIC, York University

"The Emergence of Regional Spatial Planning in Eastern Europe: The Yugoslav Experience"

JACK C. FISHER, Center for Urban Studies, Wayne State University

Discussants: DAVID T. CATTELL, UCLA

YING-MAO KAU, Brown University

CHARLES TILLY, University of Michigan

NORTON E. LONG, Center of Community and Metropolitan Studies, University of Missouri, St. Louis

MARSHALL I. GOLDMAN, Russian Research Center, Harvard University and Wellesley College

ZIGURDS L. ZILE, Law School, University of Wisconsin

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—New Modes of Policy Analysis

PROCESSES OF PUBLIC POLICY FORMATION AND DECISION MAKING

4-C

Chairman:

**2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society:
Prospects for the Major Issues of the Future**

THE ANALYSIS OF FUTURE ISSUES

5-C

Chairman: LEON N. LINDBERG, University of Wisconsin

Papers: **"Political Implications of Social Indicators"**

PETER J. HENRIOT, Seattle University

"Ideologies as Predictors of Public Policy Patterns: A Comparative Analysis"

ANTHONY KING, University of Essex

"Advocacy Positions in Educational Policy: Issues for Political Theory and Policy Analysis"

RALPH S. HAMBRICK, Syracuse University

Discussant: PETER E. PFLAUM, Mankato State College

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Ethical Theory

AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

6-C

Chairman: BERNARD BARBER, Rutgers University

Papers: **"On Authority"**

RICHARD B. FRIEDMAN, SUNY, Buffalo

"On Political Responsibility"

DAVID RESNICK, Cornell University

Discussants: BERNARD BARBER

NANNERL O. KEOHANE, Swarthmore College

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Development, New Directions

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: REVISIONIST INTERPRETATIONS

7-C

Chairman: PETER H. MERKL, University of California, Santa Barbara

Papers: **"Political Development in East Asia"**

JAMES C. HSIUNG, New York University

"The Politics of Development v. The Development of Politics"

WILLIAM G. FLEMING, New York University

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

"Decision-Making in an Authoritarian Regime: Mexico"

SUSAN J. KAUFMAN, UCLA

"Remunerative Rewards and Rationality in Movement Regimes"

STEVEN FLANDERS, University of Vermont

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Law & Social Change

RESEARCH ON POLICE AND POLICING

8-C

Chairman: JOHN A. GARDINER, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

Commentators: JAMES EISENSTEIN, University of Michigan

PAUL FRIESEMA, Northwestern University

Discussants: JAMES Q. WILSON, Harvard University

ALBERT REISS, Yale University

SUSAN O. WHITE, University of New Hampshire

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Science as a Vocation

**THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST AND THE
ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL**

9-C

Chairman: THEODORE J. LOWI, University of Chicago

Papers: **"On Ideologues"**

DAVID KETTLER, Franconia College

"The Political Scientist as an Intellectual"

MAX MARK, Wayne State University

Discussants: JOHN W. CHAPMAN, University of Pittsburgh

JEFFREY R. ORENSTEIN, Kent State University, Stark County

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Conflicts, Groups and Party Alignments

**COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENTS OF LEADER-FOLLOWER
RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES**

10-C1

Chairman: WILLIAM J. CROTTY, Northwestern University

Papers: LEE W. FARNSWORTH, Brigham Young University (on Japan)

MARK KESSELMAN, Columbia University (on France)

Discussants: LOUIS J. CANTORI, UCLA

WILLIAM A. WELSH, University of Iowa

WILLIAM E. WRIGHT, University of Georgia

POLITICS AND THE DISEQUALIZED

10-C2

Chairman: VICTORIA SCHUCK, Mount Holyoke College

Papers: **"Social Reform Movements in Chicago of the Late 1960's: Means for Radical Change"**

WILLIAM W. ELLIS, Northwestern University

"Powerlessness in an Urban Ghetto: Alternate Means for Change"

HAROLD V. SAVITCH, New York University

"The Politics of Consciousness: The National Democratic Party of Alabama and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party"

LESLIE BURL MCLEMORE, Johns Hopkins University

"Identity and Power: Case of the Aged"

ROBERT H. BINSTOCK, Brandeis University

"Women's Liberation Groups: Methods of Access to Political Power—Within the System and Outside the System"

WARREN T. FARRELL, Member, Board of Directors of National Organization for Women (NOW)

Discussants: CONGRESSWOMAN BELLA S. ABZUG, 19th District New York

RICHARD D. HATCHER, Mayor of Gary, Indiana

HARRY A. BAILEY JR., Temple University

HANES WALTON JR., Savannah State College

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Technology and Politics

**THE TECHNOLOGICAL CHALLENGE TO POLITICAL AND
ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES:
AN ANALYTICAL COLLOQUIUM**

11-C

Participants will address several common questions from the perspectives of their empirical research.

Chairman: JAMES D. CARROLL, Ohio State University

Participants: DAVID H. DAVIS, Johns Hopkins University

JONATHON F. GALLOWAY, Lake Forest College

ROGER E. KANET, University of Kansas

W. HENRY LAMBRIGHT, Syracuse University

JOHN M. LOGSDON, George Washington University

ALBERT H. TEICH, Syracuse University

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Problems of Measurement and Method

**OVERVIEW SESSION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF
MEASUREMENT IN SOCIAL SCIENCE**

12-C

Chairman: DONALD E. STOKES, University of Michigan

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 8

Paper: "The Meaning and Role of Measurement in Today's Social Sciences"
PAUL LAZARSFELD, Bureau for Applied Social Research, Columbia University

Discussants: HAYWARD R. ALKER, MIT
LUTZ ERBRING, University of Michigan
J. MERRILL SHANKS, Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley
GORDON BLACK, University of Rochester

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—International Relations and Organization

MORAL ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 13-C1

Chairman: MICHAEL J. FLACK, University of Pittsburgh

Discussants: RONALD H. STONE, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary
J. K. ZAWODNY, University of Pennsylvania

THE CONCEPT OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX 13-C2

Chairmen: JEROME N. SLATER and TERRY NARDIN, SUNY, Buffalo

Discussants: SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON, Harvard University
R. HARRISON WAGNER, University of Texas
WILSON C. MCWILLIAMS, Rutgers University

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES 15-C

Chairman: ABRAHAM L. DAVIS, Morehouse College

Papers: "Conflicting Goals of Social Administration in a Developing Nation: Development vs. Control in Ghana"
HARRIET B. SCHIFFER, Temple University

"Cultural Differences in Development Administration"
HENRY C. HART, University of Wisconsin

"Administrative Value Patterns in an Indian State: Conflicting Demands on Bureaucracy in Orissa"
MANINDRA MAHOPATRA, Old Dominion College

Discussants: PRESTON WILCOX, Afram Associates
ROBERT KEARNEY, Syracuse University

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept 8—Art as Politics

THE NOVEL AS POLITICS

16-C

Chairman: ANN RUTH WILLNER, University of Kansas

Papers: **"Fictional Heroes as Positive Models in Rebuilding Chinese Political Culture"**

JOE C. HUANG, Tougaloo College

"The African Political Process: A Model from the Novel"

G-C.M. MUTISO, University of Nairobi

Discussant: BETTY BURCH, Tufts University

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL VALUES

17-C

Chairman: ARNOLD A. ROGOW, CUNY

Paper: **"A Psychologist Looks at Political Values"**

MILTON ROKEACH, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University

Discussant: RICHARD MERELMAN, University of Wisconsin

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—The Philosophical Analysis of the Science of Politics

**PHILOSOPHICAL CRITIQUES OF CONTEMPORARY
POLITICAL SCIENCE**

18-C

Chairman: HENRY S. KARIEL, University of Hawaii

Papers: **"Phenomenology and Political Science"**

JERRY ALLEN GAINES, University of Kentucky and

RANDALL H. IHARA, Transylvania University

"Political Science and the Philosophy of Science"

JOHN G. GUNNELL, SUNY, Albany

Discussants: GEORGE KATEB, Amherst College

HENRY PLOTKIN, Rutgers University

TRACY B. STRONG, University of Pittsburgh

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—The Study of Central Political Processes

**CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPATION: 19-C
A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION**

Chairman: JOHN MANLEY, The Brookings Institution and the University of Wisconsin

WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 8

Participants: JAMES D. BARBER, Yale University
NELSON W. POLSBY, University of California, Berkeley
CHARLES O. JONES, University of Pittsburgh
HENRY BIENEN, Princeton University
WILLIAM T. MURPHY, Princeton University
RICHARD CONLON, Democratic Study Group

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Interdisciplinary Political Science

POLITICS, EDUCATION, AND PHILOSOPHY: JOHN LOCKE 20-C

Chairman: H. W. KAMP, North Texas State University

Papers: "The Politics of Self-Interest"
ROBERT A. GOLDWIN, St. John's College, Annapolis
"Some Thoughts Concerning Education"
ROBERT H. HORWITZ, Kenyon College

2:00 p.m. Wed., Sept. 8—Political Science and the Sociological Imagination

THE UNHEAVENLY CITY: WHAT IS TO BE DONE? 21-C

Chairman: MARGARET LEVI, Harvard University

Participants: EDWARD C. BANFIELD, Harvard University
STANLEY GREENBERG, Yale University
FRANK LEVY, University of California, Berkeley
DAVID J. OLSON, Indiana University
HARRY BREDEMEIER, Rutgers University

4:00 p.m.—Business Meeting II (Tentative; with break for dinner)
American Political Science Association

8:00 p.m.—Special Session I

AN EVENING WITH DON CAMPBELL

DONALD T. CAMPBELL, Northwestern University

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Exhibits Open

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Demonstration Room

9:00 a.m.—APSA Political Science Education Project Office

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings (Group D)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group D)

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Urban Politics

THE STUDY OF URBAN POLITICS

1-D

Chairman: PAUL E. PETERSON, The University of Chicago

Papers: "Environmental Crises in the Urban System"
TERRY W. JONES, Bowling Green State University

"The Metropolis as a Political Subsystem"
CONRAD J. WEILER, Temple University

"Comparative Urban Politics"
OLIVER P. WILLIAMS, University of Pennsylvania

Discussants: GARRY D. BREWER, Rand Corporation
PAUL H. CONN, Michigan State University
EDWARD HAYS, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—The Impact of Social Science on Society: A
Retrospect on Major Policy Issues

**BUREAUCRACY AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY:
SERVANT OR MASTER?**

2-D1

Chairman: MORTON H. HALPERIN, Brookings Institution

Paper: RAND Report: Bureaucracy and National Security Policy

THE FINANCING OF POLITICS

2-D2

Chairman: HERBERT E. ALEXANDER, Citizens' Research Foundation

Papers: "Campaign Expenditure Patterns Among Candidates and Party Com-
mittees in Connecticut: 1966-68"
DAVID ADAMANY, Wesleyan University

"Minnesota Republican Neighbor to Neighbor Drive: Successful Small
Gift Solicitation"
THOMAS PAHL, Mankato State College

Discussants: JOHN OWENS, University of California, Davis
DONALD BALMER, Lewis and Clark College

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Formal Theory

**ANTHONY DOWNS, AN ECONOMIC THEORY OF DEMOCRACY: 3-D(10-D1)
15 YEARS LATER (Workshop)**

Chairman: WILLIAM H. RIKER, University of Rochester

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

Papers GERALD H. KRAMER, Yale University
 and WILLIAM C. MITCHELL, University of Oregon
Discussants: JOHN D. SPRAGUE, Washington University
 MELVIN HINICH, Carnegie-Mellon University

Each paper will be rather short, and the purpose of the papers will be to stimulate a critical appraisal of some of the developments in political theory that have occurred since the original publication of Downs' work some 15 years ago.

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—New Modes of Policy Analysis

**RADICAL APPROACHES TO PUBLIC POLICY AND
ADMINISTRATION**

Session THEODORE L. REED, Cornell University
Organizer:

RADICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE ROLE OF THE STATE: 4-D
PRESENT, IN TRANSITION, AS UTOPIA.
IS THE SOCIETY GOVERNABLE? (Section I)

Chairman: THEODORE L. REED, Cornell University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Political Development, New Directions

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT 7-D
"THE PARADOX OF AFFLUENCE FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT" (Workshop)

Chairmen: NORMAN T. UPHOFF, Cornell University and
 LARRY L. WADE, University of California, Davis

Discussants: JOAN M. NELSON, Harvard University and MIT
 ROBERT T. HOLT, University of Minnesota
 BERNARD F. SAALFIELD, University of New Mexico

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Law and Social Change

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE SEVENTIES 8-D

Chairman: C. HERMAN PRITCHETT, University of California, Santa Barbara

Address: DAVID FELLMAN, University of Wisconsin

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Conflicts, Groups, and Party Alignments

NOMINATING PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS: 10-D2
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Chairman: DONALD R. MATTHEWS, The Brookings Institution

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

Papers: **"Presidential Primary Electorates in the U.S."**

J. AUSTIN RANNEY, University of Wisconsin

"The Selection of French Presidents"

ELIJAH B. KAMINSKY, Arizona State University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Technology and Politics

U.S. SCIENCE POLICY IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS 11-D
A Roundtable Discussion

Chairman: T. DIXON LONG, Case Western Reserve University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Problems of Measurement and Method

METHODOLOGIES FOR EVALUATING PUBLIC PROGRAMS (Workshop) 12-D

Chairman: AMITAI ETZIONI, Columbia University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—International Relations and Organization

WHAT FUTURE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS? 13-D1

Chairman: LINCOLN P. BLOOMFIELD, MIT

Discussants: DAVID A. KAY, University of Wisconsin

NORMAN V. WALBEK, Union College

JACK E. VINCENT, Florida Atlantic University

SALO ENGEL, University of Tennessee

This panel will discuss a report of the UN Association of the United States: "U.N. Capabilities in the 70's" which will be available at the Annual Meeting.

THE U.S. AND MILITARY ALLIANCES (Workshop) 13-D2

Chairman: BRUCE RUSSETT, Yale University

Papers: **"The Political Economy of Alliances: Benefits, Costs, and Institutions in NATO"**

FRANCIS A. BEER, University of Texas, Austin

"The U.S. in Military Alliances"

WILLARD F. BARBER, University of Maryland

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Teaching Political Science

VALUES AND RELEVANCE IN TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE 14-D

Chairman: DENNIS PIRAGES, Institute of Political Studies, Stanford University

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

Paper: **"On the Problem of Political Education: Fucking v. Making Love"**
SANFORD V. LEVINSON, Russell Sage Foundation, Stanford Law School

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

THE MEASUREMENT OF POLICY OUTCOMES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES 15-D1

Chairman: RUSSELL L. ADAMS, Federal City College

Papers: **"The Measurement of Policy Impacts: Federal Manpower Programs in the Black Community"**
PAUL L. PURYEAR, Florida State University
"National Health Insurance: A Prospective Analysis of Supply and Demand Responses"
MURRAY TUCKER, Florida State University

Discussant: PAUL O'NEIL, Office of Management and Budget Analysis, OMB

POLITICS OF HEALTH—DECISION MAKING AND CONTROL 15-D2

Chairman: RALPH STRAETZ, New York University

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Art as Politics

MUSIC, PUBLIC POLICY, AND SOCIAL CHANGE 16-D

Chairman: LEONARD ROWE, Bennington College

Papers: EDWARD W. ARIAN, Drexel University
ROBERT COGAN, Composer, New England Conservatory of Music
GLYNN STILWELL, University of Texas, Austin

Discussants: POZZI ESCOT, Composer
CRAIG W. WORTHINGTON, University of Chicago

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

THE POLITICAL BELIEFS OF AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS 17-D

Chairman: HARMON ZEIGLER, University of Oregon

Papers: **"The Political Beliefs of American Academics"**
EVERETT G. LADD, University of Connecticut
SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, Harvard University
"How the American Intellectual Elite Decided to Oppose the War in Vietnam"
CHARLES KADUSHIN, Teachers' College, Columbia University

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—The Philosophical Analysis of the Science of Politics

**DOES POLITICAL SCIENCE REALLY EXIST? PHENOMENOLOGY, 18-D
METAPHYSICS, AND ONTOLOGY LOOK AT US ALL FROM A
WORM'S EYE VIEW (Workshop)**

Chairman: PAUL F. KRESS, University of North Carolina

Papers: "A Phenomenological Critique of the Behavioral Persuasion in Politics"

HWA YOL JUNG, Moravian College

"The Politics of Interest: Metaphysics and the Limitations of the Science of Politics"

CLARKE E. COCHRAN, Texas Tech University

"Ontology and Empirical Political Theory"

MICHAEL A. WEINSTEIN, Purdue University

Discussants: ROY SPECKHARD, SUNY, Albany

ANNE REHOUF HEADLEY, University of North Carolina

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—The Study of Central Political Processes

CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH 19-D

Chairman: EUGENE EIDENBERG, University of Minnesota

Papers: "Senators' Constituencies: A Re-definition"

BRUCE I. OPPENHEIMER, The Brookings Institution

"The House Seniority System and the Distribution of Prime Military Contracts"

BARRY S. RUNDQUIST, University of Illinois, Urbana

"Minority Leadership: The Role and Style of Everett Dirksen"

JEAN E. TORCOM, Sacramento State College

Discussant: JOHN M. KINGDON, University of Michigan

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Interdisciplinary Political Science

POLITICS AND THE PRESS 20-D

Chairman: GEORGE FREDERICK WILL, Assistant to Senator Gordon Allott

Discussants: ROBERT NOVAK, Evans & Novak

DOUGLAS CATER, Academy for Educational Development

9:00 a.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Political Science and the Sociological Imagination

FUTURE OF POLITICAL EDUCATION (Workshop) 21-D

Chairman: CHRISTIAN BAY, University of Alberta

"Thoughts on the Purpose of Political Science"

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

- Papers: **"Progress in Political Thought as Political Subversion"**
CHARLES HAMPDEN-TURNER, Cambridge Institute
- "Political Education and Liberation"**
LYNN IGLITZIN, University of Washington
- "Experience as a Form of Political Education"**
ROBERT PRANGER, Department of Defense
- "The Basis of Praxis in Political Education"**
JOHN S. SEELEY, California Institute of Art

12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.—Special Meeting IV

THE DEPARTMENT CHAIRMANSHIP:

An Open Meeting for Department Chairmen and a Report by the APSA Committee of
Department Chairmen

Chairman: MALCOLM E. JEWELL, University of Kentucky

PANEL MEETINGS (Group E)

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Urban Politics

THE POLITICS OF URBAN MARGINAL GROUPS IN LATIN AMERICA (Workshop) 1-E

Co-Chairmen: FRANCINE RABINOWITZ, UCLA
PHILIPPE C. SCHMITTER, University of Chicago

Participants: LUCY C. BEHRMAN, University of Pennsylvania
DAVID COLLIER, Indiana University
WAYNE A. CORNELIUS, Institute of Political Studies, Stanford
University
SUSAN ECKSTEIN, Boston University
CLIFFORD L. KAUFMANN, University of Pennsylvania
JANICE PERLMAN, MIT
LOIS WASSERSPRUNG, Brandeis University

**2:00 pm. Thurs., Sept. 9—Impact of Social Science on Society: A Retrospect
on Major Policy Issues**

**THE FOREIGN POLICY MAKING PROCESS:
WHAT ROLE FOR MULTIPLE ADVOCACY?** 2-E1

Paper: **"Multiple Advocacy in Making Foreign Policy"**
ALEX GEORGE, Stanford University

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

**ORGANIZATIONAL AND BUREAUCRATIC-POLITICAL STUDIES: 2-E2
WHERE NEXT?**

Chairman: RICHARD ULLMAN, Princeton University

Papers: LEE SIGAL, Brookings Institution

I. M. DESTLER, American Foreign Service Association

"Stumbling Toward War: Organizational Structure and the Austro-Hungarian Experience, 1912-1914"

MARTIN WISHNATSKY, Harvard University

SAM WILLIAMSON, Harvard University

ARNOLD KANTER, University of Ohio

HARRISON WELLFORD, Center for the Study of Responsive Law

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Formal Theory

MODELS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS 3-E

Chairman:

Papers: **"A Political Theory of Aid Transfers: an Inductive Approach"**

SAMUEL J. BERNSTEIN, Stern College of Yeshiva University and

EUGENE J. ALPERT, Michigan State University

"A Lexicographic Approach to Foreign Policy Decision-Making"

PETER A. WISSEL, University of Rochester

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—New Modes of Policy Analysis

**RADICAL APPROACHES TO PUBLIC POLICY &
ADMINISTRATION**

UTOPIAN MODELS AND HARSH IMPERATIVES (Section 2) 4-E

Chairman: ORION WHITE, The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

Papers: Please send papers for possible inclusion in this panel, before June 1, 1971, to: Orion White, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: A Retrospect on Recent Major Policy Issues

CAN FASCISM HAPPEN HERE? 5-E

Chairman: JOEL B. GROSSMAN, University of Wisconsin

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

Roundtable Participants:

JOEL E. EDELSTEIN, University of California, Riverside
JOHN JOHNSON, Syracuse University
BERTRAM M. GROSS, Hunter College
HAROLD D. LASSWELL, John Jay College, CUNY
MICHAEL PARENTI, University of Vermont
KIRSTIN AMUNDSEN STEINMO, University of California, Davis
CHARLES WILSON, New York University

(The discussion will be based upon the article by Bertram Gross, "Friendly Fascism, a Model for America," *Social Policy*, November-December, 1970)

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Political Development, New Directions

**CHAIRMEN'S INVITATIONAL PANEL ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT 7-E
AND COMPARING POLITIES**

Chairman: TED ROBERT GURR, Northwestern University

Papers: "Explanations of Political Participation and Government Authority:
Cuba, Chile, Venezuela and Mexico"

JORGE I. DOMINQUEZ, Harvard University

"Political Ideology of Party Activists: a Comparative Study of Four
Italian Communities"

ALLAN J. STERN, University of North Carolina

"The Modeling of Dynamic Social Processes"

STUART THORSTEN, University of Minnesota

Participants were selected by their dissertation chairmen: SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON
Harvard University; JOSEPH LA POLAMBARA, Yale University; ROBERT T. HOLT
University of Minnesota.

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Law and Social Change

STUDIES OF COMPLIANCE (Workshop)

8-E

Chairman: ARTHUR S. MILLER, National Law Center, George Washington
University

Papers: "Enforcement of Water Pollution Control Laws"

LETTIE M. WENNER, University of Wisconsin

"Obedience Toward Law"

ROBERT STOVER, University of Colorado

"Obedience from Kindergarten to College"

JUNE L. TAPP, American Bar Foundation, Chicago

"Impact of Open Housing Laws on Suburban Realtors"

ALAN H. SCHECHTER, Wellesley College

"Impact of Loyalty Oath Decisions"

ALAN M. SAGER, University of Texas, Austin

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

"State Supreme Court Compliance with Supreme Court Civil Liberties Decisions"

BRADLEY C. CANON, University of Kentucky

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Conflicts, Groups, and Party Alignments

SOCIAL CONFLICT AND PARTY COMPETITION IN THE UNITED STATES 10-E

Chairman: WALTER DEAN BURNHAM, MIT

Papers: **"Party Competition and Social Structure: A Test of Three Theories"**
DOUGLAS S. GATLIN, Florida Atlantic University

"The Enfranchisement of 18-20 Year-olds and American Electoral Politics"

LOUIS M. SEAGULL, University of Pennsylvania

"Conflict and Consensus in American Political History"

WILLIAM L. SHADE, University of Florida

Discussant: THOMAS P. JAHNIGE, Smith College

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Technology and Politics

SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS AS POLITICAL ADVISORS 11-E

Chairman: MICHAEL D. REAGAN, University of California, Riverside

Papers: **"Scientific Advice in Urban Mass Transport (HUD)"**
DAVID LAWRENCE, Wittenberg University

"Science Advisors: A Comparison of Federal and State Experience"

HARVEY M. SAPOLSKY, MIT

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Problems of Measurement and Method

METHODS FOR ASSURING CONCEPTUAL EQUIVALENCE ACROSS CULTURES (Workshop) 12-E

Chairman: HENRY TEUNE, University of Pennsylvania

Papers: MARK TESSLER, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
KEN JANDA, Northwestern University

"Conceptualizing the Problem as Seen by An Anthropologist"

RAOUL NARROLL, SUNY, Buffalo

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—International Relations and Organization

DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT MAKE DECISIONS? 13-E1

Chairman: ROBERT E. OSGOOD, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

Discussants: ROBERT H. PUCKETT, Indiana State University, Terre Haute
RICHARD C. GIARDINA, Bowling Green State University
CEDRIC W. TARR, JR., University of Wisconsin, Rock County Center

TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS 13-E2

Chairmen: ROBERT O. KEOHANE, Swarthmore College; and JOSEPH NYE, Harvard University

Discussants: CHARLES T. GOODSSELL, Southern Illinois University
MORRIS DAVIS, University of Illinois
WERNER J. FELD, Louisiana State University, New Orleans
BERNARD MENNIS, University of Pennsylvania

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Teaching Political Science

INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE 14-E1

Chairman: ROBERT N. SPADARO, Temple University

Papers: "Systematic Deductive Theory in Teaching Political Science"
CLEO H. CHERRYHOLMES and
PAUL R. ABRAMSON, Michigan State University
"Student Creativity in Classroom Simulations"
ROBERT E. EAGLE, Ohio University

TEACHING DIPLOMACY (Workshop) 14-E2

Chairman: SMITH SIMPSON

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

SYMPOSIUM ON THE DELIVERY OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES TO THE AGED 15-E

Chairman: WALTER BOAK, National Graduate University, Washington, D.C.

Participants: RAYMOND HARRIS, M.D., Center for the Aging
GEORGE T. SHOUP, M.D., National Advisory Council for Nursing Home Administrators
HARRY A. WALKER, Director, Maryland Commission on Aging

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 9

Discussants: ALBERT ABRAMS, Secretary, New York State Senate
DAVID JEFFREYS, National Center for Voluntary Action

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

**EVIDENCE AND INFERENCE IN THE EXPLANATION OF AMERICAN 17-E
VOTING BEHAVIOR: THE CAUSAL STATUS OF
POLITICAL BELIEFS**

Chairman: WARREN MILLER, University of Michigan

Papers: "Issue Voting and the Electoral Process: The Case of Vietnam in 1968"

BENJAMIN I. PAGE, Dartmouth College and

RICHARD BRODY, Stanford University

"Voting Behavior in a Presidential Primary: McCarthy in New Hampshire, 1968"

ROBERT CRAIG, University of New Hampshire

"Modern Attitude Theory and the Explanation of Voting Choice"

MARTIN FISHBEIN, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois

and FRED S. COOMBS, University of Illinois

FRANK MUNGER, Florida University, Gainesville

Discussant: JOHN FRASER, University of Kentucky

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—The Study of Central Political Processes

AUTHORITY AND PLANNING IN EAST AND WEST (Workshop) 19-E

Chairman: GEORGE K. ROMOSER, University of New Hampshire

Papers: "Elites, Plans and Authority in East Germany"

THOMAS A. BAYLIS, SUNY, Albany

Discussant: KENNETH HANF, University of California, Davis

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Interdisciplinary Political Science

THE WELLSPRINGS OF HUMANITY 20-E

Chairman: JUERGEN GEBHARDT, University of Munich

2:00 p.m. Thurs., Sept. 9—Political Science and the Sociological Imagination

RECONSTITUTING CITIES 21-E

Chairman: JUDITH V. MAY, University of California, Davis

THURSDAY EVENING, FRIDAY MORNING

- Papers: **"A Year of Black Power in Newark"**
ROBERT CURVIN, Princeton University
"Urban Reform in the Era of State Capitalism"
HAROLD BARON, Associated Colleges of the Midwest
"The Neighborhood Government Movement"
MILTON KOTLER, Institute for Policy Studies
"The New Political Ethic and the Spirit of Urban Government"
J. DAVID GREENSTONE, University of Chicago

Discussant: RICHARD D. HATCHER, Mayor of Gary, Indiana

2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.—APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

**POLITICAL SCIENCE IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS:
A DEMONSTRATION OF THE TEACHING OF THE "NEW POLITICAL SCIENCE"**

Chairman: JUDY GILLESPIE, Indiana University

8:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.—Presidential Address and Presentation of Awards

10:30 p.m.—Congressional Fellowship Reception

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Exhibits Open

9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Demonstration Room

9:00 a.m.—APSA Political Science Education Project Office

9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.—Panel Meeting (Group F)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group F)

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—The Impact of Social Science on Society: A Retrospect on Major Policy Issues

**THE ALL VOLUNTEER MILITARY:
DO WE NEED IT? CAN WE STAND IT?**

2-F1

Chairman: SAM C. SARKESIAN, Loyola University of Chicago

- Papers: **"Perspectives on National Service"**
HARRY MARMION, St. Xavier College
"The Emergent Military Establishment"
CHARLES MOSKOS, JR., Northwestern University
"The All Volunteer Army"
AMES ALBRO, LTC, U.S. Army

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

Discussants: LAURENCE I. RADWAY, Dartmouth College
ELIZABETH H. SCOBELL, West Virginia State College
JAMES W. DAVIS, Washington University

**STRATEGIC THOUGHT AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY:
IMPACT OR IMPASSE?** 2-F2

Chairman: PAUL C. WARNKE
Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney
Former Assistant Secretary of Defense

Paper: "The Impact of Strategic Thought on American Foreign Policy"
ERNEST R. MAY, Harvard University

Discussants: THOMAS C. SCHELLING, Harvard University
LESLIE H. GELB, Brookings Institution
JOHN SEIGLE, LTC, U.S. Army

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Formal Theory

THE STRUCTURAL OF POLITICAL GAMES 3-F

Chairman: RICHARD D. MCKELVEY, University of Rochester

Papers: "A Mathematical Model of Decentralization"
WILLIAM P. ZAVOINA, Florida State University and
LEE DUTTER, University of Rochester
"Rational Choice and Majority Rule"
JOSEPH HERTZBERG, University of Pennsylvania
JAMES O. LAING and RICHARD J. MORRISON, Carnegie-Mellon
University

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—New Modes of Policy Analysis

MULTI-DISCIPLINARY POLICY PERSPECTIVES 4-F1

Moderator: OTTO A. DAVIS, Carnegie-Mellon University

A multi-disciplinary panel grapples with two policy questions illustrating the differences in disciplinary perspectives and suggesting disciplinary comparative advantages.

PUBLIC CHOICE AND PUBLIC POLICY

Session Organizer: ELINORE OSTROM, Indiana University

THEORIES OF PUBLIC CHOICE AND POLICY ANALYSIS (Section II) 4-F2

Chairman: ROBERT WARREN, University of Southern California

Papers: "Charity and the Uncharitable"
"Alternative Theories of Political Design"

Discussant: HAROLD HOCHMAN, The Urban Institute

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: A Retrospect on Recent Major Policy Issues

THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC WELFARE POLICY 5-F
(Discussion among researchers)

Chairman: GILBERT Y. STEINER, The Brookings Institution

Participants: W. JOSEPH HEFFERNAN, Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin
MARIAN L. PALLEY, University of Delaware
FRANCES FOX PIVEN, School of Social Work, Columbia University
HAROLD WATTS, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Ethical Theory

SYMPOSIUM ON POLITICAL OBLIGATION 6-F

The Panel for this symposium consists of scholars who have recently published significant essays on the topic of the symposium. The Chairman will assume that all panelists are familiar with the essays listed below. Our hope is that the discussion can begin at the level of clarity and understanding achieved in the essays. Persons interested in the topic are invited to consult the essays in advance and to participate actively in the discussion.

Panelists: J. ROLAND PENNOCK, Swarthmore College, Chairman. Co-editor, *Nomos XII, Political Obligation* (Atherton, 1970).
KURT BAIER, University of Pittsburgh, "Moral Obligation," *American Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 3.
PAUL POWER, University of Cincinnati, "On Civil Disobedience in Recent American Democratic Thought," *American Political Science Review*, March, 1970.
RICHARD WASSERSTROM, UCLA, "The Obligation to Obey the Law," *University of California at Los Angeles Law Review*, Vol. 10, pp 580ff.

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Political Development, New Directions

MODERNIZATION AS A CONCEPT IN STUDYING 7-F
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Chairman: SUSANNE HOEBER RUDOLPH, University of Chicago

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

Papers: **"Students in India as a Test of Modernization Theory"**

PARKES RILEY, University of California, Berkeley

"Modernization and Political Development: Toward an Analytic Framework"

ARTHUR JAY KLINGHOFFER, Rutgers University, Camden

"Social Mobilization, Social Structure, and Politics: Evidence and Qualifications"

DAVID J. ELKINS, University of British Columbia

"The Functionality of Violence in the New States of Asia and Africa"

STEPHEN SLOAN, University of Oklahoma

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Law and Social Change

**LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY: APPROACHES TO
ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION**

8-F

Chairman:

Address: KENNETH M. DOLBEARE, University of Washington

9:00 am. Fri., Sept. 10—The Study of Central Political Processes

PROTEST, DISSENT, AND THE "RULES OF THE GAME"

10-F

Chairman: LEWIS LIPSITZ, University of North Carolina

Papers:

"Protest vs Traditional Rule in French Communities"

DONALD LIPMANSON, Princeton University

"Crossnational Student Turmoil: Patterns of Conflict and Governmental Response"

BETTY A. NESVOLD, San Diego State College

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Technology and Politics

**PRIORITIES IN THE STUDY OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND
POLITICS: COMPLAINT, PROSPECT, AND OPEN DISCUSSION**

11-F

Convener: BREWSTER DENNY, University of Washington

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Problems of Measurement & Method

EXPERIMENTATION AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN (Workshop)

12-F

Chairman: JAMES W. DYSON, Florida State University

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

Papers: DANIEL W. FLEITAS and WILLIAM J. MCCOY, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
LAWRENCE NITZ, University of Hawaii
JOHN SWEENEY, Wesleyan University
CHARLES WALCOTT, University of Minnesota
CHARLES N. BROWNSTEIN, Florida State University
DAN D. NIMMO and ROBERT L. SAVAGE, University of Missouri, Columbia
THOMAS J. COOK, Pennsylvania State University
ROBERT C. NOEL, University of California, Santa Barbara
CHARLES POWELL, University of Southern California

Discussants: DEAN JAROS, University of Kentucky
THOMAS W. MADRON, Western Kentucky University
FRANK P. SCIOLI, Drew University
JOHN WALHKE, SUNY, Stony Brook

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—International Relations and Organization

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY AND PEACE 13-F1

Chairman: J. DAVID SINGER, University of Michigan
Report by KARL W. DEUTSCH, Harvard University

Comments: MARSHALL WHITED, Temple University

SOVIET STUDIES (Workshop) 13-F2

Chairman: ANDRZEJ KORBONSKI, UCLA and Ford Foundation

Papers: "Soviet Policy Toward the Middle East,"
ROBERT O. FREEDMAN, Marquette University
"The Border Negotiations and the Future of Sino-Soviet Relations"
THOMAS W. ROBINSON, RAND Corporation
"U.S. Specialists' Perception of Soviet Policy Toward the Third World"
ALVIN Z. RUBINSTEIN, University of Pennsylvania

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Teaching Political Science

OVERVIEW: TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE IN CRISIS— 14-F
OBLIGATIONS AND STRATEGIES

A roundtable discussion

Chairman:

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

**THE ANALYSIS AND MEASUREMENT OF ELITE ROLES
IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES** 15-F

Chairman: CHARLES W. HARRIS, Howard University

Papers: **"Administrative Representation in New York Public and Private Schools"**

DALE MANN, Teachers College, Columbia University

"Administrators View Model Cities: Coordination and Decentralization in the Atlanta Program"

CHARLES B. PYLES and GLEN W. RANNEY, JR., Georgia State University

"Dealing with Organizational Rigidity in Public Schools: A Theoretical Approach"

WILLIS D. HAWLEY, JR., Yale University

"Personality Traits and Attitudes of Regional Federal Executives"

J. DAVID PALMER, Georgia State University

"The Manpower Game: The Role of American Business in Urban Manpower Programs"

PETER KOBRAK, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Discussants: GEORGE D. GREENBERG, University of Michigan

E. LESTER LEVINE, Florida State University

JAMES GUTHRIE, University of California, Berkeley

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Art as Politics

DRAMA AS POLITICS 16-F

Chairman:

Papers: **"Guerilla Theatre, Social Protest, and the American System"**

JOSEPH ZIKMUND II, Albion College

"Political Dreams: Functional Categories and Research Perspectives"

ROY SPECKHARD, SUNY, Albany

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT (Workshop) 17-F1

Chairman: JACK DENNIS, University of Wisconsin

9:00 a.m. to 10:20 a.m.—Types of Political Involvement

"Styles of Political Participation, Want Conversion, and Political Support Among Parents and Students in a Metropolitan Community"

GEORGE GRAHAM JR. and RICHARD A. PRIDE, Vanderbilt University

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 10

"Active and Passive Modes of Political Involvement"

GLENN R. PARKER, University of California, Santa Barbara and
HERBERT ASHER, Ohio State University

"Dimensions of Psychological Orientations Toward Political Objects"

MICHAEL J. HOOPER, Temple University

10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon—System Level Differences in Political Involvement

Papers: **"Urban-Rural Differences on System Support Among Youth: The Effect of Differing Social Comparisons"**

ROBERTA SIGEL, SUNY, Buffalo

"The Nature of Civic Obligation"

GEORGE B. LEVERSON, York University

"The Structure of Orientations Toward Government"

CARL HENSLER, UCLA

2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.—Political Involvement—A Comparative Perspective

Papers: **"Dimensions of Political Involvement in an Indian Village"**

DANIEL MELNICK, University of Maryland

"Political Efficacy in Yugoslavia"

WAYNE C. BRADLEY, San Francisco State College

Discussants: LYMAN A. KELLSTEDT, University of Illinois, Congress Circle

JEFFREY W. WIDES, Southern Illinois University

COMPUTER SIMULATION OF POLITICAL BELIEF SYSTEMS 17-F2

Chairman: RUFUS P. BROWNING, Michigan State University

Paper: **"The Goldwater Machine and Beyond"**

ROBERT ABELSON, Department of Psychology, Yale University

"A Campaign Simulator"

THOMAS NAYLOR and HORST SCHAULAND, Department of Economics,
Duke University, and ALLAN KORNBERG, Duke University

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—The Study of Central Political Processes

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP 19-F

Chairman: THOMAS E. CRONIN, Brookings Institution

Papers: **"Presidential Spending Discretion and Congressional Controls"**

LOUIS FISHER, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress

"Presidential Leadership Models: the Johnson Experience"

DORIS KEARNS, Harvard University

FRIDAY MORNING, AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

Discussants: ELMER E. CORNWELL, Brown University
HENRY HALL WILSON, President, Chicago Board of Trade, former
Administrative Assistant to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon
B. Johnson, 1961-67
JAMES S. YOUNG, Columbia University

Note: A luncheon will follow this panel for those who are interested in discussing on-going research on the presidency or executive branch politics. Those who are interested in participating should contact: T. E. Cronin, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036 prior to the Annual Meeting.

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Interdisciplinary Political Science

LITERATURE AND POLITICS: THE RUSSIAN NOVEL 20-F

Chairman: ELLIS SANDOZ, East Texas State University

"The Political Significance of the Russian Novel, from Dostoevsky to Solzhenitsyn"

ROBERT L. BELKNAP, Columbia University
THORNTON H. ANDERSON, University of Maryland
HARRISON E. SALISBURY, *New York Times*
RALPH E. MATLAW, University of Chicago

9:00 a.m. Fri., Sept. 10

Note: Films and Tapes to be discussed in Panel 12-G2, Friday, 2:00 P.M. will be shown in the Ivy Room (Blackstone Hotel).

PANEL MEETINGS (Group G)

2:00 p.m. Fri, Sept 10—Urban Politics

THE POLITICAL LEGACY OF THE URBAN PROTESTS 1-G
IN THE 1960's

This panel will be run as an informal seminar centered on a few general questions to be listed in the final program. Those with an interest in the area who wish to contribute to the discussion are especially welcome.

Chairman: MICHAEL LIPSKY, MIT

Participants: PETER EISINGER, University of Wisconsin
PETER LUPSHA, Yale University
ALLAN SHANK, State University College of Arts and Sciences, Gene-
seo

2:00 pm. Fri., Sept. 10—Formal Theory

EXPOSITIONS OF THE MINIMAL WINNING COALITION HYPOTHESIS 3-G

Chairman: DENNIS PARANZINO, University of Pennsylvania

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

Papers: **"The Legislative Process and the Minimal Winning Coalition"**

DAVID KOEHLER, American University

RICHARD MURRAY and DONALD LUTZ, University of Houston

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—New Modes of Policy Analysis

PUBLIC CHOICE AND PUBLIC POLICY

Session
Organizer:

SPATIAL THEORIES OF PUBLIC CHOICE (Section 2)

4-G

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—The Impact of the Social Sciences on Society: A Retrospect on Recent Major Policy Issues

**POPULATION, ECOLOGY, AND THE POLITY: NEEDS AND
POSSIBILITIES FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH**

5-G

Chairman: A. E. KEIR NASH, Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, University of California, Santa Barbara

Papers: **"Problems of Population Policy Formation and Administration"**

WILLIAM FLASH, University of North Carolina

"Population and the Policy Process in State Governments"

JOHN GRUMM, Wesleyan University

"Congressional Behavior and the Environment"

MICHAEL KRAFT, Vassar College

"Population, Pollution, and Instability: Considerations for Cross-polity Analysis"

ROBERT C. NORTH, Stanford University

"Effective Population and Political Mobilization"

A. F. K. ORGANSKI, University of Michigan

The papers listed will not be read at the panel, but will be available at the Annual Meeting, or from the authors after August 1, 1971.

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Political Development, New Directions

THE MACRO-SETTING OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

7-G

Chairman: ROBERT HARDGRAVE, University of Texas

Papers: **"Military and Civil Servants in Ghana's Politics"**

ROBERT PRICE, University of California, Berkeley

"The Party Congress and Political Development: A Comparison of Nationalist and Communist China"

TEH-KUANG CHANG, Ball State University

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

"The Functional and Dysfunctional Consequences of Legislative Systems for Latin America's Political Development"

WESTON HARRIS AGOR, University of Florida, Gainesville

"Party Development in New States: Socialism in Argentina"

E. SPENCER WELLHOFFER, Michigan State University

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Law and Social Change

CONSUMERS OF JUSTICE (Workshop)

8-G

Chairman: WILLIAM K. MUIR, University of California, Berkeley.

Papers: **"Socio-Psychological Dimensions of Complaints to Ombudsmen"**

LARRY B. HILL, University of Oklahoma

"Clients of Legal Services Projects"

GEORGE COLE, University of Connecticut

"Providing Justice for the Imprisoned"

DAVID P. FLINT, California State College, San Bernadino

**CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST'S ROLE:
THE EFFECTS OF ENTERING NON-TEACHING OCCUPATIONS**

9-G

Chairman: LAWRENCE K. PETTIT, Montana State University

Paper: **"The Political Scientist in Non-teaching Roles: Continuity and Change in Professional Outlook"**

RALPH HUITT, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges

Discussants: STEPHEN HORN, President, California State College, Long Beach
JOHN SCHMIDHAUSER, University of Iowa

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Conflicts, Groups, and Party Alignments

PUBLIC OFFICIALS AS LOBBYISTS AND PARTISAN ACTIVES

10-G

Chairman: ABRAHAM HOLTZMAN, North Carolina State University

Papers: SUZANNE FARKAS, New York University

FREDERICK W. GRUPP, JR., University of Connecticut and ALLEN

RICHARDS, Louisiana State University

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Problems of Measurement and Method

IMPROVING MEASUREMENT WITH AGGREGATE STATISTICS

12-G1

Chairman: JOHN H. KESSEL, Ohio State University

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

Papers: "Measurement of Electoral Stability and Change: 1824-1968"

WILLIAM H. FLANNIGAN and

NANCY H. ZINGALE, University of Minnesota

"Per Capita or Sin Capita: A Note of Caution"

ADAM PRZEWORSKI, Washington University and FERNANDO CORTES,
Flacso-Elas, Santiago, Chile

Discussants: PHILIP SHIVELY, Yale University

THEODORE MECKSTROTH, Ohio State University

DUNCAN MACRAE, University of Chicago

FILM AND VIDEOTAPE AS DATA

12-G2

Chairman: KAYE M. MILLER, University of Illinois—Chicago Circle

Papers: "What, Within Ordinary Technological Limitations, Constitutes an Adequate Representation of Behavior?"

GERALD TEMANER, Kartemquin Films Ltd.

"The Feature Film as Data for the Study of Politics"

HARLAN LEWIN, San Diego State College

"Subject-Generated Data"

JACQUELINE PARK, New York University

"The Semantics of 'Data': Pluralism, Anarchy and the Expanded Cinema 'Movement' "

TERRY MOYEMONT, The Loch Ness Investigation Bureau Ltd.

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—International Relations and Organization

GAME THEORY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

13-G

Chairman: AMOS PERLMUTTER, Harvard University

Discussants: REINHARD SELTEN, Free University, Berlin

JOHN C. HARSANYI, University of California, Berkeley

SAUL FRIEDLANDAR, Hebrew University

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Teaching Political Science

**ROUNDTABLE ON AN APSA PROPOSAL TO IMPROVE UNDERGRADUATE
EDUCATION IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

14-G

Chairman: VERNON VAN DYKE, University of Iowa

Proposal to be presented by:

ROBERT E. LANE, President, APSA

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 10

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Public Administration: The Administration of Social Services

WELFARE AND WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN THE NON-CAPITALIST WORLD 15-G

Chairman: LYNN TURGEON, Hofstra University

Papers: **"Transfer Payments in Eastern Europe"**

ALAN A. BROWN, UCLA

"Chinese Welfare Programs"

JOYCE K. KALLGREN, University of California, Davis

"Income Maintenance in the Soviet Union"

JACK MINKOFF, Pratt Institute

"The War on Poverty—Cuban Style"

BERTRAM SILVERMAN, Hofstra University

Discussants: ROBERT J. MYERS, Temple University

LATHEEF N. AHMED, University of Malaysia

MAURICE C. WOODARD, Federal City College

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Political Belief Systems and Their Formation

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND POLITICAL BELIEFS 17-G

Chairman: HAROLD ABRAMSON, Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut

Papers: **"Ethnic Identity and Political Change"**

HAROLD ISAACS, MIT

ANDREW GREELEY, NORC

Discussants: SYLVAN THOMAS, Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island

IRVING LEVINE, National Project on Ethnic America

MATTHEW HOLDEN, University of Wisconsin

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—The Study of Central Political Processes

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET, EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT 19-G1

Chairman: AARON WILDAVSKY, University of California, Berkeley

Papers: JOHN MOORE, University of California, Santa Barbara

RICHARD NATHAN, Assistant Director, OMB

Discussant: MARK V. NADEL, Cornell University

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, EVENING, SEPT. 10

COMPARATIVE COMMUNISM

19-G2

Chairman: ALLAN S. WHITING, University of Michigan

Papers: "Centralization vs. Decentralization in the Soviet Political System"
WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN, University of Michigan
"Centralization vs. Decentralization in the Chinese Political System"
PARRIS H. CHANG, Pennsylvania State University

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Interdisciplinary Political Science

PSYCHOLOGY AND POLITICS

20-G1

Chairman: MANFRED HENNINGSSEN, University of Hawaii

MYTH, SOCIETY & HISTORY

20-G2

Chairman: GERHART NIEMEYER, University of Notre Dame

Papers: "The Myth and Political Order"
FRANK DE GRAEVE, S.J., University of Notre Dame
"History and Political Order"
STEPHEN TONSOR, University of Michigan

2:00 p.m. Fri., Sept. 10—Political Science and the Sociological Imagination

**DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL: ALTERNATIVES
TO MAJORITY TYRANNY (Workshop)**

21-G

Chairman: PHILLIP GREEN, Smith College

Participants: JACK L. WALKER, University of Michigan
JOEL D. ABERBACH, University of Michigan

2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.—APSA Committee on Recruitment and Placement

**INTELLECTUAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE
ACADEMIC MARKETPLACE**

Chairman: MARTIN O. HEISLER, University of Maryland

6:30 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.—Dinner for Editors of Political Science Journals

8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—Special Session 2

**A ROUNDTABLE: WHAT KIND OF MAJORITY— "REPUBLICAN,"
"REAL," "FOR CHANGE"—OR NONE?**

LOUIS HARRIS, Louis Harris Associates, New York City

FRIDAY EVENING, SATURDAY MORNING

KEVIN PHILLIPS, King Feature Syndicate
RICHARD SCAMMON, Elections Research Center

8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—Special Session 3

AN EVENING WITH ERIC VOEGLIN

ERIC VOEGLIN, University of Munich

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

8:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.—Exhibits Open

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon—Registration

9:00 a.m.—Demonstration Room

9:00 a.m.—APSA Political Science Education Project Office

9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.—Panel Meetings (Group H)

PANEL MEETINGS (Group H)

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 11—The Impact of Social Science on Society: A Retrospect of Major Policy Issues

PPB: THE RECORD TO DATE

2-H

Chairman: ROBERT H. HAVEMAN, University of Wisconsin

Paper: **"PPB: Clearing the Record"**

DAVID MUNDEL, Harvard University

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 11—New Modes of Policy Analysis

OPERATIONS RESEARCH IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

4-H

Chairman: RICHARD LARSON, Department of Electrical Engineering, MIT

Papers: ALVIN DRAKE, Operations Research Center, MIT

STANLEY ALTMAN, SUNY, Stony Brook

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 11—Political Developments, New Directions

**LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE:
THE CASE OF BRAZIL**

7-H

Chairman: THOMAS BRUNEAU, McGill University

Papers: **"The Brazilian Military Oligarchy"**

THEODORE WYCOFF, Northern Arizona University

"Brazil's Bureaucratic Polity"

ROBERT T. DALAND, University of North Carolina

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

"Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in Latin America: The Corporative Model"

HOWARD WIARDA, University of Massachusetts

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 11—Law and Social Change

8-H

NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF APPELLATE COURTS (Workshop)

Chairman: S. SIDNEY ULMER, University of Kentucky

Papers: **"Use of Amicus in Bringing About Social Change"**
STEVEN PURO, Boston University

"Decision-Making in U.S. Courts of Appeal"
BURTON M. ATKINS, University of South Dakota

"Litigation Flow in U.S. Courts of Appeal"
J. WOODFORD HOWARD, Johns Hopkins University

"Decision-Making in the Rhode Island Supreme Court"
EDWARD N. BEISER, Brown University

"Tests of a Model for Predicting Judicial Decisions"
REED C. LAWLOR, Attorney

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 11—Conflicts, Groups, and Party Alignments

10-H

CONFLICTS, ALIGNMENTS, AND GROUPS IN COMMUNIST POLITIES

Chairman: JAN F. TRISKA, Stanford University

Papers: CHARLES D. CARY, University of Iowa (on the U.S.S.R.)
"Factionalism in Chinese Politics: The Case of the Cultural Revolution"
ANDREW J. NATHAN, University of Michigan

"Conflict and Crisis Patterns in East European Political Systems"
ANDREW WOJCIK, SUNY, Plattsburg

Discussants: BERNARD S. MORRIS, Indiana University
FREDERICK J. FLERON, JR., SUNY, Buffalo

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 11—Problems of Measurement and Method

THE MEASUREMENT OF QUALITY IN LARGE SCALE SYSTEMS 12-H

Chairman: L. VAUGHN BLANKENSHIP, SUNY, Buffalo

Papers: IAN MITROFF, University of Pittsburgh
RAE ARCHIBALD, Rand Institute, New York

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

RICHARD HOFFMAN, SUNY, Buffalo
C. WEST CHURCHMAN, University of California, Berkeley

9:00 a.m. Sat., Sept. 11—International Relations and Organization

EVENT INTERACTION ANALYSIS

13-H1

Chairman: SOPHIA PETERSON, West Virginia University

Discussants: GARY D. HOGGARD, American University
RUSSELL J. LONG, Middlebury College
ALVIN RICHMAN, United States Information Agency
ROBERT D. BURROWES, New York University
WARREN R. PHILLIPS, University of Hawaii
HAMID MOWLANA, American University

Those interested in participating are requested to read the following articles:

AZAR, EDWARD E. *Analysis of International Events*, Vol. IV, No. 1, of Peace Research Reviews, the Canadian Peace Research Institute, Oakville, Ontario, Canada, November, 1970.

HOLSTI, OLE R., ROBERT C. NORTH and RICHARD A. BRODY. "Perception and Action in the 1914 Crisis." *Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence*. Edited by J. David Singer. New York: The Free Press, 1968.

MCCLELLAND, CHARLES A. and GARY D. HOGGARD. "Conflict Patterns in the Interactions Among Nations." *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. Edited by James N. Rosenau. New York: The Free Press, 1969 (revised edition).

RUMMEL, RUDOLPH J. "A Field Theory of Social Action with Application to Conflict Within Nations." *General Systems: Yearbook of the Society of General Systems*. Vol. X (1965).

A more complete list will be available on request from APSA Washington headquarters after July 1.

13-H2

JAPAN'S WARTIME ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA (Workshop)

Chairman: KENNETH COLTON, Kent State University

Papers: "Japanese Colonial Policy and Practice and the Burmese Nationalist Movement"

DOROTHY GUYOT, CUNY

"The Japanization Program in Malaya

YOJI AKASHI, Geneva College

"The Japanese Administration and the Vietnam Independent Political Movement, March-August 1945"

KENNETH COLTON, Kent State University

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11

Discussants: WILLARD H. ELSBREE, Ohio University
LAYTON HORNER, Western Carolina University

RECEPTIONS AND MEAL FUNCTIONS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

- 5:30 p.m.**—Michigan State University dutch treat cocktail party for alumni and friends of the Political Science Department
6:00 p.m.—Dinner for the Committee on Governmental and Legal Processes of the Social Science Research Council

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

- 12:00 noon to 2:30 p.m.**—Conference on Communist Studies Luncheon
5:30 p.m.—Northwestern University dutch treat cocktail party for alumni and friends of the Political Science Department
5:30 p.m.—Johns Hopkins University dutch treat cocktail party for alumni and friends of the Political Science Department
5:30 p.m.—Harvard University dutch treat cocktail party for alumni and friends of the Political Science Department
5:30 p.m.—Conference on German Politics dutch treat cocktail party.
10:30 p.m.—Congressional Fellowship Reception

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

- 8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.**—Breakfast meeting of the Steering Committee of Political Scientists Interested in Health
12:00 noon to 1:30 p.m.—Luncheon for Those Interested in Irish Politics (contact Professor Ned Lebow, Department of Political Science, City College, New York City)
6:00 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.—Dinner for Political Science Journal Editors

FILMING DURING THE 1971 APSA MEETING

A videotape/film study of the 1971 APSA convention in Chicago is being sponsored by the Film Research Unit of the Political Data Program at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

The principal perspective of the research is a systematic description of the national convention. Anticipated results include an account of the etiology of professional meetings, and substantial experience for the refinement of film and videotape as research tools for political scientists.

The present notice is published for several reasons. First, panel chairmen and participants should be aware of the study, so that requests for pre-convention interviews will have a context. Second, the Film Research Unit welcomes pre-convention suggestions of hypotheses that could be explored, or descriptive strategies adopted. Third, partly as an experiment in subject-generation of data, the active participation of APSA members is invited, especially during the primary data-gathering stage, September 7-11.

Most of the equipment in use will be lightweight, easily-operated portable videotape recorders and cameras, of the Sony VideoRover II Type, which function adequately in ordinary room light. Approximately ten of these field units will be available. APSA members can familiarize themselves with the equipment either at a workshop, Tuesday afternoon, or at any time during the convention. Members should feel free to intervene at any stage of the research, directing the shooting of behavior or an event, or taking over the shooting themselves. Project members will be available at all times to provide technical information. APSA members who participate in the convention are also invited, if they are in the Chicago area during the Fall of 1971, to assist in the editing of the videotape at the Chicago Circle campus. Participants who intervene may elaborate on the tape

their model of inquiry, bias, or any other information appropriate to later interpretation of the material.

No hidden-camera techniques will be employed. Whenever possible, prior permission will be sought for the filming of formally bounded situations—as panels, workshops, plenary sessions, cocktail parties, and job placement activity. Even when the person “in charge” has given permission, however, any other participant may ask to have his voice and/or image excluded. Every effort will be made to accomplish this by selective shooting or, if that cannot be controlled, by selective editing or, finally, by total deletion of the coverage from the archive and the edited report. The same rule will apply generally to less formal situations, as corridor, restaurant, and bar activity. Accordingly, formal releases for the use of voice and image will not be sought. At the present stage, there are no plans for general distribution of any of the tape.

Depending on the availability of materiel, roughly one hundred hours of videotape will be recorded, with a small amount of silent film shot professionally for interest in editing. A finished report perhaps two hours in length is anticipated, with the possibility of alternative reports should serious conflicts of interpretation occur during collaborative editing. Much of the tape must be recovered for other purposes within a few months, so probably no more than twenty hours of rough data will be archived.

Comments, suggestions, interventions, questions can be addressed to:

KAYE MILLER
Department of Political Science
University of Illinois—Chicago Circle
Chicago, Illinois 60680

The project coordinators, Kaye Miller (Political Science) and Gerald Swatez (Sociology), have previously collaborated on a film study of the 1968 Democratic Convention, titled CONVENTIONS: THE LAND AROUND US.

COURTESY LISTING OF UNAFFILIATED GROUPS

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

8:00 p.m.—Meeting of the Interdisciplinary Relations Committee of the International Studies Association

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

9:00 a.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Informal Gathering of those Interested in Intergovernmental Relations

11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.—Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, Workshop

4:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.—Open Meeting of the Research Commission of the International Studies Association—Harold Guetzkow, Chr.

8:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.—Governing Council of the International Studies Association

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.—Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, Workshop

2:00 to 4:30 p.m.—Governing Council of the International Studies Association

4:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.—Caucus of Foreign-Born Political Scientists, Business Meeting

4:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.—Meeting of the Conference on German Politics

5:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.—Meeting of the Committee for the Philosophical Analysis of the Science of Politics

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Association News

Program for the 1972 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

Dwaine Marvick
University of California, Los Angeles
1972 Annual Meeting Program Chairman

The general shape of the 1972 Annual Meeting program, to be held in Washington D.C. at the Washington Hilton Hotel from September 5 to 9, is beginning to emerge. The help of a great many people will be needed to make the 68th Annual Meeting program a success. Criticisms as well as suggestions for improvements of the plans outlined below are encouraged.

Suggestions for papers to be presented at the 1972 meeting in the panel sections are earnestly solicited. Please advise the Program Chairman or the relevant section chairman of research which, either now or within a year, will be the basis for a report in one of the areas described below.

These sections are deliberately broad in their scope allowing the membership to suggest panel topics as well as individual papers. Realizing the possibility of research cutting across the sections described, the Chairman requests that such inter-sectional suggestions be sent either to one of the relevant section chairmen or to the Program Chairman directly.

In recent years some of the highest quality papers and participation in the panels have been contributed by graduate students. For the 1972 meeting, the Program Committee requests the submission of papers from doctoral candidates and has been encouraged to include as many as possible in the panel sections.

Since the program is currently being planned, it is not too early to anticipate events more than a year in advance.

Section Panels:

Political Science as a Profession
Robert J. Huckshorn, Florida Atlantic University

Political Theory
David W. Minar, Northwestern University

Research Methodology
J. Merrill Shanks, University of California, Berkeley

Micro-Analysis of Political Behavior
Roberta S. Sigel, SUNY, Buffalo

Policy Analysis and Public Administration
Matthew Holden Jr., University of Wisconsin

Urban and Community Political Processes
William J. Hanna, CUNY, Lehman College

American Politics
Jack Dennis, University of Wisconsin

Law and Judicial Processes
Martin Shapiro, University of California, Berkeley

International Relations
A. F. K. Organski, University of Michigan

Comparative Politics—Western Areas
Gerhart Loewenberg, University of Iowa

Comparative Politics—Developing Areas
Leonard Binder, University of Chicago

Comparative Politics—Communist Areas
David Cattell, University of California, Los Angeles

Research Frontier Presentations:

In almost all fields of political science today, teams of investigators are carrying out significant large-scale research inquiries. These projects move from design stage to data gathering and analysis to publication over a number of years. To discuss more effectively the problems and findings encountered at the research frontier in question, chairmen of each section have been urged to organize some sessions along such lines. These would focus on research frontiers that are being explored by a relatively large-scale endeavor enlisting the cooperation of a group of investigators. The section chairmen ask that suggestions of research projects to be included in this format be forwarded to them as soon as possible.

Colloquia for Specialists:

Within a number of fields and also cutting across conventional boundaries, particular "schools of thought" emerge within our discipline. Those who are preoccupied with a distinctive subject matter, methodological technique, or conceptual approach often keep in close touch with one another; sometimes they have formed their own scholarly association. Understandably, they would like to meet in colloquia or panel sessions devoted to their specialty at the 1972 convention.

Association News

To meet this type of problem, spokesmen for such study groups should write to the Program Chairman, sketching the kind of program plans they envisage. Often it will be possible to pass such correspondence to one of the section chairmen, who will be able to accommodate them within the plans he has for a set of panels. In other cases, it may be possible to fix a time outside the regular panel sequence when such groups of "like-minded" scholars can meet.

Black Graduate Fellowships

The Association has announced twenty-five winners in the competition for the 1971-72 Black Graduate Fellowships in Political Science.

The winners include five Fellows to receive scholarships of \$3,600 for the academic year 1971-72 to attend the university of their choice and twenty honorary fellows. The honorary fellows have been recommended to graduate departments of political science as deserving of consideration for fellowships or other financial assistance.

Funded Black Graduate Fellows

James B. Eaglin, Grambling College

Creighton W. Lee, Baldwin-Wallace College

Georgia A. Persons, Southern University

Jules S. Trapp, Howard University

Donald L. Tryman, California Polytechnical State College

Honorary APSA Black Graduate Fellows

Ernest H. Adams, New York University

James Bailey, San Jose State College

Jan L. Batiste, University of Oregon

Carole A. Belk, Howard University

Charles E. Bell, Antioch College

Camille E. Brewer, Lincoln University

Carolyn S. Currie, Grambling College

Milton C. Davis, Tuskegee Institute

Elizabeth L. Ellis, Florida A & M University

Helen L. Forrester, Long Island University

Sheila F. Harmon, Southern University

Murel M. Jones, David Lipscomb College

Johnny Lawton, University of California, Riverside

Earl R. Niles, Brandeis University

Michael C. Rogers, University of Nice

Mary Sapp, Florida A & M University

Carolyn A. Stamps, Tougaloo College

Edward Thompson, University of Arizona

Jacqueline M. Washington, Howard University

Shirley M. Washington, Howard University

Congressional Fellowship Program

The Association has announced 16 winners in the national competition for the 1971-72 Congressional Fellowship Program.

The winners—eight political scientists and eight journalists—will come to the Nation's Capitol for a year of full-time work in the offices of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

Each winner will receive a minimum stipend of \$6,500 for the year. The Program is financed by a Ford Foundation grant, and services of the Fellows are free of charge to the Congressional offices in which they work.

Sponsored by the Association since 1953, the purpose of the Congressional Fellowship Program is to give outstanding young academicians and political journalists an opportunity to further their knowledge of the national legislative process. Other participants for the 1971-72 Congressional Fellowship Program, Asian Fellows, Harkness Fellows, and Federal Service Fellows, will be named later in the year.

The Congressional Fellows are scheduled to arrive here in mid-November for a six-week orientation period. They will begin working in Congressional offices of their choice about January 1, 1972. The Program ends August 15, 1972.

The 16 winners were selected on the basis of superior academic training and experience. Final selections were made by an Advisory Committee made up of top government officials, Washington newsmen, and political scientists.

Political Scientists

Charles S. Bullock, 28, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia.

Stephen A. Merrill, 27, Ph.D. Candidate, Yale University.

Bruce W. Robeck, 31, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Texas A & M University.

David Seidman, 28, Ph.D. Candidate, Yale University.

Mark A. Siegel, 24, Ph.D., Candidate, Northwestern University

Thomas Vocino, 30, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Eastern Illinois University.

Robert J. Ward, 29, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Missouri.

Thomas R. Wolanin, 28, Ph.D. Candidate, Harvard University.

Journalists

Michael S. Alonge, 28, National and Foreign News desk, *New York Daily News*.

Michael J. Bennett, 34, Reporter, *Boston Record-American*.

Lance Brisson, 27, Freelance Investigative Reporter.

Ben Burns, 30, Night city editor, *Miami Herald*.

Mikel K. Miller, 27, Bureau manager, *United Press International*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Edward D. Murnane, 27, State Editor and political reporter, Paddock Publications.

Joanne B. Omang, 28, Night New England editor, *United Press International*.

Richard D. Robinett, 28, Political and Public Affairs Reporter, *Elkhart Truth*.

Undergraduate Education Improvement Program in Political Science

An Association proposal for a major program to improve undergraduate education in political science is being submitted to the National Science Foundation following its recent approval by the Council.

The proposal requests support to establish a Commission on Undergraduate Education in

Political Science (CUEPS) aimed at improving undergraduate political science education in colleges and universities throughout the country. It would be similar to programs supported by NSF in fields such as Biology, Physics, and Mathematics. The Commission, under the auspices of the American Political Science Association, will have as its primary objectives the stimulation of interest, the generation of materials, and the dissemination of information helpful in upgrading political science instruction in a variety of institutional settings. Two Committees, Undergraduate Curriculum (with subcommittees on the Non-Major, Two-Year College, Predominantly Black Colleges) and College Teacher Training, and five task forces, Field Work and Internships, Library Requirements, Mathematical and Statistical Training, Audio-visual Instructional Materials, and Laboratory and Computer-assisted Instruction, are proposed as the primary working aims of CUEPS. The proposal also contains provisions for a Division of Educational Affairs within the American Political Science Association.

This effort is an outgrowth of the Association's renewed interest in undergraduate education during the last several years. As a part of this interest, a Committee on Undergraduate Instruction, chaired by William Buchanan of Washington & Lee University, was appointed over a year ago to address the problems of undergraduate teaching; it published a report, "Conceptual Analysis," in the Summer 1970 PS. In December 1970, a number of political scientists assembled in Washington under the Chairmanship of Robert E. Lane for a Conference on Political Science Education. Those attending were Gabriel A. Almond, Walter E. Beach, William Buchanan, John P. Creche, William J. Daniels, Ithiel de Sola Pool, David Easton, Heinz Eulau, Richard F. Fenno, Donald G. Herzberg, Richard I. Hofferbert, Matthew Holden, Jr., Robert J. Huckshorn, Charles S. Hyneman, Tobe Johnson, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Thomas E. Mann, J. Roland Pennock, Lucian W. Pye, Austin Ranney, Melvin Richter, Donald E. Stokes, Gordon Tullock, Vernon B. Van Dyke, and Robert E. Lane, Chairman. Also present were Alfred Borg and William A. Lucas, National Science Foundation; Robert Gagne, Florida State University; and Edward Kormandy, Commission on Undergraduate Education in Biological Sciences. The major objectives of the meeting were to identify the most pressing educational needs at the undergraduate level and to propose a program that would effectively address those needs. The proposal being submitted to NSF represents

the collective effort of the Conference participants, the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction, the Council and numerous other political scientists who have demonstrated an interest in improving political science education. The project director and chairman of the proposed Commission is Vernon Van Dyke of the University of Iowa.

New Instructional Materials for Pre-Collegiate Teachers Proposal

As part of its continuing interest in the field of pre-collegiate education the Association is preparing a proposal to the National Science Foundation for support to develop new instructional materials for elementary and secondary teachers.

Since its founding, the APSA has maintained an interest in improving instruction about politics and government at the pre-collegiate level of American education. Numerous committees and task forces have examined and sought to improve the discipline's contribution to elementary and secondary schools. The Association has published several studies and reports on civic education, shared in such educational projects as "Continental Classroom" and conducted several in-service training seminars. The annual meetings of the APSA regularly includes one or more programs co-sponsored with the National Council for the Social Studies focused upon the political education of pre-adults.

In recent years the involvement of the profession in pre-collegiate education has been rapidly expanding. In the spring of 1969, a Committee on Pre-Collegiate Curriculum was appointed with Paul R. Abramson of Michigan State University as Chairman. The report of this Committee, published in the Summer 1969 *PS*, recommended a substantial expansion in the profession's involvement in pre-collegiate education and the establishment of an Association Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. President Deutsch appointed the present Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, the twenty-second such committee in the Association's history, in January 1970. Under the leadership of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, chaired by Richard C. Snyder of Ohio State University, the Association has undertaken a major effort to mobilize the resources of the discipline in support of improved political science education in elementary and secondary schools. The APSA Political Science Education Project, directed by Lee F. Anderson and Richard Remy, and supported with funds

from the U.S. Office of Education, has served as the primary working arm of the Association. An extensive description of the APSA Political Science Education Project is contained in the Summer 1970 *PS*.

The pre-collegiate proposal, similar to NSF supported projects in sociology and geography, is currently being prepared for submission to the NSF Division of Pre-College Education in Science Course Content Improvement Program. It requests support for the development of new instructional materials that focus upon perennial and universal experiences in the political life of mankind such as conflict, authority, decision-making, influence, participation, and change; it will be organized around sets of problems in the conceptual, empirical and normative analysis of politics.

Political Science Department Chairmen's Lists

The Association has developed lists of 1970-71 political science department chairmen which are available for purchase.

The lists are divided among graduate departments, 140 institutions (List A); undergraduate departments offering degrees in political science, 747 institutions (List B), and undergraduate departments offering a political science component in a social science or related department, 458 institutions (List C). The non-commercial, prepaid price for the lists are: List A, \$15.00, List B \$30.00, and List C \$30.00. Commercial rates are available on request. The Association also has available on addressograph plates for purchase at the same non-commercial rates as listed above, the names of departments. For further information on departmental lists, write to Miss Jeanne Mozier at the Association.

1970 Annual Meeting Abstracts Volume

The 1970 Annual Meeting Abstracts Volume by Richard Merritt of the University of Illinois and the 1970 Annual Meeting Program Chairman is currently being prepared for publication and should be distributed to members who have ordered copies by early summer. Members wishing to order copies of the volume may do so by forwarding \$1.00 prepaid to the Association. The indexed Abstracts volume will contain abstracts of papers delivered at the 1970 Annual Meeting.

Regional and State Political Science Associations

Over the years a growing number of regional and state political science associations and conferences have developed. *PS* is publishing

the list below with a request to members for further additions or corrections; it also welcomes information for publication on meetings of regional and state associations.

ASSOCIATION	OFFICERS	PUBLICATIONS	MEETINGS
REGIONAL			
Midwest Political Science Association	President: John C. Wahlke, SUNY, Stony Brook Vice President: Robert J. Steamer, Lake Forest College Secretary-Treasurer: Jean M. Driscoll, North Park College	MIDWEST JOURNAL OF POLITICS Samuel C. Patterson, University of Iowa, Editor	April 29-May 1, 1971 Pick-Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois
New England Political Science Association	President: G. Lowell Field, University of Connecticut Vice President: Josephine F. Milburn, University of Rhode Island Secretary-Treasurer: Gerald J. Grady, University of Massachusetts	Directory of Members (Survey of New England Depts. of Pol. Sci.)	April 23-24, 1971 University of Connecticut, Storrs
Northeastern Political Science Association	President: Elmer Cornwell, Brown University 1st Vice President: Walter O. Filley, SUNY, Binghamton 2nd Vice President: Edward Keynes, Pennsylvania State University Secretary-Treasurer: Gerald J. Grady, University of Massachusetts	POLITY Loren Beth, University of Massachusetts, Editor	November 4-6, 1971 Gideon Putnam Hotel Saratoga Springs, New York
Northern California Political Science Association	President: Karl Lamb, University of California, Santa Cruz Vice President: William W. Young, Sonoma State College Secretary-Treasurer: John M. Selig, City College of San Francisco		
Pacific Northwestern Political Science Association	President: Robert Fluno, Whitman College Vice President: Donald Farmer, Pacific Lutheran University Secretary-Treasurer: Lowell W. Culver, Pacific Lutheran University		April 30-May 1, 1971 Tacoma, Washington

Association News

Regional and State Political Science Associations

ASSOCIATION	OFFICERS	PUBLICATIONS	MEETINGS
Southern Political Science Association	President: James W. Prothro, University of North Carolina President Elect: Sidney Ulmer, University of Kentucky Vice President: Malcolm Parsons, Florida State University Vice President Elect: Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University	JOURNAL OF POLITICS William S. Livingston, University of Texas, Editor	November, 1971 Gatlinburg, Tennessee
Southern California Political Science Association	President: Mary Jean Pew, Immaculate Heart College Vice President: Charles Bell, California State College, Fullerton Secretary: John Goldbach, California State College, San Fernando Valley Treasurer: David Farrelly, University of California, Los Angeles		May 7, 1971 California State College, Fullerton
Southwestern Political Science Association	President: Clifton McCleskey, University of Texas Vice President: Michael P. Gehlen, University of New Mexico Secretary-Treasurer: Gordon G. Henderson, Texas Technological University	SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY Associate Editors: Harry Holloway, University of Oklahoma and Robert L. Lineberry, University of Texas, Austin	March 30, April 1, 1972 Palacio del Rio, San Antonio Hilton
Western Political Science Association	President: Paul H. Castleberry, Washington State University President Elect: Currin V. Shields, University of Arizona Secretary-Treasurer: Paul Murray, Sacramento State College	WESTERN JOURNAL OF POLITICS Ellsworth Weaver, University of Utah, Editor	April 8-10, 1971 Sheraton Western Skies, Albuquerque, New Mexico
STATE			
Delaware Political Science Association	President: Marian Lief Palley, University of Delaware Vice President: David Ingersoll, University of Delaware Secretary-Treasurer: John Deiner, University of Delaware		November 13, 1971

<i>ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>OFFICERS</i>	<i>PUBLICATIONS</i>	<i>MEETINGS</i>
District of Columbia Political Science Association	President: Warren I. Cikins, National Conference on Citizenship 1st Vice President: Martin J. Clancy, Senate Republican Policy Committee 2nd Vice President: Walter Kravitz, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress Secretary-Treasurer: Robert O. Sailer		April 6, 1971, Department of HEW
Iowa Conference of Political Scientists	President: William Rosberg, Kirkwood Community College (Cedar Rapids) Secretary-Treasurer: John W. Norton, St. Ambrose College		April 24, 1971 St. Ambrose College, Davenport
Kansas Political Science Association	Pierre Secher, Kansas State University (In charge of spring 1971 meeting) Roger E. Kanet, University of Kansas (In charge of Fall 1970 meeting)		April 16-17, 1971 Manhattan, Kansas
Kentucky Conference of Political Scientists	1971-72 Officers President: Jack A. Bissel, Morehead State University President: David F. Hughes, University of Louisville Vice President: Carol Dowell, University of Louisville		April 24, 1971 Morehead State University
Michigan Political Science Association	President: Fridolf Johnson, Ferris State College President Elect: Elpon Ham, Kalamazoo College Secretary: Katherine Zonosnowsky, Western Michigan University Treasurer: Kenneth A. Morgan, Clair County Community College		October 1971
Minnesota Political Science Association	Headed by an Executive Committee Harold Chase, University of Minnesota, Chairman		April 24, 1971, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota
Mississippi Political Science Association	President: Gordon Bryan, Mississippi State University Secretary: John Quincy Adams, Millsaps College 1972 Officers President: Donald Vaughan, University of Mississippi Vice President: William Hatcher, University of Southern Mississippi Secretary-Treasurer: Russell Barrett, University of Mississippi		March 20, 1971 Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi

Association News

Regional and State Political Science Associations

ASSOCIATION	OFFICERS	PUBLICATION	MEETINGS
Missouri Political Science Association	President: DeLores J. Williams, Lindenwood College Vice President: Ronald B. Bailey, Washington University Secretary-Treasurer: Robert F. Karsch, University of Missouri, Columbia	Biographical Directory every two years MPSA Newsletter (Semi-Annual)	November 12-13, 1971 Jefferson City
Nebraska Political Science Association	President: Leonard J. Kramer, Nebraska Wesleyan University Vice President: Orville Minard, University of Nebraska, Omaha Secretary-Treasurer: James Schaeffer, Chadron State College		
New York Political Science Association	President: William T. Bluhm, University of Rochester Vice President: Harriet Pollack, John Jay College, CUNY Secretary-Treasurer: Leon S. Cohen, SUNY, Albany		March 26-27, 1971 Saratoga Springs
North Carolina Political Science Association	President: Richter H. Moore, Jr., Appalachian State University President Elect: Richard Leach, Duke University Secretary: Albert Hughes, Appalachian State University Treasurer: Oral E. Parks, East Carolina University		April 16-17, 1971 Appalachian University April 2-3, 1971 Dayton
Ohio Association of Economists and Political Scientists	Secretary-Treasurer: Paul C. Kitchin, Jr., Kent State University		
Pennsylvania Political Science Association	President: Harry Bailey, Jr., Temple University Vice President: Edward Cook, University of Pittsburgh Secretary-Treasurer: Edward Keynes, Pennsylvania State University		
Virginia Conference of Political Scientists	(Informal annual meeting of Virginia political scientists)		1971, Virginia Polytechnical Institute and State University, Host
West Virginia Political Science Association	President: Edwin Van Deusen, Concord College Vice President: Herbert Wilcox, Kanawha Valley Graduate Center Secretary: Patricia P. Ryan, Fairmont State College Treasurer: George F. Moore, Concord College	Proceedings, Annual Meeting (irregularly) Directory, 1968, by Bureau of Government Research, University of West Virginia	October 15-16, 1971 Fairmont State College

ICMA 1971 List of Summer Internships in Local Government

For the second year, the Association has cooperated with the International City Management Association in bringing a list of summer internships in local government to political science departments. A limited number of copies of the list, which was prepared by Nancy Mayer and Harry Pollock of the ICMA are available without charge from the Association.

APSA Committees

The following is a list of Association Committees with members who have been appointed by Presidents of the Association. Members of the Association are invited to correspond with the Chairman of any Committee concerning subjects with which his or her Committee is dealing.

Constitutional Revision Committee

Victor G. Rosenblum, Acting Chairman,
Northwestern University
Sandra G. Bogner, *University of Florida*
Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *University of Rochester*
Alex Gottfried, *University of Washington*
Michael Haas, *Northwestern University*
Charles V. Hamilton, *Columbia University*
Robert E. Hawkinson, *University of Chicago*
Donald G. Herzberg, *Eagleton Institute of Politics*
Herbert Jacob, *University of Wisconsin*
Avery Leiserson, *Vanderbilt University*
John D. Lewis, *Oberlin College*
Walter F. Murphy, *Princeton University*
James W. Prothro, *University of North Carolina*
Rudolph J. Rummel, *University of California, Berkeley*
Judith N. Shklar, *Harvard University*
Sidney Verba, *University of Chicago*
Kenneth N. Waltz, *Brandeis University*
Aaron Wildavsky, *University of California, Berkeley*

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession

Paul L. Puryear, Chairman, *Florida State University*
Russell L. Adams, *Federal City College*
Twiley W. Barker, Jr., *University of Illinois*
Lenore Cartwright, *University of Illinois*
Samuel D. Cook, *Duke University*
C. Vernon Gray, *Oakland University*
Robert E. Martin, *Howard University*

Frank L. Morris, *M.I.T.*

Michael J. Parenti, *University of Vermont*
William P. Robinson, Sr., *Norfolk State College*
Harry M. Scoble, Jr., *University of California, Los Angeles*
Shelby Lewis Smith, *Southern University*
Nathaniel P. Tillman, Jr., *Olive-Harvey College*
Maurice C. Woodard, *Federal City College*

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Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

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Joyce M. Mitchell, *University of Oregon*
Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *University of Chicago*
Victoria Schuck, *Mt. Holyoke College*
Irine Tinker, *Federal City College*

Committee on Professional Ethics

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Christian Bay, *University of Alberta*
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Guenter Lewy, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
Theodore J. Lowi, *University of Chicago*
Nancy McMillin, *University of Michigan*

Committee on Nominations

John C. Wahlke, Chairman, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
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Roland Pennock, *Swarthmore College*
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Committee on Academic Freedom

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Philip Green, *Smith College*
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1971 Annual Meeting Program Committee

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Richard E. Flathman, *University of Chicago*
Michael Haas, *University of Hawaii*
Warren F. Ilchman, *University of California, Berkeley*
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Herbert Jacob, *Northwestern University*
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Todd La Porte, *University of California, Berkeley*
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Joseph S. Nye, *Harvard University*
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Clare Rosenfield, *Brown University*
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Denis Sullivan, *Dartmouth College*

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1972 Annual Meeting Program Committee

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Chadwick F. Alger, *Northwestern University*
Allan P. Sindler, *University of California, Berkeley*

Committee on Elections

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Ellis Waldron, *University of Montana*

Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession

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Mario Barrera, *University of California, Riverside*
Charles L. Cotrell, *St. Mary's University*
F. Chris Garcia, *University of New Mexico*
Thomas V. Garcia, *U.S. Civil Service Commission*
Jose Gutierrez, *University of Texas*

Dwayne Marvick, *University of California, Los Angeles*
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 Joseph L. Noguee, *University of Houston*

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 Michael D. Reagan, *University of California, Riverside*
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APSA Awards Committee

Helen Dwight Reid Award

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 Andrew Gyorgy, *George Washington University*
 Raymond Tanter, *University of Michigan*

Gladys M. Kammerer Award

Charles O. Jones, Chairman, *University of Pittsburgh*
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 Ira Sharkansky, *University of Wisconsin*

Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award

William T. R. Fox, Chairman, *Columbia University*
 Donald E. Stokes, *University of Michigan*
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Leonard D. White Award

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 Robert C. Tucker, *Princeton University*

Edward S. Corwin Award

David Danelski, Chairman, *Yale University*
 Paul C. Bartholomew, *University of Notre Dame*
 Sanford V. Levinson, *Stanford University*

APSA Investments and Securities

As of March 1, 1971 the Association's investments and securities were as follows:

Stocks	Shares
Abbott Laboratories	400
American Airlines	15
Anheuser Busch	300
Armstrong Cork	300
Bristol Meyers	156
Columbia Broadcasting Systems	217
Continental Oil Company	296
Dupont de Nemours	100
Eastman Kodak	300
Federated Department Stores	600
Florida Power and Light	220
General Mills	600
General Motors Corporation	400
General Telephone & Electronics	500
IBM Corporation	150
International Telephone	443
J. C. Penney Company	350
Johns Manville Corporation	100
Marriott Corporation	700
Middle South Utilities	700
3M Corporation	300
Mobil Oil	400
Peoples Gas Company	188
Polaroid Corporation	207
Schering Corporation	600
Sears	300
Texaco	600
United Airlines	220
Westinghouse Electric	300
Weyerhaeuser Company	500
Xerox	300

Bonds	Matures	Number
Alabama Power	9/1/95	10 M
American Air Filter	3/1/90	15 M
A T & T	4/1/2001	30 M
A T & T	4/1/85	76 M
Boston Edison	11/1/95	10 M
Carrier Corp.	7/1/89	20 M
Columbia Gas System	10/1/90	10 M
General Motors Accept	9/1/80	30 M
Kresge	4/15/95	20 M
Ohio Bell Telephone	2/1/2006	25 M
Public Service Electric	9/1/95	10 M
So. Calif. Edison	8/15/91	20 M

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Tenneco	9/1/85	10 M
United Airline	7/1/92	10 M
U.S. Treasury Notes and Bonds:		
	5/15/72	125 M
	5/15/74	200 M
	8/15/75	140 M

Savings and Loan Associations*	Amount
Carver, New York City	\$10,000.00
Independent, Washington, D.C.	10,000.00

Certificate of Deposit

Franklin National Bank, New York City	15,000.00
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*Consistent with the guidelines adopted by the Finance Committee and approved by the Council, the Association has invested funds in institutions making a special effort to promote the establishment of a more democratic and humane social order.

APSA Council Minutes

The first Council meeting of the year was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., December 4 and 5, 1970.

Present:

Chadwick F. Alger, Edward C. Banfield, Philip E. Converse, John A. Davis, Thomas R. Dye, Heinz Eulau, Fred I. Greenstein, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Donald R. Matthews, Joyce M. Mitchell, Nelson W. Polsby, James W. Prothro, Austin Ranney, William P. Robinson, Sr., Dankwart A. Rustow, Robert H. Salisbury, Victoria Schuck, Allan P. Sindler, Gordon Tullock, Sidney Verba, Ellis Waldron

Presiding:

Robert E. Lane, President

Approval of Minutes

Approval of the minutes of the previous meeting of the Council and the Annual Business Meeting minutes was deferred until the second day of the meeting to give members of the Council time to read the minutes. The next day, Kessel moved that the minutes of the Council and the Annual Business Meeting be approved subject to such minor corrections that the Secretary may find necessary. Motion unanimously approved.

Report on Election Outcomes

Kirkpatrick reported to the Council on the results of the mail ballot vote on constitutional amendments and resolutions. (Election results are published in the Winter, 1970, issue of *PS*.)

Report on Association Finances

Kirkpatrick reported on Association finances for the first five months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and presented revised estimates of annual revenues and expenditures. He estimated the income from membership dues for the current fiscal year would be \$266,000 instead of \$344,000 as in the budget. He noted that dues collection for three quarters of the year would be over before the dues increase approved by the membership would become effective, and that the earlier budget estimate had been based on collection of new dues for a larger portion of the year.

Rustow moved that notices be sent to all those who had been sent dues statements for the quarter beginning January 1, 1971, stating that the dues increase amendment had passed and inviting those members to pay on the new basis. There were no objections to the Rustow motion. Motion approved. Kirkpatrick pointed out various areas in the budget for the current fiscal year where the Budget Committee had overestimated income and underestimated expenses. According to his revised estimates, if the Association continued operating under the present budget, the Association would end with a deficit of over \$200,000 for the current fiscal year. He estimated that expenses would amount to \$871,000 while revenues would amount to only \$651,000.

Procedure for Budget Reductions

Lane suggested that the Administrative Committee be instructed to discover new sources of income and reduce authorized expenditures for the coming year by an amount to be fixed by the Council.

In the discussion that followed, Tullock suggested continuing the deficit in order to use up the Association's endowment fund. McClosky stated that this procedure would "merely postpone financial disaster for two or three years," that interest from the endowment would be lost as a source of income, and that in the end the Association would be obliged to cut its spending anyway. Ranney observed that the endowment

gives the Association a means of dealing with emergency needs.

Lane moved to refer to the Administrative Committee the question of finding additional funds. No objection; motion approved.

Tullock moved to request the Administrative Committee to report back to the Council with a plan for reduction in expenditures for the current fiscal year in an amount of not less than \$40,000. Rustow amended the Tullock motion to add "after hearing a discussion by the Council of its priorities." Tullock accepted the amendment. Kessel stated that he would like to have the costs of *PS* discussed, and asked that the Administrative Committee consider the budget for the next fiscal year at the same time they are looking at reductions in the present year's budget. Huntington offered a substitute motion—that the Administrative Committee's decisions on reducing the budget shall be final provided that they are sent to members of the Council and no more than one-fourth of the Council objects to the proposed budget.

Lane proposed that the Council set aside several hours on the second day of the meeting for a discussion of Association budget priorities. This discussion would be used as a guide by the Administrative Committee in preparing a revised budget. The Administrative Committee would later submit its revised budget to Council members by mail for their ratification. There was no objection expressed to this procedure and it was followed.

Report of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

Tom Mann reported briefly to the Council on the work of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education and pointed out that the Committee's full report is on pages 563-567 of the Special issue of the Summer 1970 *PS*.

Report of the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction

Lane reported to the Council for the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction. He stated that he had prepared a proposal for seed money for a program of research and development in college political education and both he and Kirkpatrick had sent it to various foundations requesting grants. Lane and Kirkpatrick had also spoken informally to NSF officials about obtaining NSF funds. These officials suggested

the advisability of an Association-sponsored conference on undergraduate instruction as a prelude to the submission of a formal proposal. Lane reported that he has scheduled such a conference for December 11-13, 1970, and has invited approximately 24 participants.

Lane also reported that he prepared a proposal for the National Endowment for the Humanities regarding political philosophy. He did so because he believed that NSF would emphasize empirical and systematic aspects of political science in their support, and he did not want political philosophy to be overlooked in undergraduate instructional programs of the Association. However, when Lane convened a special committee of political philosophers, chaired by Hanna Pitkin, they rejected Lane's proposal, and prepared a proposal of their own which has been submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Kariel moved to authorize the allocation of the funds not spent by the Committee for an Exploratory Study of Graduate Education to the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction to partially fund the December conference, and to authorize use of contingency funds for any remaining costs.

Salisbury questioned a sentence in the proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities stating that the Council of the Association had approved the program. Lane explained that this wording was "in anticipation" of Council action. Ranney asked if the Council would have an opportunity to review the proposal to be submitted to NSF prior to its submission, and questioned whether the Council would be free to alter committee structures listed in the proposal if the grant is received. Lane replied that the Council usually has not dealt with the details of a grant application but merely approved the application in general.

Sindler felt that the submission of a proposal on behalf of the Association by a committee of political theorists without prior review by the Council was a procedural error. He felt that this was a poor precedent in seeking foundation grants. He noted that in the past either the Council or the Executive Committee had approved proposals before they were submitted. Lane explained that he acted to meet foundation deadlines and that delay would have postponed initiation of the program for nearly a year.

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He observed that the Council can still take any action it deems appropriate. He stated his belief that the Association had already delayed too long in addressing itself to undergraduate teaching.

Kariel stated that he was pleased that Lane took initiative on behalf of the political philosophy program, but dismayed by the fact that the Council was not involved in making such a decision. Eulau pointed out that the Association is immobilized between September and December, and that if the President cannot take action, nothing can be done.

Greenstein suggested a five-man subcommittee of the Council review and approve the final NSF proposal. Kariel accepted Greenstein's suggestion as part of his original motion (authorizing funds for the conference). The motion was unanimously approved.

Rustow moved that the Council retroactively approve the proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities with the understanding that the committee be enlarged by three members to represent subdisciplines other than political philosophy. Unanimously approved.

Mitchell moved that, in accordance with expressed Association policy, it is the sense of the Council that an overhead item should be added into the proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities and in all other proposals. No objection; motion approved.

Report on the Association's State and Local Government Internship Program

The Council then discussed the Association's State and Local Government Internship Program. Waldron urged that internships be open to undergraduates and first-year graduate students in order to direct them toward careers in government service. Salisbury felt that the program is more appropriate for doctoral candidates because not only will the student be improved, but the discipline will be improved. Rustow moved that the President enlarge the existing Advisory Committee on State and Local Government Internships so as to enable it to formulate an application for internships in non-governmental organizations as well as state and local governments. McClosky offered a substitute motion that the Executive Director and Administrative Committee be authorized to prepare a proposal for renewal of the grant for the State and Local

Government Internship Program, to include non-governmental organizations as well as state and local governments, and to try to work into the proposal the sentiments expressed by the Council. McClosky motion unanimously approved.

Waldron stated his feeling that limitation of intern programs to doctoral candidates restricts access of preprofessional students to such internships and it limits sponsorship of such programs to institutions offering the doctoral degree. It may, indeed, completely preclude development of such programs in some states. Waldron moved that the Administrative Committee be instructed to review the doctoral candidacy as a basic requirement for such a program.

Vote on the Waldron motion was:

For:

Alger, Banfield, Converse, Davis, Greenstein, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Mitchell, Ranney, Robinson, Rustow, Schuck, Sindler, Verba, Waldron

Against:

Dye, Eulau, Huntington, Prothro, Salisbury

Lane and Tullock abstained from voting.

Vote:

18 for, 5 opposed, motion carried.

Proposed SAIS-APSA Congressional Summer Internship

The next agenda item was a proposed SAIS-APSA Congressional Summer Intern Project. Discussion reflected a reluctance of the Council to lend the Association's name to grant applications developed outside of the Association. Prothro moved that the President be instructed not to pursue this proposal further. Unanimously approved.

Report of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos

Ralph Guzman, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos, reported to the Council for his committee, and requested funds for committee meetings and a scholarship program for Chicano students. (A copy of the committee report is attached to the record copy of these minutes.) Matthews asked if the Committee is working on a proposal to foundations for outside

funding for Chicano scholarships. Guzman replied that such proposals are being prepared. Kessel thought that both the request for funds for committee meetings and funds for scholarships should be referred to the Administrative Committee for their action in light of other budgetary requests and that the Administrative Committee should report back to the Council. Davis suggested that the Chicanos, possibly in conjunction with other social scientists, apply to a foundation for a seed grant to explore the depth of the problem. Dye felt that the request by the Chicanos for a fellowship program, in light of what the Council has done for black students, is not an unreasonable request. However, he believed that there is need for some general Association policy in the area of disadvantaged members of the profession, so that decisions can be made about what to do for all disadvantaged groups instead of considering separate requests from each group.

Banfield felt that the request for funding a scholarship program is not so much practical as it is symbolic. Tullock expressed his feeling that any number of qualified Chicanos could be placed in universities without expenditure of Association funds. Converse stated that he would be in favor of the Administrative Committee doing its best to help with the first seed money for Chicano committee meetings with the instruction that they develop a proposal to obtain other monies. Ranney moved to postpone consideration of the requests by the Committee on the Status of Chicanos until after discussion of the budgetary priorities and guidelines for the Administrative Committee.

Vote on the Ranney motion was:

For:

Alger, Banfield, Converse, Davis, Eulau, Greenstein, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Prothro, Ranney, Robinson, Rustow, Salisbury, Schuck, Sindler, Verba, Waldron

Against:

Dye, Kessel, Mitchell, Tullock

Lane abstained from voting.

Vote:

19 for, 4 opposed, motion carried.

Proposal for a Committee on the Status of Foreign Born

Amrit Lal spoke to the Council requesting the creation of a Committee on Foreign Born. McClosky proposed that the President of the Association be authorized to appoint an ad hoc Committee on Disadvantaged Groups composed of members of disadvantaged groups and others, to meet for a single meeting, for the purpose of formulating general Association policies for dealing with the special problems, needs, and requests of disadvantaged groups in the political science profession. Eulau observed that "the Association is not a foundation." The Association, he said, is not able to take effective action to resolve all of the problems of American society. The Council and the members of the Association must realize the limits of the Association.

Vote on the McClosky motion was:

For:

Alger, Banfield, Converse, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Prothro, Ranney, Rustow, Salisbury, Schuck, Sindler, Tullock, Verba, Waldron

Against:

Davis, Mitchell, Robinson

Lane abstained from voting.

Vote:

21 for, 3 opposed, motion carried.

Staff position on Academic Freedom

Sindler and Prothro spoke to the Council concerning a staff representative for academic freedom to function in the area of academic freedom but not in the area of disadvantaged groups within the profession. The Committee on Academic Freedom feels that every effort should be made to secure external funding for a staff position, and only in the event that outside funding has failed should the resources of the Association be used.

Report of the Program Committee for the 1971 Annual Meeting

Verba reported to the Council on the work of the Program Committee. Dye pointed out Council policy preventing multiple appearances of people on panels at an Annual Meeting. He observed

that there is no rule preventing re-appearance year after year of the same people, but suggested to Verba that a general policy preventing consecutive annual re-appearance would be wise.

Report of the Managing Editor of the REVIEW

Ranney and Polsby reported on the progress of the change-over in Managing Editor of the *Review* and changes which are being made in the format and the operation of the *Review*. The last issue edited by Austin Ranney will be March 1971. Polsby mentioned that he has requests to make regarding further professionalized editing of the *Review*, additional issues, etc., and that he will ask for a hearing before the Administrative Committee when they consider the budget for the next fiscal year. He also noted that the *Review* generates more income than it costs; the income from library memberships, advertising, and royalty payments exceeds the cost of the *Review*.

Report of the Committee on Recruitment and Placement

Martin Heisler reported to the Council for the Committee on Recruitment and Placement. Huntington moved to levy an appropriate charge on Ph.D. producing departments for the placement services of the Association. Motion unanimously approved. Rustow moved to authorize \$1450 as requested by the Committee to survey the job market. Unanimously approved. Mitchell moved to authorize \$450 to the Committee for travel to regional meetings to evaluate regional personnel service operations and \$100 for miscellaneous expenses. Unanimously approved.

Ad Hoc Committee of Department Chairmen

Salisbury moved to authorize the President to appoint an ad hoc committee of department chairmen to explore how the national office can be of service to them. This committee will be financed primarily by the departments themselves, but there may be some departments which do not have money available. Thus the motion included an appropriation of \$500 for expenses of the committee. Unanimously approved.

Report of the Committee on the Status of Blacks

Paul Puryear reported to the Council for the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession (a copy of the Committee report is attached to the record copy of these minutes.) The Committee requested \$5,500 for the completion of a survey they are doing and asked the Council to approve the Committee's

proposal for a Black Scholars' Program. Russell Adams reported on the work of the Subcommittee on Cognitive Values in reporting a "victim's eye view" of the problems of black professionals.

Mae King reported on the progress of the 1971-72 APSA Black Graduate Fellowship Program. She stated that there was a large increase in the number of applicants this year, and commented on the Association's efforts to make available to students information on financial assistance provided by American universities. She reported briefly on the results of a survey of political science graduate departmental chairmen, noting that 59 of the 117 potential respondents had provided information on financial assistance programs at their institutions. The graduate fellowship applicants and other students are provided with this information.

Dye moved to approve the Black Scholars' Program proposal.

Sindler noted that in the proposal a Policy Committee would have full control of the program, and that he was concerned that the proposed governing structure is one of complete autonomy from the Association. He asked if enlargement of the governing committee would help to insure representation of diverse viewpoints. Puryear replied that the Committee on the Status of Blacks felt that the Black Scholars' Program was designed to benefit black members of the profession and should be guided by blacks. McClosky asked if it would be possible for black people with various points of view to be appointed to the committee. Banfield expressed concern about whether the blacks who run the program will represent all points of view within the black community. Puryear cited the boycott of the last Annual Meeting as an indication of unity among black political scientists on basic goals. Rustow stated that he did not share any of the apprehensions about the Policy Committee, but moved to amend the proposal to stipulate "vacancies on the Policy Committee shall be filled by the President of the APSA in full consultation with incumbent members of the Policy Committee and in accordance with by-laws of the Association."

Puryear, after consultation with other members of his Committee who were present, stated that they were not sure what is meant by the phrase "in full consultation with incumbent members of the Policy Committee," and that

they would like to have some assurance that names proposed by the Committee would be considered. Ranney stated that in making Committee appointments, the chairmen of committees are always consulted, and that no one would be appointed who the Committee was not willing to accept. Puryear, on behalf of his Committee, accepted the amendment by Rustow, in view of the explanation by Ranney. The Dye motion for the Council to approve the APSA Black Scholars' Program proposal as amended was unanimously approved.

Because of budgetary problems, Kessel moved to table, without prejudice, the Committee on the Status of Blacks' request for money to complete their survey. Unanimously approved.

Report of the Chairman of the Board of Editors of PS

James David Barber, Chairman of the Editorial Board of *PS* reported to the Council. He stated that his Board had agreed to cut their budget by \$5,000 by eliminating designers for *PS*.

Composition of Administrative Committee

Lane requested that the Council change the size of the Administrative Committee to include three *ex officio* members and four Council members. Unanimously approved. Lane reported that, in addition to the *ex officio* members—President Lane, President-Elect Eulau, and Treasurer Matthews—he wished to appoint Huntington, Mitchell, Davis and Prothro from the Council, and asked for Council approval of these appointments. Unanimously approved.

Association By-Laws

Ranney presented the Council with proposed By-Laws for review and consideration prior to the next Council meeting. The proposed By-Laws are consistent with the Constitution of the Association, and for the most part, they represent a codification of previous actions by the Council and Business Meeting.

Political Science Abstracts

Lane expressed concern that American political science does not have an abstracting service which is comparable to other disciplines. He believed the *International Political Science Abstracts* to be inadequate. The Association's Committee on Scientific Information Exchange was interested in long-range problems, and, therefore, Lane asked if the Council would consider acting now to initiate an abstracting service. Rustow moved that

the Council request the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange to explore the desirability, feasibility and cost of a journal of abstracts and to report on this to the next Council meeting. Ranney amended the motion to ask the Committee to report to the Council no later than the Council meeting immediately prior to the 1971 Annual Meeting. Rustow accepted Ranney's amendment. Motion was approved; only Eulau opposed.

Expenses for Committee on Foreign Born

Lal Goel appeared before the Council and asked that the Foreign Born be authorized \$500 in the interim before the ad hoc committee on disadvantaged groups met, for expenses of their group for mailing, telephone, compilation of a list of foreign born and other expenses. Banfield moved that if the Administrative Committee finds this to be a matter of its priorities, the Committee be authorized to make the requested allocation of \$500. There was no objection to the motion; motion approved.

Discussion of Association Priorities for Guidance of Administrative Committee

The Council devoted several hours to an informal discussion of Association purposes and priorities. It was hoped that this discussion would assist the Administrative Committee in the difficult task of budget reduction. Following this discussion, Lane requested that each member submit a ranking of expenditure categories for budget reductions. These rankings would guide the Administrative Committee in preparing a revised budget.

The Council agreed to hold their next meeting in Washington, D.C., on February 19 and 20. The meeting adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

Correction Note

In the minutes of the September 7-8, 1970, Council meeting, Thomas Dye was incorrectly listed as voting against as well as for the Sindler Amendment to Ad Hoc Committee Constitutional Amendment for a mail ballot on resolutions (Winter, *PS*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 71). Mr. Dye voted for the Sindler Amendment as recorded and his name should be deleted from the against column making the vote 14 for, 7 against.

AAUP Censure List

The American Association of University Professors censure list with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated in the *AAUP Bulletin* citation.

Alabama State University	Winter 1961, pp. 303-309	April 1962
South Dakota State University	Autumn 1961, pp. 247-255	April 1962
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Autumn 1962, pp. 248-252	April 1963
Grove City College	Spring 1963, pp. 15-24	April 1963
College of the Ozarks	Winter 1963, pp. 352-359	April 1964
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
Wayne State College (Nebraska)	Winter 1964, pp. 347-354	April 1965
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Education of State Normal Schools of the State of Nebraska, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
St. John's University (N.Y.)	Spring 1966, pp. 12-19	April 1966
Amarillo College	Autumn 1967, pp. 292-302	April 1968
Texas A & M University	Winter 1967, pp. 378-384	April 1968
Cheyney State College	Winter 1967, pp. 391-399	April 1968
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Spring 1968, pp. 14-24	April 1968
Wisconsin State University—Whitewater	Spring 1968, pp. 25-36	April 1968
Troy State University (Alabama)	Autumn 1968, pp. 298-305	May 1969
Northern State College (South Dakota)	Autumn 1968, pp. 306-313	May 1969
Northern State College, like South Dakota State University, is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota.		
Frank Phillips College (Texas)	Winter 1968, pp. 433-438	May 1969
Dutchess Community College (N.Y.)	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49	May 1969
Central State College (Oklahoma)	Spring 1969, pp. 66-70	May 1969
Broward Junior College (Florida)	Spring 1969, pp. 71-78	May 1969
Detroit Institute of Technology	Spring 1969, pp. 79-85	May 1969
Southeastern Louisiana College	Autumn 1969, pp. 369-373	April 1970
Indiana Institute of Technology	Winter 1969, pp. 463-468	April 1970
Indiana State University	Spring 1970, pp. 52-61	April 1970
Oklahoma State University	Spring 1970, pp. 62-72	April 1970
The University of Mississippi	Spring 1970, pp. 75-86	April 1970
The University of Florida	April 1971	
Grambling College	April 1971	
Laredo Junior College	April 1971	
Southern State College	April 1971	
Tennessee Wesleyan College	April 1971	

Reports of APSA Committees

Report of the 1971 Nominating Committee

The 1970-71 Nominating Committee will propose the following candidates to the Annual Meeting of the Association in September, 1971:

President-Elect:

Robert E. Ward, University of Michigan

Vice President:

Robert E. Martin, Howard University

Clara Penniman, University of Wisconsin

Joseph Tanenhaus, SUNY, Stony Brook

Secretary:

Thomas R. Dye, Florida State University

Treasurer:

Donald R. Matthews, Brookings Institution

Council:

Christian Bay, University of Alberta

Samuel D. Cook, Duke University

Valerie E. Earle, Georgetown University

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., University of Rochester

Robert O. Keohane, Swarthmore College

Samuel Krislov, University of Minnesota

Gerhard Loewenberg, University of Iowa

Kenneth Prewitt, University of Chicago

The Committee's foremost consideration in making its selections was its recognition that the increasing size and complexity of the political science profession have made the government of our Association a complex and increasingly demanding task. Election to Association office, no doubt constitutes a certain honorific recognition of individuals' professional accomplishments, scholarly merit, past service to the Association, the community, and the society, or other attainments. But nowadays it constitutes even more a set of obligations to labor in the collective associational enterprise. The Committee thus sought to keep uppermost in its mind the Association's need for an effective and energetic working group of officers.

The Committee also recognized, of course, that effective government also requires an accurate representation of fundamental opinions and interests held by members. It therefore sought to assure that the collectivity of Association officers would include representation of as broad a spectrum of such views as possible. With many divergent opinions, resting on so many different bases, and with so few seats to be filled, it is, of course, impossible to offer one vote for every observed voiced opinion or interest, let alone every

conceivable one. The Committee thought it important to give voice to scholars from different size and different type institutions; to scholars from different localities, regions, sections, and countries; to differing views about the proper inter-relationships among teaching, research, public service, and other professional roles; to differing conceptions of the proper scope and method of political inquiry and political education; and to different opinions about the obligations and rights of members as individual scholars or as public servants.

The selection of the nominees listed above is in every sense the product of membership opinion as much as of choice by the Committee members. Besides the customary solicitation of suggestions and advice published in *PS* and in the *Review*, the Committee systematically—by letter, by telephone, and by personal conversation—asked the advice of colleagues throughout the Association. In addition to the uncountable suggestions given its members individually, it received some fifty letters formally suggesting individual nominees, principles for choosing them, committee procedures, and other valuable points. It is gratifying to report that in every instance, the person nominated by this Committee was suggested to it by members outside the Committee as an individual especially well qualified according to the criteria sketched out above.

Needless to say, countless able and deserving individuals recognized by the Committee do not appear on its list of nominees for the sole reason that there are far more capable political scientists than there are offices to fill. It is perhaps appropriate to point out in this connection that the Committee was unable to follow the urging of a number of members that at least two persons be nominated for each position to be filled. Our failure to do so merely reflects our acceptance of the nominating procedures specified in the present Constitution of the Association, which clearly orders the Committee to submit one name for each post.

We respectfully submit the list above.

John C. Wahlke, Chairman, SUNY, Stony Brook
Hayward R. Alker, Jr., M.I.T.

J. David Singer, University of Michigan

Paul L. Puryear, Florida State University

S. Sidney Ulmer, University of Kentucky

Roland Pennock, Swarthmore College

Committee on Rules

As is customary, the Rules Committee is reviewing the rules governing the conduct of business at the Annual Meeting. We shall make recommendations to the Council at its June meeting. We should appreciate it if anyone wishing to make any change in the rules would write to us indicating the specific change he or she wishes to make and the reasons why he or she feels such change would be desirable.

The existing rules are in the Summer 1970 issue of *PS*.

We also wish to announce two deadlines: One for the submission of amendments for the existing or draft Constitution, another for the submission of resolutions.

The Council is required "to have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting." (Article IX, Section II, APSA Constitution.) In order to allow for Council consideration and to meet the printing schedule, the deadline for the submission of Constitutional amendments will be 5:00 p.m., Tuesday, June 1. All proposed constitutional amendments together with the required fifty signatures must be in the hands of the Association's Executive Director by that time.

"All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice of this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the annual meeting." (Article VIII, APSA Constitution.) In order to allow for Council consideration, the deadline for submission of resolutions will be 5:00 p.m., Monday, August 2. All proposed resolutions must be in the hands of the Executive Director by that time.

The members of the Rules Committee are:

John H. Kessel, Chairman, Ohio State University
Chadwick F. Alger, Northwestern University
Allan P. Sindler, University of California, Berkeley

The Profession

1970 Report of the Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations of the United States"

The Advisory Committee on *Foreign Relations of the United States*, consisting of representatives from the American Political Science Association, the American Historical Association, and the American Society of International Law met in Washington at the Department of State on November 6, 1970. A report on its meeting, printed below, was prepared and submitted to the Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, by Paul A. Varg, Chairman, W. Stull Holt and Ernest R. May, American Historical Association; David Deener and Stephen M. Schwebel, American Society of International Law; and Elmer Plischke and Inis L. Claude, American Political Science Association.

Report of the Meeting of the Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations of the United States"

At the conclusion of its deliberation the Committee adopted the following recommendations:

1. That the Secretary of State affirm that the publication *United States Foreign Relations* is of great importance to the Department's relation with the academic community and that the high quality of the series since its beginning in 1861 must not be permitted to decline;
2. That the Secretary endorse a policy of reasonably prompt examination of *Foreign Relations* proofsheets submitted to the geographic and other Bureaus for clearance and that a lapse of six months with no action constitute *de facto* clearance and that the Historical Division be authorized to proceed with the publication of the documents under consideration;
3. That the Secretary communicate to the heads of other departments and agencies, especially the Secretary of Defense, his desire that *Foreign Relations* constitute as complete a record as possible and that the volumes be published as promptly as possible;

4. That the addition of the two new positions recommended by the Department represents a most significant forward step toward alleviating the persistent problem of slippage in publication and that every effort be made to assure that this proposed advance be realized;

5. That when vacancies occur on the staff of the Historical Division the filling of these positions be authorized so as to help in the warding off of further slippage;

6. That a senior foreign service officer be assigned to the Division and given the responsibility for dealing with questions of clearance of documents for publication;

7. That efforts be made to meet the requests of professional associations who are expressing deep disappointment over the discontinuance of the publication entitled *Current Documents*.

The Committee recognizes the many competing pressures upon the Department. It is aware that daily operations quite naturally absorb its first attention. However, the Advisory Committee affirms its view that *United States Foreign Relations* is a major asset of the Department, deserving some continuous attention from its highest officers. *Foreign Relations*, more than any other Department activity, has served to maintain the prestige and credibility of the Department within the international academic community, for historians, political scientists, international lawyers, and other scholars around the world know that *Foreign Relations* never omits, conceals, or misrepresents. It is evidence that the Department can and does tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and the United States benefits thereby.

The Advisory Committee understands and respects the needs of individual scholars for access to the full archives recording our foreign relations. It shares their concern that this and forthcoming generations of students develop a sophisticated understanding of the complexities of foreign affairs. An absence of public understanding offers a formidable barrier to effective work by the Department, and the university community can make a proper contribution to public understanding only if its members have adequate resources for informing themselves. Weighing the interest of preserving confidentiality against the interest of informing the public, the Department has established a policy of opening records after a twenty year time period. In practice, however, the

The Profession

opening of records is tied to the publication of *Foreign Relations*, for the editors of *Foreign Relations* act, in effect, as the Department's declassification officers. Owing to the slippage in *Foreign Relations*, records are now open only after twenty-five years, and the interval threatens to lengthen. This has caused deep dissatisfaction and mounting criticism by professional scholarly organizations.

It is the view of our Committee that the Department should exert every effort to bring *Foreign Relations* up to the twenty-year mark at the earliest feasible date.

Professional Notes

Minnesota

Political Science Association

The Minnesota Political Science Association has received a grant from the National Science Foundation under the cooperative projects program involving two-year colleges.

The Association aims to coordinate political science curriculum and foster the exchange of information on teaching methods and research facilities among the political scientists at the university, state colleges, and private colleges in Minnesota. The NSF grant will be used to realize these aims by a series of programs. The first program will be a Summer Institute on political science curriculum, teaching, and methodology to be held at the University of Minnesota, July 19 to August 20, 1971. Coordinators of the Summer Institute and subsequent programs are Harold Chase, Samuel Krislov and Sheilah Koeppen of the University of Minnesota, and Dale Grimnitz, Normandale Junior College.

East Asian Studies

Program

The departments of Political Science and History of Western Washington State College began a joint interdepartmental program in East Asian Studies in September, 1970. The program is open to undergraduate students of Western Washington State College as well as those of its three cluster colleges. Included under the program are twelve courses, tutorials in Chinese and Japanese, and tutorials for individual readings and research. The program's full time staff members are Edward H. Kaplan, Ellis S. Krauss, and Henry G. Schwarz.

Former

Members of Congress

Organization

Several hundred ex-Senators and ex-Representatives have joined a recently established bipartisan organization of former Members of Congress. The group was founded by former Representatives Brooks Hays and Walter H. Judd, who serve respectively as President and Vice President.

Members of the Board of Directors include: E. Ross Adair, Homer Ferguson, Jed Johnson, Jr., Edna Kelly, A. S. Mike Monroney, Howard Pollock, Robert Ramspeck, Ben Reifel, Ralph Yarborough, and James E. Van Zandt.

According to Warren I. Cikins, a political scientist and Executive Director of the organization, the group's purpose is primarily research and education, as well as dedication to wider national utilization of former Members. It will act as a clearing house for organizations that want to employ the services of former members and will supervise the preparation of oral histories recorded by them. Further information on the Former Members of Congress Organization may be obtained by writing to Warren Cikins, Suite 304, 300 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314.

Humanities Endowment's

Brochure

A brochure describing the National Endowment for the Humanities programs and outlining the procedure and deadlines for grant applications is available by writing to the Office of Public Information, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506.

Charles E. Wilson

Archives

Anderson College, Anderson, Indiana, announces the opening of The Charles E. Wilson Archives, a research facility for use by scholars. The Archives contain the personal papers of the late Charles E. Wilson, President of General Motors Corporation, 1941-1953, and Secretary of Defense, 1953-1957. The collection includes approximately 180 manuscript boxes of personal correspondence and photographs. The collection also includes a wide range of personal correspondence spanning the years 1926-1961, and should be of special interest to scholars of twentieth century America, American business history, the Eisenhower Administration and United States foreign policy. The collection will be open for search about September 1, 1971 and scholars may request search privileges from the Archivist, Dr. Larry G. Osnes, Anderson College, Anderson, Indiana 46011.

The Polish Review

The Polish Review, a quarterly concentrating on Polish and East Central European affairs, entering its sixteenth year of publication, wishes to solicit manuscripts of suitable scholarly content dealing with some aspect of Polish politics. The *Review* publishes materials covering

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a wide range of topics in the humanities and social sciences, and wishes to strengthen its offerings in Political Science. Editorial inquiries should be directed to Ludwik Krzyzanowski, Editor, *The Polish Review*, 59 East 66th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021. Business and subscription information may be obtained from Paul J. Best, *The Polish Review*, c/o Political Science Department, Southern Connecticut State College, New Haven, Conn. 06515.

Members of the profession who may wish to exchange ideas and cooperate in research on Polish politics are also invited to contact Dr. Best at the above address. It is hoped that some organized way of mutual assistance could be established.

L.Q.C. Lamar Society Journal

The L. Q. C. Lamar Society, a non-profit, tax exempt educational organization composed of Southerners committed to bringing constructive change in the South, has published the first issue of its journal, *The Southern Journal*. The *Journal*, edited by James H. Chubbuck, Director of the Institute of Politics, is being published by the Society as part of its objective to create greater communications and dialogue on events and subjects of importance in the South. For further information on the Lamar Society and its journal, write to James H. Chubbuck, Box 119, Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118.

Richard M. Nixon Oral History Project

Since August 1969, California State College, Fullerton, has had in operation an oral history project involving the life of President Richard M. Nixon. To date, over two hundred interviews have been taped dealing with the career and life of Mr. Nixon prior to entering politics in 1946. Beginning this spring, the project, under the direction of Harry Jeffrey, has initiated work on the Nixon Congressional years from 1946 to 1952. Many of the two hundred tapes recorded for the program have been transcribed and edited and will soon be available to researchers at the Fullerton Library.

Hunter College

Program in Urban Affairs

Seymour Z. Mann, Chairman of the Department of Urban Affairs, Hunter College, has announced a new M.A. or M.S. program in Urban Affairs at Hunter. Designed to meet the needs for urban generalists who possess thorough interdisciplinary knowledge of urban processes and who also have the capacity of developing and administering programs responsive to multi-faceted city problems. The educational experience expects to prepare individuals capable of contributing to the solution of contemporary urban problems in a variety of program management and program development capacities.

Center for Political Reform

The Center for Political Reform has recently been established in Washington, D.C. Headed by Ken Bode, a political scientist and former Director of Research for the Democratic Party's McGovern Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, the Center is working in several areas of political reform. It is aiding the efforts of official Party bodies and interested Democrats in the states to fully implement the democratic delegate selection standards set down by the McGovern Commission for the 1972 National Convention; to see that these standards get an impartial and valid test at the 1972 Convention; and to encourage adoption by the O'Hara Commission on Rules of procedures which will ensure an open, responsive Convention. The Center also plans to be active in delegate selection processes and credentials challenges for the 1972 Republican Convention. In addition to these party activities, the organization is working for passage of effective laws regulating campaign giving and disclosure and political media polls and for on-campus registration and voting programs for college students. The Center currently has a branch research office in Cambridge manned by area law students. It plans to operate a summer intern program during 1970 and 1971 geared toward students in law and the political and social sciences.

For further information write to Ken Bode, The Center for Political Reform, 1826 R Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

American University Programs

A new Master of Arts degree in International Communication has been established at the American University, Washington, D.C. Interdisciplinary in nature, the program is administered jointly by the School of International Service and the Department of Communication under the directorship of Hamid Mowlana.

The goal of the degree is to provide a broad basis for achievement in the arts and sciences of international communication and to prepare the candidate for making a specialized contribution. All requirements support the student in reaching this academic and professional goal. It draws upon the relevant research and thinking of the social and behavioral sciences—including political science, economics, social psychology and cultural anthropology.

A second program at American University is the School of Government and Public Administration Urban Affairs Institute which will offer a program for faculty members and administrators of junior colleges, community colleges, and four-year universities and will enable them to develop new perspectives on teaching urban studies. Through the Urban Affairs Institute, members of the academic community will be exposed to new teaching methods and tools, as well as substantive knowledge on urban problems designed to help upgrade the treatment of this field of study at the undergraduate level. Special emphasis will be placed on utilization of one's community as a resource for building academic programs which focus on current urban political, social, and economic problems. The Institute will introduce participants to the dynamics of politics and policy-making through a combination of class work, field trips in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, and sessions with national and local public officials, political leaders, and central city residents. The resources available in the nation's capital, such as members of Congress and the executive agencies, city and local officials, nationally-organized public interest groups, and the new towns of Columbia, Maryland and Reston, Virginia, will also be used.

The Institute will be conducted from June 14 to July 23 under the Educational Professions Development Act of 1967. The Director of the Program is Bernard H. Ross.

The International Journal of Politics

A new journal, *The International Journal of Politics* containing translations of material that has appeared originally in scholarly journals, books, and legal documents throughout the world has recently been established by the International Arts and Sciences Press, Inc. The Editor is Fred Ablin. Contributing Editors are: Kola Adelaja, University of Sierra Leone; James P. Barber, The Open University England; John Burt, State University College at New Paltz; William E. Butler, University College London; Richard Hrair Dekmejian, SUNY Binghamton; Sheldon Gellar, Indiana University; Henry S. Kariel, University of Hawaii; Donna Robinson, City College, CUNY; Riordan Roett, Vanderbilt University; Malcolm Shaw, University of Exeter England; Maurice D. Simon, Williams College; and James F. Tierney, Institute of International Education.

The quarterly journal will have an annual subscription rate of \$50.00 a year for institutions and \$15.00 a year for individuals associated with subscribing institutions. For further information, write to Fred Ablin, Editor, *International Journal of Politics*, 901 North Broadway, White Plains, New York 10603.

Legal Aspects of European Integration Course

The Europa Institute of the University of Amsterdam announces an international summer course from August 16 to 28 on Legal Aspects of European Integration. The course, with a tuition fee of approximately \$167.00, will provide about thirty lawyers, legal advisors in enterprises, members of the judicial branch, civil servants, and other qualified candidates with knowledge on problems raised by the EEG-Treaty. For further information, write to E. Jongens, Head, Department of International Education, Netherlands Universities, 27, Molenstraat, The Hague, Netherlands.

Mills College Humanistic Education Teachers' Summer Workshops

The Mills College Center for Innovative Studies will offer two workshops for College Teachers this summer. The dates will be June 19-27 and August 21-29; the cost will be \$200 per participant.

The purposes of the workshop will be to explore participants' own needs as they influence their teaching; to learn about the dynamics of group situations as they exist in classrooms; to learn ways of integrating the affective and cognitive aspects of learning; to gain experience in moving past roles into the kind of interpersonal encounter from which significant learning is most likely to emerge. For further information write to William Bridges, Director, Center for Innovative Studies, Box 9939, Mills College, Oakland, California 94613.

World Meetings Journal

The World Meeting Information Center has announced the publication of its new quarterly journal, *World Meetings: Social and Behavioral Science, Education and Management*. Intended to meet the need for rapid reporting of meetings that will take place during a two year period following the date of issue the journal will include meeting names, dates, location, sponsors, information on publication and submission of abstracts and papers, and contact for exhibits. Political Science meetings will be included among the numerous disciplines covered in the journal. The price of the publication will be \$35.00 annually. Additional information may be requested from the World Meetings Information Center, 824 Boylston Street, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167.

British Studies Center

The British Studies Center established by the Institute for American Universities in association with the University of Kent, Canterbury, was opened in March in Canterbury, England. Politics will be one of a number of study areas available to students, who will be enrolled at the University of Kent, in an academic program under the supervision of Professor R. A. Foakes of the University of Kent. Tuition and fees for participating students will be \$1,350. For additional information write to Dr. Herbert Maza, the Director, British Studies Center, 73 Castle Street, Canterbury, England.

Model Public Personnel Administration Laws

The National Civil Service League has developed its sixth model civil service law since the

1880's. This new model law, designed for state and local governments, advises governments and citizens on how civil services can and ought to be structured so as to achieve efficiency, economy and quality in the public service. In recognition of its expanded scope, the new model is called *A Model Public Personnel Administration Law*.

Single copies of the document are available at no charge from the National Civil Service League, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; additional copies are 25¢ each.

R&D Resources Studies

National Patterns of R & D Resources: Funds and Manpower in the United States, 1953-71, a report from the National Science Foundation's Office of Economic and Manpower Studies has recently been issued.

The data contained in the report are based primarily on a series of periodic National Science Foundation surveys on the support and performance of research and development in the United States. It shows the pattern of utilization of national scientific and engineering resources, both funds and manpower, among the various sectors of the economy. The document is the third report issued by NSF summarizing these data and showing historical trends and interrelationships. The R&D funds series presented begin with 1953, the first year for which survey data are available. The estimates for 1971 are presented not only for total research and development, but also in separate transfer tables for basic research, applied research, and development. In addition, 1969 estimates of the scientific and engineering manpower employed by each sector in carrying on its R&D activities are also presented.

Copies of the report are available by writing to the National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. 20550.

California Public Affairs Center

The Center for California Public Affairs, an affiliate of the Claremont Colleges, invites submission of manuscripts for consideration in its program of publishing books, monographs and

information services about the character and problems of California.

The Center was formed in 1969 to help meet the need for better means of communication about California's social, environmental and governmental problems. The Center publishes *California News Index*, a twice-monthly index of the state's major newspapers and magazines, and *The California Handbook*, a comprehensive guide to sources of information about the state, first issued in 1969, and revised in 1971. It also conducts a research program, primarily in the area of environmental policy, and a field of studies project for students from several colleges and universities in Southern California.

Additional information may be obtained by writing to Publications Committee, Center for California Public Affairs, 226 West Foothill Blvd., Claremont, California 91711.

Government Support of Research in International Affairs

The second annual inventory of Government sponsored social science research on foreign areas and international affairs is now available for \$3.00 a copy from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering refer to catalogue number AD 718800. The 216-page volume, issued by the Foreign Area Research Coordination Group (FAR), lists 623 projects and 457 reports initiated, in progress, and completed during the period July 1969 and June 1970.

NSF Employment Survey

The National Science Foundation has been assigned the responsibility to appraise the current employment situation for scientists. Information concerning changes in the employment of scientists during the past year will be obtained by circularizing a portion of the scientific community with a short double post card questionnaire. About 6,000 political scientists are included in the group and they should have received a post card early in April. A high response rate is essential for meaningful results, therefore, APSA would appreciate the help and cooperation of those political scientists included in the survey.

Pass-One: Project for the Application of Social Science—on National Education

PASS-ONE, a project for the application of Social Science on National Education has been formed to study patterns of educational achievement and subsequent vocational advancement among minority group members, particularly those of Mexican-American heritage or with Spanish surnames. The goals of the organization are to encourage and coordinate empirical research, as well as to facilitate the development of social action programs bearing on educational and vocational problems of the culturally disadvantaged. Ultimately, it is hoped to decrease the high "drop out" rate among these groups and simultaneously, to increase the representation of ethnic minority group members at upper levels of a variety of occupations, vocations and professions. Political scientists are invited to assist in PASS-ONE by consulting on legislation and funding, cooperating in inter-disciplinary research or encouraging students to continue their education. If you are interested in joining PASS-ONE, or if you wish more information contact Rene A. Ruiz, Department of Psychology, University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri 64110 or Amado M. Padilla, Psychology Department, State University College of Potsdam, Potsdam, New York 13676.

New Sage Series in International Studies

Sage Publications in early 1972 will introduce the new annual series, "Sage Professional Papers in International Studies," as a companion to the "Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics" introduced in 1970. The earlier Comparative Politics series, edited by Harry Eckstein, Princeton, and Ted Gurr, Northwestern, publishes 12 titles annually. Similarly, the new International Studies series, to be edited by Vincent Davis, Kentucky, will begin with 12 titles a year although this could be expanded to 20 titles in later years.

Each "paper" will appear in an attractive new format resembling a thin paperback book.

The series is designed to provide an outlet for high-quality manuscripts too long for consideration as journal articles but too short as full-scale books (roughly in the range of 50 to 120 manuscript pages). For purposes of this series, the term "international studies" is

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broadly defined to include all of the usual fields of international relations (i.e., international politics, international law, international organization, international economics and business, international communications, and diplomatic and military history), comparative studies (i.e., interdisciplinary comparative analyses of social phenomena in at least two nations), and area studies (i.e., in-depth treatments of social phenomena in at least two nations within recognized geographic regions). Manuscripts may be substantive or theoretical, or a blend of both.

Manuscripts are immediately welcome, but authors should first write to Sage for guidelines in manuscript preparation. Editor Davis solicits all advice, suggestions and offers of assistance that any readers of *PS* may care to send to him. Address *all* communications to Sage Publications, Inc., 275 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90212.

Union of Radical Students of Politics

A Union of Radical Students of Politics has been formed. According to the Union's Newsletter, the group will "work to unite with radical groups in other professional societies and move beyond the concerns of the professions' internal rigidity, conservatism and professionalism." For further information about the Union, write to Tom Brose, Fairhaven College, Bellingham, Washington 98225.

Research and Training

Support Available

National Essay Contest Announced on "Expanded Ownership"

"Expanded Ownership: The American Experience" is the topic of a nationwide essay contest announced by the Sabre Foundation, a nonprofit institution dedicated to the development of public policy issues and dialogue.

It is hoped that the essay contest will stimulate new research and interest in this relationship, and perhaps lead to positive recommendations for public policy in the America of the Seventies."

The contest is open to upper division students in law, government, political science, history and related disciplines, to graduates and faculty members in those disciplines, and to others with some background and interest in the subject. First prize is \$1000; second prize \$250; and third prize \$100.

Chairman of the panel of judges is John H. Schaar, Professor of Politics at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Essays must be no less than 7500 words, and are due on or before June 15, 1971.

National Endowment Senior Fellowships for 1972-73

The National Endowment for the Humanities has announced its Senior Fellowships for 1972-73. The Fellowships with a stipend of \$18,000 per year or \$1,500 a month have a tenure of between six to twelve months. The purpose of the awards is to help experienced humanists further develop their abilities by providing support for uninterrupted study. The work undertaken with a fellowship may be study or research within the applicant's special interest, or it may be general study in some other field that will help the applicant better understand his own field, enlarge his competency, and become a more broadly informed humanist. The Endowment is particularly interested in studies that will contribute to better understanding of matters of current national concern, but more traditional studies are eligible for support as well. The deadline for applications is June 21, 1971; announcement of awards will be made about November 21, 1971. For additional information write to Division of Fellowships and Stipends, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506.

Announcement of Awards

SSRC-ACLS 1971-72 Grants

The Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies have announced research grants for 1971-72 as follows:

Grants for African Studies by the Joint Committee on African Studies:

Clyde R. Ingle, Assistant Professor of Political Science, State University of New York, College of Arts and Sciences at Genesco, for comparative research in Tanzania and Kenya on the politics of rural development.

V. A. Olorunsola, Associate Professor of Political Science, Iowa State University, for research in Sierra Leone and Nigeria or Ghana on political reconstruction

Grants for Research on Contemporary and Republican China by the Joint Committee on Contemporary China:

Robert E. Bedeski, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University, for research on cyclical aspects of political change in Communist China, 1949-69.

Philip R. Bilancia, Associate Professor of Political Science, New School for Social Research, for completion of preparation of a dictionary of law in Communist China

Chun-tu Hsueh, Professor of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, for research in Taipei and Hong Kong on Kung ch'u and the Red Army

Joe C. Huang, Professor of Political Science, Tougaloo College, for research on heroes and villains in Chinese Communist fiction and their reflection of interpersonal relations in Communist China

Michel Oksenberg, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, for research in Taiwan on politics in a Chinese bureaucracy

Richard M. Pfeffer, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University, for research in Hong Kong on the role of the masses in China's continuing revolution

Allen S. Whiting, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, for a comparative

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study of the use of force in Chinese foreign policy, 1949-69

Grants for East Asian Studies by the Joint Committee on East Asian Studies:

William E. Steslicke, Visiting Lecturer in Political Science, Bryn Mawr College, for research on social welfare politics in contemporary Japan

David A. Titus, Assistant Professor of Government, Wesleyan University, for research on political leadership and political change in prewar Japan

James W. White, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina, for research on political implications of cityward migration in Japan

Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship Award

Enrique A. Baloya, Ph.D. candidate at the University of Florida, has received a Woodrow Wilson Foundation Dissertation Fellowship. The topic of his dissertation will be "Political Leadership and Public Policy in the Cuban Republic, 1944-1958." His award was one of two hundred made by the Foundation under a Ford Foundation grant to allow outstanding Ph.D. candidates to devote full time to the research and writing of their dissertation.

Humanities Endowment Fellowships and Summer Stipends

Nine political scientists recently have received fellowships and summer stipends awards from the National Endowment for the Humanities as follows:

Nand Hart-Nibbrig, Long Beach City College, Junior College Teacher Fellowship

John O. Latrides, Southern Connecticut State College

Robert G. Dixon, George Washington University, Senior Fellowship

Allen S. Ehrlich, Eastern Michigan University, Summer Stipend

C. Eric Hansen, Haverford College, Younger Humanist Fellowship

Naneri O. Koehane, Swarthmore College, Summer Stipend

James F. Engel, University of South Dakota, Summer Stipend

Edwin L. Dickens, Sam Houston State University, Younger Humanist Fellowship

Robert O. Freeman, Marquette University, Summer Stipend

NSF Advanced Training Awards

The National Science Foundation has made grants to support advanced training projects at the University of Wisconsin and University of Michigan. At Wisconsin, the Department of Political Science has received a grant for its summer Institute in Behavioral Science and Law under the direction of Joe B. Grossman; Michigan's Institute for Social Research under the direction of Warren E. Miller will conduct Advanced Science Seminars on Quantitative Political Science.

Ford Foundation Grants

The Ford Foundation has announced grants to support programs for a center for American Women in Politics; a project to improve State Legislatures; fellowships for Western European and Soviet and East European Studies; and a study of Boston's "little city hall" program.

Center for American Women in Politics

The evolution of women in American politics, and the effects of that evolution, will be a topic for research at a new Center for the American Woman in Politics to be established at Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics.

The newly-created center will have four main functions. The first will be research and publication on "the changing social and economic status of women in relation to their participation and psychological involvement in the political process."

The gathering, dissemination and supplying of requested information will be its second duty. The center's third function will be to hold interdisciplinary conferences and meetings and to encourage research aimed at stimulating ideas on women's place in political life.

The fourth area of activity will be to educate young women in the political process and forms of political action. This will include the preparation and initiation of model legislation and the exploration of methods by which women's rights can be made effective in various areas, such as law and medicine.

Project to Improve State Legislatures

In an effort to improve state legislatures, the *Eagleton Institute of Politics* at Rutgers University has received a grant from the Ford Foundation. The institute has had extensive experience in state legislature research and legislator training, and in the new demonstration will assist legislators in reviewing existing programs. At a time when revenue-sharing may be imminent, the project will conduct training conferences and workshops in selected policy areas. These workshops will consider issues such as the evaluation of current legislative programs, the effectiveness of innovations, and the possibilities of receiving Federal funds or technical aid.

The experiment also seeks to upgrade state budget appraisal. To this end, the Eagleton staff intends to work with the appropriations committees and legislative fiscal staffs in Connecticut during at least one complete budget cycle. A long-range aim of this appraisal will be to introduce changes in state budget and information systems in order to increase effectiveness. It is expected that this type of collaborative experience between a legislature and a university will be transferable, and helpful, to other states and universities.

Fellowships for West European and Soviet and East European Studies

Under a two-year grant to the *American Council of Learned Societies* it will continue support for a joint program with the Social Science Research Council in Slavic and East European studies. The largest part of the grant of \$260,000 will be for East European studies. The Foundation grant will support postdoctoral research in East European studies, language training, and travel, as well as conferences and publications. The grant will also provide postdoctoral research fellowships in Soviet studies.

A \$150,000 grant to the *Social Science Research Council* will continue support of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program (FAFP) for West European Studies. Since the program was inaugurated in 1964, 139 fellowships and renewals have been granted to graduate students specializing in this field. The one-year grant will fund some twenty-five awards in the 1971-72 academic year.

Another \$100,000 grant provides support for an additional year of the Soviet and East European portion of the FAFP, funding fifteen to twenty scholarships. In the past seventeen years the

program has awarded 864 fellowships and renewals, creating a group of Soviet and East European specialists who today occupy senior positions in universities, government agencies, and other institutions in the United States. The grants also cover administrative expenses.

Boston's "Little City Hall" Program

A grant to *Boston University* will support an in-depth analysis of "little city halls," which have operated in Boston for almost three years and which represent the most extensive decentralization effort undertaken by any American city. The major functions include speeding up the official response to complaints of inadequate service and bringing together groups and individuals interested in a particular problem, and providing some minor services and conveniences.

The study, directed by Professor Eric Nordlinger of Brandeis University, aims at determining the extent to which the centers are fulfilling their functions; it will be under the sponsorship of the Boston Urban Observatory.

Fulbright-Hays Travel Grants

Four political scientists have been nominated by the binational Educational Commissions and Foundations for travel grants under the provisions of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (the Fulbright-Hays Act). In order to qualify for the grants, the individuals must obtain remunerative teaching or research appointments in the U.S. universities or colleges for the academic year 1971-72 and the Committee on International Exchange of Persons invites interested departments to communicate to the grantees through it. For further information on the program and nominees, write to Miss Grace E. L. Haskins, Program Officer, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418. The three political scientists nominated for grants are Tahir Aktan, Assistant Professor of Public Administration and Government, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey; Ivan Tomsic, Professor of International Public Law and Diplomatic History, Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia; Haluk A. Ulman, Associate Professor, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Ankara, Turkey; and Keun Ho Rhee, Professor, Law and Political Science College, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, Korea.

Professional Conferences

Past

Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting

The annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association was held in Dallas, Texas, March 25-27, 1971, in conjunction with the meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. Twenty panels and round tables were scheduled and all papers delivered at the meeting are eligible for an award to be given for the best paper delivered at the meeting, an award offered by the Association for the first time this year. The main address, "An Open Forum on Problems of the Discipline," was delivered at the general Business Meeting by Robert E. Lane, President of the American Political Science Association. Officers of the Association for 1971-72 are: President, Clifton McCleskey, University of Texas at Austin; Vice-President and Program Chairman, Michael P. Gehlen, University of New Mexico; Secretary-Treasurer, Gordon G. Henderson, Texas Tech University; Executive Council members, Leonard Cardenas, Louisiana State University, Isabelle Hunt, Midwestern University, and David M. Welborn, University of Kansas; and Associate Editor of the *Social Science Quarterly*, Harry Holloway, University of Oklahoma, and Robert L. Lineberry, University of Texas at Austin.

Specific inquiries about the Program for the meeting of the Association to be held in 1972 in San Antonio may be obtained from the Program Chairman, Michael P. Gehlen, Chairman Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Academy of Political and Social Science Conference

The Academy of Political and Social Sciences recently assembled a group of leading political scientists who conferred for two days on the subject of "Harmonizing Technological Developments and Social Policy in America." Among the participants were Raymond L. Bisplinghoff, M.I.T.; Simon Ramo, TRW, Inc.; William J. Haggerty, Education Consultant; Frederick Seitz, Rockefeller University; and John J. Corson, Fry Consultant, Inc.

A monograph on the Conference topic is available without charge by writing to Richard D. Lambert, President, The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

French Political Science Association Roundtable

The French Political Science Association held a Roundtable at the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in November 1970 on the subject of The Role of Parliaments in the modern liberal democracies. Ten reports and research notes were presented as follows:

"The Role of Parliament in the German Federal Republic," Claus von Beyme, University of Tubingen.

"The Role of Parliament in Belgium," Herman van Impe, University of Brussels.

"The Role of Congress in the United States," Marie-France Toinet, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.

"The Role of Parliament in France," Jean-Luc Parodi, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.

"The Role of Parliament in Great Britain," Ronald Butt, THE SUNDAY TIMES.

"The Image of Parliament as depicted in elementary education history books," Eric Landowski, Technical Collaborator to C.N.R.S.

"The French Communist Party and Parliament: *benchmark* for a researcher," Francois Platone, Technical Collaborator to C.N.R.S.

"The Image of Parliamentary Functions Among French Deputies," Roland Cayrol, Jean-Luc Parodi, Fondation Nationale des Science Politiques.

For further information on the Roundtable, write to: Philippe Beneton, French Political Science Association, 27 rue Saint-Guillaume, 75 - Paris VII, France.

Conference on Urban Policy

Poverty and civil rights in the nation's cities was the topic of the second annual Conference on Urban Policy which was held at Brandeis University on February 18 and 19. It was co-sponsored by the Department of Politics and the James Gordon Foundation.

Conference participants included Herbert Gans of the M.I.T.-Harvard Joint Center for Urban

Studies; Barney Frank, former Executive Secretary to Boston Mayor Kevin White; Nathan Glazer, Harvard University and Martin Sloane, Assistant Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Three Brandeis graduate students, who are studying under fellowships underwritten by the Gordon Foundation, presented papers in policy-oriented problems of urban centers. They were: Sharon P. Krefetz on "A Comparative Study of Welfare Policies: Baltimore and San Francisco"; Diane Paul on "The Politics of the Poverty Tax in Boston and Oakland"; and Elliot Tenofsky's on "Interest Group Litigation in the Urban Area."

Baltic Studies Conference

The Second Conference on Baltic Studies was held at San Jose State College, California, from November 26-29, 1970. The Conference was co-sponsored by San Jose State College and the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies. Edgar Anderson, professor of history, San Jose State College, was general chairman of the Conference. Some 127 scholars from 11 countries, representing 89 universities and research institutes, participated on the Conference panels. Approximately 410 persons from 20 different countries attended the Conference, including those actively participating on Conference panels.

A number of panels discussed papers presented on the history, literature, education, religion, law, science and technology, economics and demography, linguistics, politics, drama, folklore and mythology, Communist parties, and Baltic studies and research of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The banquet address on "Baltic Studies as Viewed by an Outsider" was delivered by Donald W. Treadgold, Editor, *Slavic Review*, University of Washington. Panels of particular interest to political scientists included the following: Baltic Law, Chairman: Juris Padegs, Vice President-Law, Scudder, Stevens & Clark, New York; Baltic Role in the Soviet Union After World War II, Chairman: George Barr Carson, Jr., Oregon State University; Baltic Communist Parties, 1918-1940, Chairman: Richard F. Staar, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace; Baltic Political Systems in the Crisis of 1940, Chairman: Glenn G. Morgan, San Jose State College; Sources of Baltic Studies, Chairman: Ernst Ekman, University of California, Riverside; Baltic Research—Problems and Opportunities, Chairman: Gundar J. King,

Pacific Lutheran University.

The next Conference on Baltic Studies is tentatively scheduled for Toronto, Canada, in 1972.

Symposia on Science, Technology, and Public Policy in the 1970's

Over three hundred participants attended a symposia on "Science, Technology, and Public Policy in the 1970's" sponsored by the Division of Public Administration and the Research Foundation of the Ohio State University on October 29-30, 1970. The project was organized and moderated by James D. Carroll and Louis D. Higgs. A limited number of copies of the conference report are available by writing to Clinton V. Oster, Director, Division of Public Administration, College of Administration Science, Ohio State University, 1775 South College Road, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

International Studies Association

The International Studies Association held its annual meeting at the Hotel Borinquen in San Juan, Puerto Rico on March 17-20, 1971. The themes of the conference were Ethnicity: in Nation-Building, Regional Integration, and International Conflict; Organization: Comparative and International Perspectives; and Conflict and Development: Their Relationships—Anti-theoretical or Symbiotic? In addition to panels and discussion groups on these themes, the various sections within the Association sponsored panels and workshops. About 400 scholars attended the Convention, including at least 40 from other countries. Fifty-seven of the participants represented disciplines other than political science. The new officers of the Association are: Richard C. Snyder, Ohio State University, President; Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero (psychology), National University of Mexico, Vice President; and Richard Lambert (sociology), University of Pennsylvania, Vice President. The Executive Director of ISA is John E. Turner, University of Minnesota.

The Data Archives Committee of the Association, in collaboration with officials from the Department of State, is sponsoring a conference on "Data Banks for International Studies" on May 14-16. Neal E. Cutler, University of Pennsylvania, is chairman of the Data Archives Committee. ISA is also sponsoring a conference on problems of transnational and comparative research at the Villa Serbelloni in Italy on August 31-September 6.

Forthcoming

National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science

The National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science will hold sessions for contributed papers at the 138th annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 26-31, 1971, in Philadelphia. Political scientists interested in giving a paper at these sessions are invited to submit titles and abstracts of 300 words by August 25th to Donald P. Ray, National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science, 863 Benjamin Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

Suggested topics might relate in whole or in part to the status of disarmament negotiations; nuclear weapons parity or disparity; Soviet-American development of defensive weapons systems as an instrument for planned mutual reduction of offensive missile weaponry: a theory of "mutually guaranteed protection"; the degeneration of the United Nations with Peking membership: the question of continuing United States financial support; the participation of Peking in the Korean war, the status of the Korean armistice in international law, and the related questioned qualifications of Peking for membership in the United Nations: a problem in priority for litigation in the International Court of Justice; the position of domestic security in the United States resulting from relations between Ottawa and Peking; decision-making and use of clichés, rhetoric, fear nostrums, stereotyped phrases, trite clauses, hackneyed expressions, and other tedious and irrelevant colloquialisms in formulating, explaining, expressing, and discussing official and unofficial United States-China policy and the utility or disutility of its change; the Nixon administration and the Republic of China: some adventures in "spinning-wheel" diplomacy; propaganda and the National Security Council: problems of scholarship and perspective in the China section of the current State of the World Report; agenda for a Chinese solution to the China question: an agreement for mutual renunciation of force, establishment of an extended Taipei-Peking dialogue, discussion and recognition of the principle of self-determination of political interests for the people of China, a corresponding division of the mainland along the Yangtze River and northern borders of Szechuan and Hsikang provinces into Communist North and Republican South China, the constitution of a committee on organized migrations, and a

concluding treaty for the guarantees of peaceful coexistence and commercial intercourse; an evaluation of the aims and purposes of leaders of communism in contemporary world affairs; the role of national liberation fronts; nationalism and democracy in South Vietnam: an overview of election experiences; regional problems of total American troop withdrawal from South Vietnam: a longer-run perspective; security questions involved in legislating military postures and strategy as measures for individual political popularity; and matters of calculated bias in aggregate hearings testimony on past and present Federal legislation.

XVth International Congress of Administrative Sciences

The 15th International Congress of Administrative Sciences will meet in Rome, Italy, from September 6 to 11. The three general areas of discussion will be, "Governmental and Administrative Organization in the Field of Scientific Research," "The Changes of Procedures, Methods, and Organizational Structures of the Administration to Cope with the Effects of Technical Progress," and "The Participation of Users or Directly Interested Persons in Public Administration including National Education Administration." Evaluation of training programs will also be discussed at Special meetings of Representatives of Schools and Institutes of Public Administration. Further information may be obtained from Jacques Stassen, Director General, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, rue de la Charité, 25B - 1040, Brussels, Belgium.

Urban and Regional Information Systems Association

The Urban and Regional Information Systems Association (URISA) will hold its fourth annual conference at the Royal Orleans Hotel in New Orleans, September 8 to 10. URISA is an international organization dedicated to the advancement of information system capabilities relating to urban and regional area problems.

The conference theme is "Information Systems and Political Systems." The conference will have three kinds of sessions: plenary sessions focusing on the conference theme; regular descriptive paper sessions; and working sessions designed to develop recommendations and suggestions for consideration by the membership.

The plenary session titles are "Information

Systems and Social Change" and "Information Systems and Political Power."

Descriptive paper sessions will take up selected topics in the design, development, and experience with information systems. Emphasis will be placed on examples in which information systems served public decision-making processes, but all subjects relating to urban information systems are welcomed.

The working sessions will include papers, demonstrations, and discussions over a two-day period to develop recommendations and suggestions for review by the membership on the final day of the conference. Topics such as uses of I.S. in Model Cities Programs, small urban areas, Federal relationships, census data applications, and technological developments will be covered.

Papers are invited and should be forwarded by May 15 to John C. Beresford, URISA Program Chairman, DUA Labs, Suite 916, 1411 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Virginia 22202.

AAAS Symposium on 1970 Census

An interdisciplinary symposium on the results of the 1970 U.S. Census of Population is being planned for the American Association for the Advancement of Science Meetings in Philadelphia, December 26-30, 1971. The symposium will be jointly sponsored by the AAAS Section on the Social and Economic Sciences and AAAS Section on Statistics. Political scientists who have analyzed the political implications of the 1970 census results are invited to submit suggestions for papers to: Professor Harvey M. Sapolsky, Secretary of the AAAS Section on the Social and Economic Sciences, E53-423, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

British Politics Association

The 1971 Annual Conference of the Politics Association will be held at Shoreditch College of Education, Cooper's Hill, Englefield Green, Egham, Surrey, from September 3 to 5. The emphasis in the talks and other activities at the conference will be on the problems and methods of teaching politics. For additional information write to G. G. Roberts, Conference Organizer, Politics Association, c/o Hansard

Society, 162, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W. 1, England.

Conference on Data Banks for International Affairs

The International Studies Association is conducting a conference under an agreement with the Office of External Research of the Department addressed to the development and application of computers to data banks for international affairs. The conference will be in Washington on May 15 and 16. Discussions will center on issues raised in three major background papers commissioned for the conference. These are:

The general attributes, purposes, and potentialities of international affairs data banks; their relationship to existing research archives—academic, private, and governmental; and the types of inputs, both existing and recommended for development, which will be necessary to them. Carl Beck, University of Pittsburgh

Dialog between a scholar and a State Department officer on the role of the substantive expert in the development of data bank activities; and the interaction of academic expert and government expert in such activities. David B. Bobrow, University of Minnesota and Grant G. Hilliker, Department of State

Future developments in data banks for foreign affairs research; e.g., whether such banks should be general- or special-purpose, and whether they should be geographically, chronologically, or otherwise categorized. Attention will be directed to ways in which extant archives can be coordinated, to ways of building cumulatively on previous work. Philip M. Burgess, Ohio State University

Opening and closing remarks at the conference are scheduled to be delivered by Richard C. Snyder, president-elect of ISA. A report describing the highlights of the meeting and incorporating the background papers will be prepared for distribution following the conference.

Planning activities for the conference are being directed by Neal E. Cutler, assistant professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania and chairman of ISA's Committee on Data Archives. Other members of the planning group are: Harold Guetzkow, currently at the

Professional Conferences

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and Grant G. Hilliker, William J. Trainor, and Howard M. Wiedemann, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State.

Queries regarding the conference should be addressed to Neal Cutler, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

Joint Meetings of Producers and Users of Operation Research

The National Bureau of Standards will sponsor a meeting of Producers and Users of Operations Research at the Bureau in Gaithersburg, Maryland, May 24-26. There will be a fee of \$45.00 payable in advance for the three-day seminar which includes participation and luncheon. For additional information write to Roy Herrmann, General Chairman, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Several major national and international professional organizations in the fields of operations research and management sciences are assisting to organize the conference with the objective of critically evaluating and improving the use of systematic analysis in the federal policy-making process. Topics and speakers for the conference include:

EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR OPERATIONS RESEARCH IN GOVERNMENT
C. West Churchman, University of California

THE APPLICATION OF OPERATIONS RESEARCH TECHNIQUES IN COMPLEX SYSTEMS
Harvey Wagner, Yale University

EVALUATING PRIORITIES IN COMPLEX SYSTEMS
Roy Herrmann, The George Washington University

U.S. ECONOMIC GROWTH: SOURCES, OUTLOOK AND IMPLICATIONS
Chairman: Jack Alterman, Director of Economic Studies, Department of Labor

OCEANIC RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
Chairman: Julius L. Katz, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Internal Resources and Food Policy, U.S. Department of State

PREVENTING THE BREAKDOWN OF HEALTH CARE DELIVERY—OPPORTUNITIES AND GOALS
Chairman: Dr. Robert J. Laur, Associate Administrator, Health Services and Mental Health Administration

Co-Chairman: Jack Gertzog, Group Leader for Operations Research Bureau of Drugs, FDA
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

APPROACH TO MULTIOBJECTIVE PLANNING OF WATER AND LAND RESOURCES
Chairman: Harry A. Steele, Associate Director
Co-Chairman: Gary C. Cobb, Staff Specialist
U.S. Water Resources Council

IMPACT OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAW ON THE APPLICATION OF OPERATIONS RESEARCH TECHNIQUES
Chairman: Arthur S. Miller, The George Washington University

The Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society

The Sixth Annual Conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society will be held in Chicago, November 18-20. The conference will be devoted to an interdisciplinary appraisal of "U.S. Civil-Military Relations in the 1970's: A Re-examination of Concepts and Processes." The Conference Chairmen are John P. Lovell and Philip Kronenberg, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

Forty papers will be presented on topics such as the changing international and domestic environment; recruitment and professionalism in the military establishment; discipline and social control in the military; GI dissent in the armed forces, conscientious objection; military justice; women and Blacks in the armed forces; military base-local community tensions; the military-industrial complex; the impact of the volunteer army; civilian control; and the mass media and military policy in international relations.

The Executive Committee of the Inter-University Seminar for the period 1971-1972 consists of the following: Albert Biderman, Henry Bienen, Martin Blumenson, Alexander George, Morris Janowitz, Charles Moskos, Laurence Radway, Sam C. Sarkesian, and T. Alden Williams.

Conference Group on German Politics

The Conference Group on German Politics will sponsor two meetings in the coming months. They are:

The Conference Group in cooperation with the New School for Social Research will sponsor a major conference on the intellectuals in the political culture of Weimar on October 29-30, 1971, at the New School in New York City. Inquiries may be directed to either Professor George Romoser of the University of New Hampshire or Professor George Ginsburgs of the New School of Social Research.

On November 20, 1971, the mid-western members of the Conference Group on German Politics will meet at the Continuing Education Center, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. The topic of the meeting will be: The Foreign Policies of East and West Germany. Anyone who is interested in attending or participating in the conference should write: Professor Donald P. Kommers, Department of Government and International Studies, Box 103, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies will hold its fifth annual national convention in Dallas, Texas, on March 16-18, 1972. The AAASS Program committee wishes to encourage both graduate students and young faculty to participate as well as establish scholars in the field. The four major themes for the meeting are: State of the Field; Anarchism, Authority, and the Law; Contemporary Problems of Society and Environment; and the Conflict Between National Identity and Socialist Policy. For additional information write to Professor George Hoffman, Department of Geography, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

Communications

To the Editor:

Though my scholarly concerns have probably never been labeled "advanced numerology" by either friend or enemy, I must nonetheless take issue with Robert Dixon's estimate of how public law research ought to be redirected.

At bottom, Dixon contends that the subfield should opt for an emphasis upon social engineering, and a particular kind of problem-solving to boot. He notes that it is the lawyer who has opened the door to "the new political science" by working up theories of due process and equality so as to shake up the Establishment. His article reaches a crescendo when he argues: "... what does modern political science research have to offer the Black, the Chicano, the Indian?"

The answer is that neither the discipline in general nor public law in particular have anything to offer these groups by way of overt orientational bias. It is not the purpose of public law to advance the interests of the over-represented, the underrepresented or the public interest through the invocation of Marxist, racist, egalitarian or Naderist predilections. Of course, individuals may be "turned on" by various issues, and these appetites will have a considerable impact on the problems they study and the interpretation of data. This bears no relation to the doctrinal redirection which the piece endorses for a group of professionals.

It also does not appear that the author's concluding remarks are an accurate reflection of what comes before. The policy-oriented approach of the pre-1950's must be merged with the quantitative techniques featured in contemporary scholarship, he urges. But the tacit premise that the former was wedded to the destiny of any set of interests in the polity will not hold. The research of Alpheus Mason, Robert McCloskey, Carl Swisher, *et al.* may have typified the liberal spirit (broadly construed), but surely it did not reflect agreed-upon support for the kind of parochial ideological commitment which Dixon seems to think is the wave of the future.

Ira H. Carmen

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

To the Editor:

In the rush to be concerned and "relevant," the Association appears to be falling over its feet. The Winter 1971 *PS* reported that the last business meeting passed a resolution, moved by Josephine Milburn on behalf of the Committee on the Status of Women, calling on employing institutions "to give priority to hiring qualified women political scientists until the ratio of women to men faculty equal (*sic*) that of women to men graduate students" (p. 64). Two institutions had apparently anticipated this resolution and had attempted to use the Association's placement service to remedy the sexual imbalance on their faculties as compared with the sexual ratio existing in the student body. In its job listing form, Loyola University had stated: "Since Loyola is *de facto* a coed school we are especially interested in interviewing women applicants because of an existing lack of full-time women faculty." For taking this position, which seems so admirable in view of the resolution subsequently passed by the business meeting, Loyola (together with one other institution) was in fact censured by the meeting for sexual discrimination, on the motion of Miss Kay Klotzburger on behalf of a committee on which Mrs. Milburn also served (p. 58).

Assuming that all this was accurately reported, which at first I found hard to credit, it seems to me that 1) apologies should be made to the two censured institutions; 2) Association committees should beware of falling into ideological rigidity; 3) motions to be introduced at business meetings should be prepared and circulated in advance to allow for their more careful consideration.

Martin C. Needler

University of New Mexico

To the Editor:

President Lane has requested in the Winter 1971 number of *PS* that members of the association aid in the construction of a list of the practical benefits of political science. This is part of a larger effort to sell science to the public, long unsuspecting but lately more skeptical. I would like to suggest that the Association not participate in this sales job. In the few words that follow I will assert why, in my judgment,

scientists particularly and scholars generally should not become salesmen.

I cannot deny that such sales jobs have been done and done very effectively if viewed strictly in monetary terms. But even when done as effectively as possible this selling involves a hidden and non-monetary cost. I for one find this cost in the eyes of a good number of undergraduates who have measured science by the criteria of practical benefit and monetary effectiveness and rightly found it wanting.

(1) For each so-called practical benefit of science there is somewhere a practical disbenefit of equal importance. One need consider only atomic energy to see what is involved here. (2) The practical benefits that science produces are minute as compared to the size of our practical problems. As long as science is justified to the public as being for practical benefit it will always be found, on close examination, wanting.

It is important here to comment on three points that are often carelessly tossed into the consideration of this sort of issue. First, the quality of scientific work has nothing to do with the intentions of the scientist, the Caucus notwithstanding. Second, any one who thinks that he could serve humanity by being a scientist, if only the system were not corrupt, is a fool. Even if the system were not in some sense corrupt the probability of a noticeable contribution coming so indirect a route is, again, minute. At best this line is balm to one's conscience and at worst it is a cruel joke. Third, if science is judged only on the basis of its practical benefits then academic freedom cannot be claimed as a protection, nor for that matter neither can truth. Both of these values become means to that which is adjudged to have practical benefits. The dangers here are surely so apparent that their elaboration is unnecessary. In fact one might have thought at one time that much of the point of a university as we know it was to avoid this kind of situation.

We are all of us as men responsible for the world's problems. The machines and their creators, the scientists, did not create the problems and they cannot, even with barrels of good intentions, create the solutions. We all of us must create these solutions. If one is concerned to do so in fact as well as in rhetoric then the only place for him can be in the community where such issues are lived and

fought for real and not in the convenient and artificial atmosphere of the university.

M. W. Jackson
University of Alberta

To the Editor:

Let me propose—to whomever it may concern—the creation of a data and measurement journal in the cross-national and inter-national field. Such a journal might include articles which: a) propose and justify a given index, reporting some resulting scores as well as tests of its validity; b) describe and justify a given procedure for coding, classifying, or scaling, with some representative results; c) report on software programs developed for the generation, management, and analysis of cross-national and inter-national data; d) propose and evaluate procedures for data quality control; e) propose and evaluate procedures for estimating missing data; f) report on the condition of a given researcher's data sets within the context of its original theoretical purpose, with sample series; and g) report on the condition of the consortium and other archives. While the journal would probably not publish full data sets and series, it could include some samples of these along with instructions for requesting the complete set.

While one possible liability of such a journal might be to create or widen the gulf between "theorists" and "empiricists," this *need* not occur. Among the advantages might be to: a) provide authentic information as to data availability; b) improve data quality; c) enhance the academic prestige of those who are "doing the Lord's work"; d) keep empirical activity in a consistently explicit theory-oriented context; e) emphasize the importance of measurement and detection of traces to the growth of our science; f) provide a free forum for the exchange of views on all aspects of research design and strategy; g) make available for pedagogical purposes the explicit intellectual activities surrounding our measurement and enumeration procedures; h) make it less necessary to treat these matters in much detail when reporting substantive findings in the regular journals; and i) make it less necessary to load the regular journals with articles that do not report substantive findings.

As to a title, *Interpolemetrics* comes to mind (à la *Biometrika*, *Sociometry*, *Psychometrika*,

Communications

Econometrics, etc.) and it might even be that the new ISA section of that title could become its publisher. Another might be *Evidence and Measurement in World Politics*.

As to financing, I have no particularly novel ideas, but if a temporary project or program could launch the enterprise, any of the standard options could then be pursued: a professional society or one of its sections, a university, the Consortium or its archive, an international agency such as UNITAR or UNESCO, or even a national governmental agency. If the current folklore is correct, foundations are *not* likely to be interested.

The past decade has seen some promising developments in the international and comparative politics field: concepts, methods, research strategies, etc. To my mind, the most important of these is the shift away from mere speculation and toward the search for systematic evidence for model testing, etc. Without denying the need for more creative and rigorous modeling, I don't see how we can move to a cumulative science unless we continue allocating a large fraction of our intellectual and material resources to the acquisition and analysis of data.

This view is now coming under heavy attack from two rather different quarters. First, there are the "new radicals," who deny one or more of the following in regard to a rigorous social science: the possibility, the relevance, and the normative desirability. Second, there are those who (as in other disciplines at similar stages) believe that armchair exercises and mathematical gymnastics will suffice. If our objective is to increase our understanding of the natural world of social phenomena, and mankind's capacity to shape that world, knowledge is essential.

The creation of a journal of evidence and procedure would constitute a timely reassertion of our discipline's commitment to the pursuit of such knowledge.

J. David Singer
University of Michigan

News and Notes

Activities

Lawrence Bailes, Harvard University, has been awarded a WCBS-TV Urban Fellowship from the Joint Center for Urban Studies.

Paul C. Bartholomew, University of Notre Dame, was a coordinator and principal lecturer at the Philippine Constitution Conference held at Tagaytay City near Manila in December 1970, under a Fulbright-Hays grant. He was a visiting professor at Northwestern University in the summer session of 1970.

Peter K. Bechtold, University of Maryland, will be on leave for the academic year as a Fulbright-Hayes faculty research fellow in the United Arab Republic to do research on "Regional Integration in the Arab World: The Proposed Federation of Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Sudan."

Edward N. Beiser, Brown University, is spending the 1970-71 academic year at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, as holder of a Post Doctoral Fellowship for Cross-Disciplinary Study, awarded by the Society for Religion in Higher Education.

Boleslaw Boczek, Kent State University, is teaching and doing research at the University of Frankfurt under a Fulbright Grant.

Steven Brown, Kent State University, is doing research under a post-doctoral fellowship at Yale University.

Maurice Cranston, London School of Economics was visiting professor, Fall term, 1970, Dartmouth College.

Carl Q. Christol, University of Southern California, has been awarded the Dart Award for academic innovation in the field of American Constitutional Law. He was also appointed in January to serve together with four other professors of international law on a twenty-one member panel. It will assist the Legal Advisor's Office of the Department of State on policy matters relating to international law.

Lewis A. Dexter, University of Massachusetts, Boston, served on a preliminary planning group which met in Boulder, Colorado, under an NSF grant to the Biological Sciences Curriculum study to consider the nature of a life sciences course for the middle school level.

Henry W. Ehrmann, Dartmouth College, has accepted an appointment for visiting professor at the Free University, Berlin, Spring 1971.

Alona E. Evans, Wellesley College, will be on sabbatical leave in 1971-72, and will be completing a study of United States policy and practice in international rendition of fugitive offenders.

Gibson Gray, Central State College of Oklahoma, as chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, Oklahoma Academy of Science, was responsible for the organization of the first two-day annual meeting of the division held December 4-5, 1970, at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater.

Louis K. Harris, Kent State University, is teaching in Mexico at the University of the Americas.

Edward Hayes, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, is coordinator of the campus U.S. Office of Education program to improve the training of urban area teachers, and works with four Letters and Science faculty and two School of Education faculty on an interdisciplinary curriculum for social studies teachers.

Chun-Tu Hsueh, University of Maryland, was invited to lecture at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, and Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, June-July, 1970. He presented a paper at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists, Canberra, Australia, January 1971.

William D. Jackson, Miami University, Ohio, was named by President Nixon in August to serve on the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. The Commission is charged with the task of recommending policies to the President designed to improve the effective participation of the United States in the United Nations.

Gordon Keller, Kent State University, is teaching under an exchange program at the University of Louvain in Belgium.

D. Richard Little, Northern Illinois University, has been selected as a 1971-72 Fellow of the American Council on Education Academic Administration Internship Program.

News and Notes

Richard Longaker, University of California, Los Angeles, served on a preliminary planning group which met in Boulder, Colorado, under an NSF grant to the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study to consider the nature of a life sciences course for the middle school level.

Gene M. Lyons, Dartmouth College, began a two-year leave of absence in December to serve as Director of the Department of Social Science at UNESCO in Paris.

Roger Masters, Dartmouth College, is completing his second year on leave as Cultural Affairs Officer in the American Embassy, Paris.

Douglas Mendel, Jr., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, gave a series of lectures on Japanese foreign policy at Lehigh University, March 25-26, 1971. While conducting research in Japan, Okinawa, and Hong Kong, he will be a visiting professor in the 1971 Sophia University summer session on Asian studies. He is also program chairman for the 1971 Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs to be held at Madison, Wisconsin, October 30-31.

John Mollenkopf, Harvard University, has been awarded a V. O. Key, Jr. Fellowship from the Joint Center for Urban Studies.

A. Gaylord Obern, University of Pittsburgh, has become Chief of Party, University of Pittsburgh Project at the University of Malaysia. This project is funded by the Ford Foundation.

Norman D. Palmer, University of Pennsylvania, participated in and served as a panel chairman at a Conference on Social Research and Foreign Affairs, held at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, October 16-18, 1970. This conference was jointly sponsored by the Department of State, the American Foreign Service Association, and the International Studies Association of which Dr. Palmer is the national President.

John Duncan Powell, Tufts University, will be on leave during the 1971-72 year, completing a study of political participation among peasants, at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Donald R. Reich, Oberlin College, was on leave in Kyoto, Japan during August 1970 through January 1971 for research on University reform

and for discussions with Japanese social scientists and others on the organization of research and on the impact of judicial decisions.

C. H. Richards, Jr., Wake Forest University, has been awarded a Reynolds Research Grant. He will be on leave during the winter and spring terms, 1972, to conduct research on the Superior Courts in North Carolina.

Fauneil J. Rinn, San Jose State College, was awarded the Charles Prouty Shedd Fellowship in Religion in Higher Education at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, and is on leave 1970-71.

Volker Rittberger, Stanford University, has been awarded a research grant from the International Peace Research Program administered by the National Academy of Sciences.

Donald Schoonmaker, Wake Forest University, has been named Director of the winter term at the University. He has also been selected President of the Experiment in Self Reliance, the anti-poverty program in Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina.

Edward Stettner, Wellesley College, will be on leave in 1971-72, working on a study of Walter Lippmann.

Mark Tessler, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, presided over a one-day campus conference, *A New Look at the Middle East* March 13, 1971. He will teach in the 1971 summer seminar of the Institute of World Affairs, Salisbury, Connecticut.

Frances E. Willis, the first recipient of a Ph.D. in political science at Stanford University and the first woman Foreign Service Officer to attain the rank of Career Ambassador, returned to Stanford in January as the first participant in the Alumni-in-residence Program sponsored by the Alumni Association to bring distinguished alumni into contact with students.

Jong-Hae Yoo, Eastern Michigan University, will be on leave to teach at Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea, beginning in the Fall of 1971.

Staff Changes

New Appointments

Weston H. Agor, assistant professor, University of Florida; formerly of Grand Valley State College.

Victor Baras, instructor, Wellesley College.

Harold M. Barger, assistant professor, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas; formerly of University of North Carolina, Asheville.

Arnold Beichman, lecturer, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Martin Brownstein, assistant professor, Ithaca College; formerly a graduate student at Yale University.

Keon Soo Chi, professor, Georgetown College, Kentucky.

Terry L. Christensen, assistant professor, San Jose State College.

Joseph Firestone, associate professor, State University of New York at Binghamton; formerly of Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory.

Jeff Fishel, associate professor, Indiana University; formerly of San Francisco State College.

Paul M. Freedenberg, instructor, Tulane University

Robert O. Freedman, instructor, Marquette University; formerly of the United States Military Academy.

M. Richard Ganzel, assistant professor, University of Nevada

Irwin Gertzog, Arthur E. Braun Chair in Political Science (professorship in American government and politics), Allegheny College; formerly of Yale University.

Harold Gortner, assistant professor, San Jose State College.

Klaus D. Grimm, research associate, Department of Public Social Services, County of Marin, California; formerly of the Educational Testing Service.

Howard Hamilton, professor, Kent State University; formerly of Bowling Green State University

Marvin K. Hoffman, assistant professor, Appalachian State University.

Verna Julian, assistant professor, Ithaca College; formerly of Central State College, Oklahoma

Onyeonoro Kamanu, assistant professor, Rutgers University.

Nelson M. Kasfir, instructor, Dartmouth College; formerly of Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda.

William R. Keech, research associate, Government Studies Program, Brookings Institution; formerly of the University of North Carolina.

David Kettler, professor, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario; formerly of Franconia College.

Majid Khadduri, distinguished research professor, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; formerly of the Center for Middle East Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies.

Stefan Leader, assistant professor, Ithaca College; formerly of the State University College at Fredonia.

Marcia Lee, lecturer, Rutgers University.

Leo Y. Liu, assistant professor, Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada; formerly of University of Alberta.

Lillian Orden Lukaczer, assistant professor, Montgomery College; formerly of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Arthur D. Lynn, Jr., associate editor, *National Tax Journal*; formerly Ohio State University.

Gene L. Mason, assistant professor, Franconia College; formerly of the University of Kentucky.

Joseph A. Massey, instructor, Dartmouth College.

Daniel A. Mazmanian, research associate, Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution; formerly of Southern Illinois University.

David S. McClellan, professor, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; formerly of University of California, Riverside.

News and Notes

Roland F. Moy, assistant professor, Appalachian State University; formerly of East Tennessee State University.

John Pollock, assistant professor, Livingston College, Rutgers University; formerly of San Diego State College.

Christian P. Potholm, associate professor, Bowdoin College; formerly of Vassar College.

As'ad A. Rahhal, associate professor, Appalachian State University; formerly of Wichita State University.

John E. Schofield, instructor, Bates College.

Mary Segers, lecturer, Rutgers University.

Marc Sonnenfeld, instructor, Wellesley College.

C. David Sutton, assistant professor, Appalachian State University; formerly of East Tennessee State University.

Raymond Tanney, instructor, Kent State University; formerly assistant to the Director of the Center for the Study of State and Local Government at Kent State University.

Victor A. Thompson, graduate research professor, University of Florida; formerly University of Illinois.

John A. Warner, assistant professor, University of Saskatchewan.

Matt W. Williamson, associate professor, Appalachian State University; formerly of Georgia Southern College.

Richard Young, assistant professor, State University of New York at Binghamton; formerly of Stanford University.

Visiting and Temporary Appointments

Shen-Yu Dai, Kent State University; University of San Francisco.

B. J. DeClercq, Kent State University; University of Louvain in Belgium.

Manfred Dormann, University of Konstanz, West Germany; State University of New York at Binghamton.

David Kettler, Columbia University; Trent University.

John P. Lovell, Indiana University; professor, U. S. Naval Academy, first semester, 1971-72.

James McCluskey, lecturer, San Jose State College.

Byung Hun Oh, Kent State University; Sung Kyun Kwan University in Seoul, Korea.

N. Patrick Peritore, lecturer, San Jose State College.

Conrad P. Rutkowski, Hunter College, City University of New York, 1970-71.

Lester G. Seligman, University of Oregon; University of Umea, Sweden, fall 1970 under Thord-Gray Lectureships.

J. K. Zawodny, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; professor, University of Pennsylvania.

Administrative Appointments

Rene N. Ballard, Dean, Wittenberg University's College of Liberal Arts.

Burton R. Brazil, Executive Vice President, San Jose State College.

Richard Butwell, professor and Chairman, SUNY at Brockport; formerly of the American University and the National War College.

Winberg Chal, coordinator, University of Redlands.

Richard C. Curry, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Interior; formerly of the College of William and Mary (on leave) and APSA National Committee Faculty Fellow.

Lawrence J. DeNardis, State Senator to the Connecticut General Assembly; chairman, political science department, Albertus Magnus College.

Richard M. Fontera, Dean and professor, Southeastern Massachusetts University, North Dartmouth, Massachusetts.

Richard W. Gable, chairman, Comparative Administration Group, American Society for Public Administration and appointed by the Governor of California to Council on Intergovernmental Relations, State of California.

Gary A. Greinke, assistant professor and assistant to the President, Concordia Teachers College.

Erwin C. Hargrove, chairman, Brown University.

Joseph E. Johnson, President Emeritus of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Lee R. Kerschner, assistant executive vice chancellor, California State Colleges.

Gene M. Lyons, director, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Department of Social Sciences.

Richter H. Moore, Jr., professor and chairman, Appalachian State University; formerly of East Tennessee State University.

Theodore M. Norton, chairman, Academic Council, San Jose State College.

Laurence I. Radway, chairman, Dartmouth College.

Leroy N. Rieselbach, chairman, Indiana University.

Bob Riley, Lt. Governor of the State of Arkansas; chairman, Department of Political Science, Ouachita Baptist University.

Richard B. Robertson, Director, State Transportation Planning, Division of State Planning and Community Affairs, Commonwealth of Virginia; formerly Executive Director, Richmond (Virginia) Regional Planning District Commission.

Gerard F. Rutan, chairman, Western Washington State College.

John W. Ryan, chairman, Ithaca College.

Franklin Smallwood, Orvil E. Dryfoos Professor of Public Affairs, Dartmouth College; Director of Public Affairs Center, Dartmouth.

John S. Waggaman, assistant director, International Development Research Center, Indiana University.

Sidney Waldman, chairman, Haverford College.

Frederic A. Weed, interim chairman, San Jose State College.

Walter F. Weiker, chairman, Rutgers University.

Roy E. Young, Vice Chairman, San Jose State College.

Promotions

James A. Blessing, Susquehanna University: assistant professor.

Everett W. Chard, Western Washington State College: assistant professor.

Joseph N. Crowley, University of Nevada: associate professor.

Frank B. Feigert, SUNY at Brockport: associate professor.

Harvey Fireside, Ithaca College: associate professor.

Robert S. Getz, SUNY at Brockport: professor.

David K. Hart, University of Washington: associate professor.

John R. Johannes, Marquette University: assistant professor.

Bernard K. Johnpoll, SUNY at Albany: professor.

Raymond Kaarel, Ithaca College: professor.

Kent A. Kirwan, Marquette University: assistant professor.

Charles Kunsman, Jr., San Jose State College: professor.

Donald W. McNemar, Dartmouth College: assistant professor.

John W. Ryan, Ithaca College: associate professor.

H. Kent Schellenger, San Jose State College: associate professor.

James C. Shields, University of Nevada: assistant professor.

Richard L. Siegel, University of Nevada: associate professor.

Michael P. Smith, Dartmouth College: assistant professor.

James A. Stegenga, Purdue University: professor.

Leonard B. Weinberg, University of Nevada: associate professor.

Allen R. Wilcox, University of Nevada: assistant professor.

Theodore P. Wright, SUNY at Albany: professor.

Roy E. Young, San Jose State College: associate professor.

Correction

In the Winter 1971 issue of *PS*, under promotions, William J. Harkins was incorrectly listed as associate professor. *PS* is making the following correction: William J. Harkins, University of South Alabama: professor.

Late Notice

Annual Meeting—Child Care Service

The Association is exploring the possibility of a child care service at the 1971 Annual Meeting in Chicago. If you are interested in such a service, write to the Executive Director as soon as possible.

Information on the number and ages of children should be included.

In Memoriam

O. Douglas Weeks, Professor Emeritus of The University of Texas at Austin, died at the age of 74 on October 30, 1970. Born in Marion, Ohio he obtained the B.A. degree from Ohio Wesleyan and the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Wisconsin, the latter in 1924. Except for one year at Western Reserve University and service with the U.S. Army University Faculty in 1945-46, he had been, until his retirement in 1966, on the faculty of the Department of Government of the University of Texas since 1924. He became a professor in 1933 and was chairman of his department from 1930-31, 1935-47, 1950-1957.

Weeks' special fields of teaching and research were Political Parties and Legislatures. For many years, however, he also taught courses in Ancient and Medieval Political Theory, and Modern Political Theory. He also had a strong interest in state and local government, and served in many consultative roles to agencies and study groups in these areas. Especially noteworthy was his service for many years as member, and for years as chairman, of the Austin Public Library Commission.

Weeks' research led to a steady stream of articles and monographs over his entire career.

A number of his articles were reprinted in collections, notably those on legislation that were included in collections on administrative and constitutional law. Among his later contributions were his monographs on successive presidential elections in Texas.

Weeks supervised numerous master's thesis and Ph.D. dissertation projects. Students who worked with him on these projects and in other ways are indebted to him for the exacting standards he set for them and for the generous aid he always gave to his students. Colleagues who worked with him over a 44-year period will recall gratefully his assiduous service to his department and his thoughtfulness and kindness to his colleagues.

Emmette S. Redford
University of Texas

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A Quarterly Journal

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The International Political Science Association Invitation to Membership

The International Political Science Association welcomes political scientists as members. The Association, founded in 1949, is composed of three categories of members: individuals, institutions and national associations.

Membership in the Association of \$10.00 a year entitles members to receive the Newsletter giving information about IPSA activities and meetings; to purchase material published under IPSA auspices—including the International Bibliography of Political Science, published annually by Stevens in London and sets of papers submitted at IPSA meetings at reduced cost; and to register at IPSA meetings at lower rates.

Individual members who pay a higher membership fee of \$12.00 a year are, in addition, entitled to receive either the International Political Science Abstracts published quarterly by Basil Blackwell at Oxford or the International Social Science Journal, the quarterly organ of the Department of Social Sciences of UNESCO. To join the Association send your name and check to the International Political Science Association, 27 rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris 7e, France.

CHANGING YOUR ADDRESS?

If you are planning a move, please fill in the form below and return it to the American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Address changes should be received at the Association by the 5th of the month to be included in the monthly update of the Association mailing list.

Name _____

OLD ADDRESS _____

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(Zip) _____

(Zip) _____

GRANTS FOR ASIAN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

The American Political Science Association again has received from The Asia Foundation a small grant for encouraging closer relations between Asian and American political scientists. The funds will be used in three ways:

- 1) To enable Asian political scientists to become members of The American Political Science Association for a one-year period at greatly reduced rates. Membership includes subscription to *The American Political Science Review* and *PS*. To be eligible, applicants must reside in one of the Asian countries listed below.
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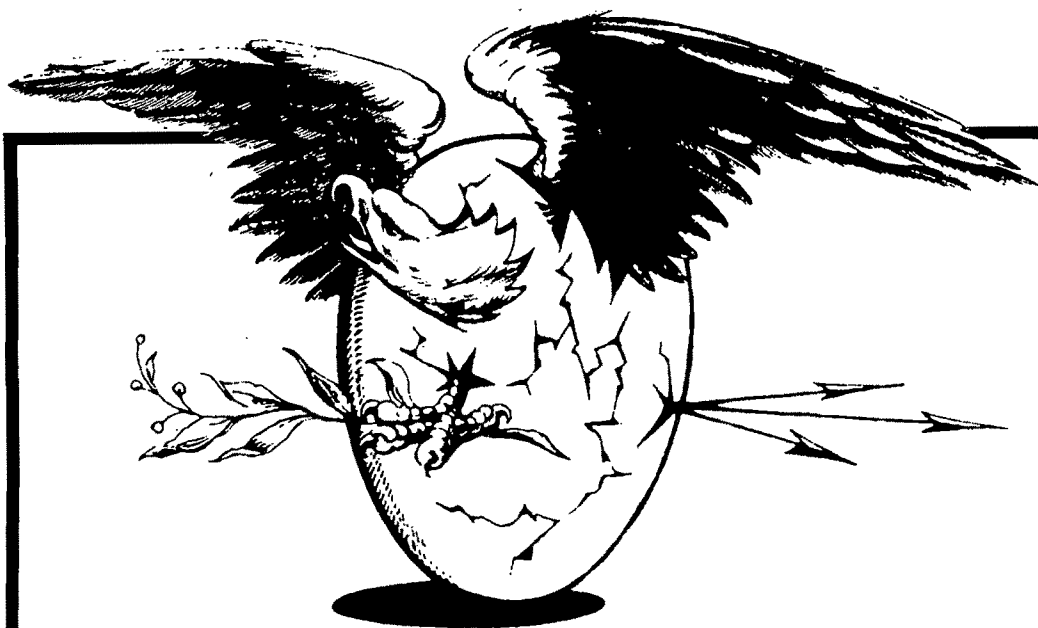
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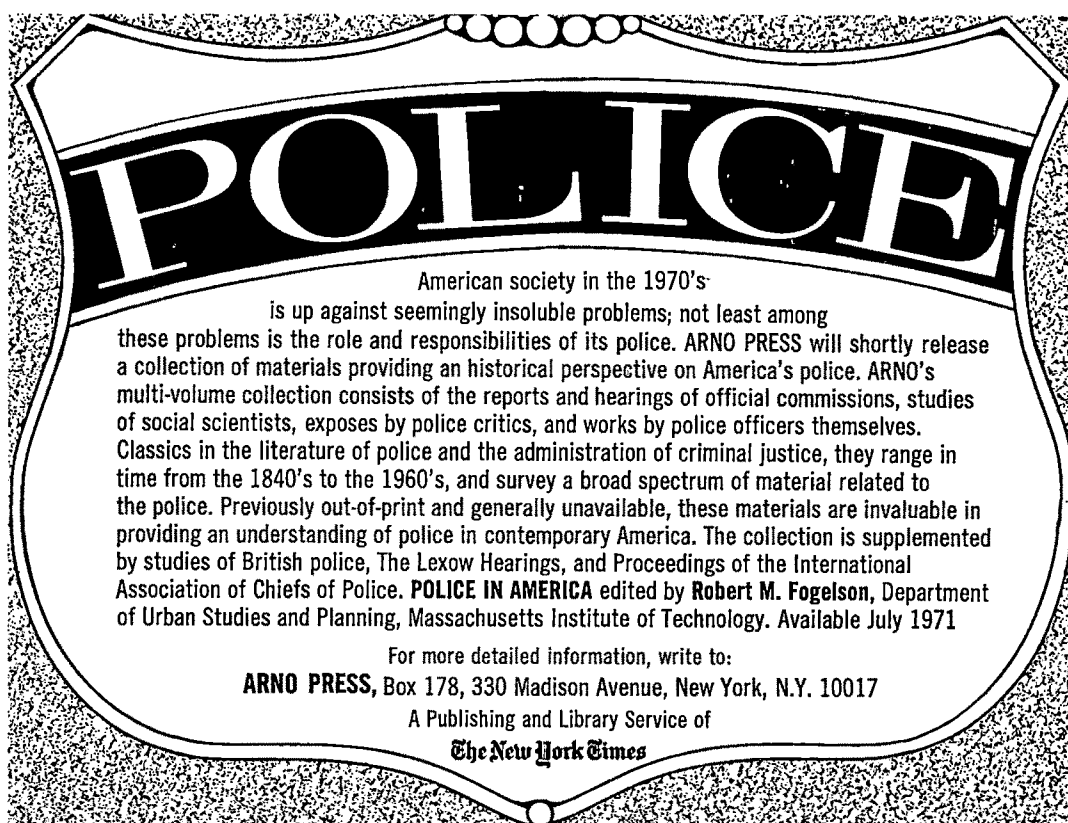
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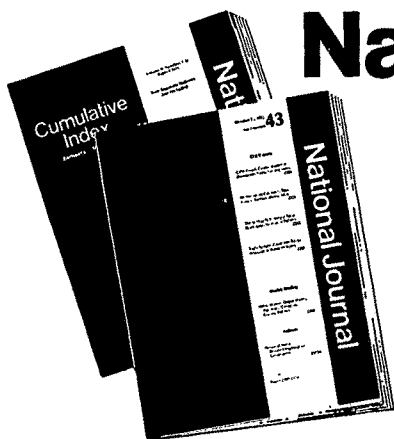
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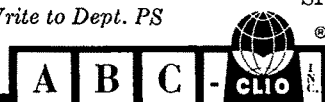
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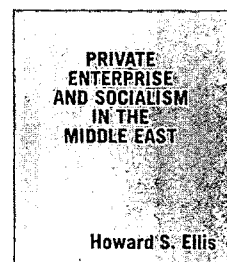
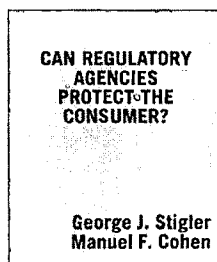
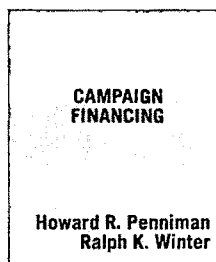
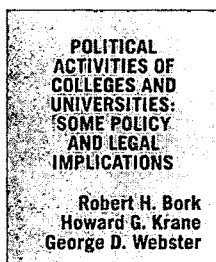
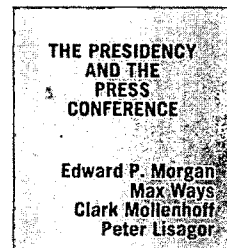
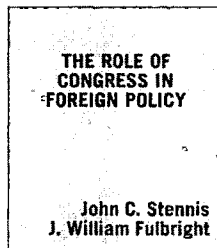
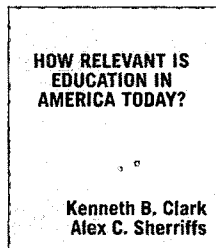
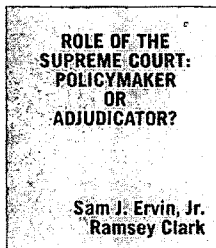
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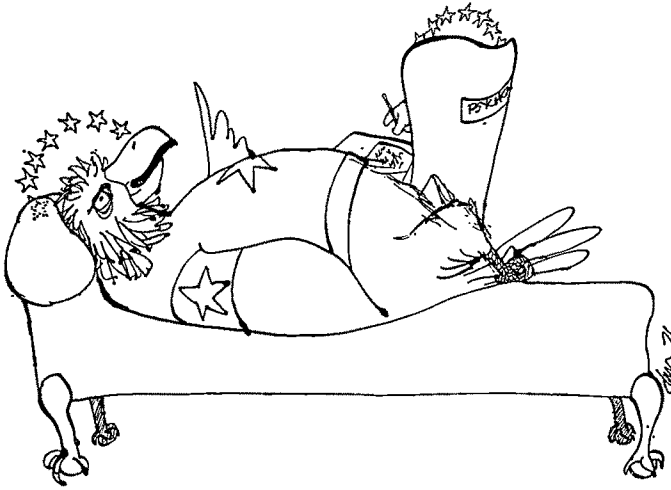
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The Status of Women As Students and Professionals in Political Science

Philip E. Converse
and Jean M. Converse
University of Michigan

What unique problems currently confront women eager to pursue careers in the discipline of political science? This question was a central one for the Association's Committee on the Status of Women, organized two years ago. As a major part of its fact-finding activities, the Committee conducted a mail survey of graduate students and post-graduate professionals in the discipline during the spring of 1970.

It is obvious that the development of all careers present obstacles. But the Committee survey was designed to arrive at some balanced and realistic view of those points at which women in particular encounter difficulties that are less prevalent for men in comparable situations.

In the background stood the obvious fact, well documented elsewhere,¹ that in the progress over career development hurdles from undergraduate majors in political science through to active roles as adult professionals in the discipline, women show much more marked rates of attrition than men. Clearly a substantial proportion of the extra attrition arises because of a choice on the part of the female at one point or another in favor of a conventional sex role within the family, with a consequent abandonment of career aspirations. However, increasing numbers of women would like to maintain a mix of family and career roles, and there is reason to believe that the current structure of opportunities raises artificial obstacles to such professional participation, and loses important talent to the profession.

Thus while the survey questionnaire bore at points on simple discrimination because of sex, it was more broadly addressed to the numerous difficulties facing any woman interested in a career in political science. Among other things, it served as a means of collecting constructive solutions to these

difficulties suggested by concerned women, which might have escaped the Committee's attention.² And it attempted to gauge the severity of problems encountered by women at the various gateways in career development, with an eye to providing a firm basis for priorities among various remedial policy possibilities.

The Study Design

The Committee recognized at the outset that any ideal design for assessing sources of attrition among women lay far beyond financial or practical reach. The ideal study, for example, would have involved personal interviewing to escape the low response rates that are inevitable in most types of mail surveys. However, such a design would have multiplied data-collection costs by a very significant factor, and could not be seriously considered.

An ideal study would also have traced cohorts longitudinally as they proceed from undergraduate interests in political science through the gateways into graduate school, degree completion, job placement and up the normal career ladder. Of course it would have been impossible by definition to conduct such a long-term longitudinal study in the space of the year allotted to "fact-finding." Nonetheless, a "second-best" design would have involved a survey of all women who have been interested in political science as undergraduate students over the past two, three or four decades, yet only a small minority of whom either succeeded, or opted, to pass the successive hurdles into full-fledged participation as adult professionals in political science. However, even this second-best design was not feasible, since no sampling frame could be organized to register this original pool of potential political scientists, some of whom must have dropped by the wayside for lack of talent, others by preference, and still others by the kind of "system discouragement" of interest to the Committee.

1 Victoria Schuck, "Femina Studens rei Publicae: Notes on her Professional Achievement," *P.S.*, Vol. III, No. 4 (Fall, 1970), p. 262.

2 The qualitative materials involving possible solutions to the problems of women have been reviewed in a separate report by Jewel Prestage.

The only sampling frames that could realistically be assembled involved the set of post-graduate women interested enough in the discipline to maintain membership in the Association; and the set of women currently enrolled in graduate departments of political science across the country. Our samples have been drawn from these two universes. In interpreting results from this "third-best" design, however, it is imperative to keep in mind that our sample of practicing political scientists is in no sense a reflection of our sample of women graduate students as they might look, other things equal, after a lapse of five, fifteen or thirty years. At the very most, the sample of adult professionals must be cautiously viewed as the minority of *survivors* who neither opted out of the discipline nor became discouraged by unusual obstacles to their participation.³ We will take some pains to keep this fact in plain view.

At one other important point we were fortunately able to take special steps toward developing a minimal design. The mail survey, as we have seen, was aimed at assessing the career progress of women in the discipline, captured like disconnected snapshots at two different major stages. However, all pre-professional and professional cohorts suffer attrition as they proceed up the career ladder, and we were chiefly interested in locating sex-specific difficulties. Given this goal, the only reasonable point of comparison had to be the career progress of males at the same two stages. Therefore from comparable sampling frames we surveyed small control groups of practicing male political scientists (again, post-graduate members of the Association), as well as male students working on advanced degrees in the discipline. Thus our analyses are focussed on two pairs of samples: the post-graduate female political scientists, with a male

control sample; and the sample of graduate women with its male controls.⁴

We assumed at the outset that response rates would not be outstanding for the mail survey, and that they would vary moreover across our four samples, with women generally being more motivated to respond than men, and the professional samples more dutifully responsive than the graduate samples. These differences were generally borne out, although they were less marked than expected.

Response rates can only be calculated within a rough range, largely because of some time lag between available lists of names and the reality at the time of the survey, blurring the boundaries of the target populations. Of questionnaires returned, substantial proportions (about 10%) were blank or incomplete, usually on grounds that they were no longer relevant to the individual's current status. In some cases, the same individuals had received both graduate and professional questionnaires, and returned one of them blank. In other cases, people on the graduate lists had completed graduate work or had left political science in the interim. A handful of completed questionnaires straggled in too late to be included in the coding and analyses.

In all, 43.2% of female professionals were at least heard from, including some unused questionnaires; the proportion for male professionals was 36.5%; for female graduate students, 39.4%; and for male graduate students 37.1%. The proportions of questionnaires utilized of the original mailing, however, were 39.2% for female professionals; 33.8% for male professionals; 34.4% for female graduate students; and

3 One clear symptom of this distinction is the fact that 30% of our professional women have never been married or have current plans for marriage. On the other hand, while our graduate women are very much younger (80% are under 30), only 30% have not been married or lack immediate plans for marriage.

4 In addition, a small sample of women administrators in governmental agencies, purposively selected to cover people with political science backgrounds, but who had not necessarily maintained Association membership, was surveyed through the efforts of Irene Tinker. This additional sample was given the female professional questionnaire, fortified with a number of extra questions designed specifically for the administrative situation. The results of this supplemental survey are provided by Tinker in a separate portion of the Committee Report.

28.8% for male graduate students. If we were to adjust the rates in a reasonable way to exclude overlaps and the more reasonable self-definitions of irrelevance, then we would arrive at rates of 42.0%, 35.8%, 38.6% and 36.7%, respectively.

These response rates are not, of course, high. We would expect persons of both sexes responding to the questionnaire to be somewhat more sensitized to or sympathetic with problems of women in the profession than non-respondents. Thus it is worth keeping in mind that results having to do with rates of perceived or objective problems of women are likely to run higher than would be found for the profession as a whole. On the other hand, the very modest differences in response rates by sex may be some indication that such differences in relevant predispositions make only a modest contribution to the probability of response, and the results are unlikely to be grossly misstated.

Perceptions of Sex Discrimination

The fact that women do drop out of the discipline at rates higher than men for reasons not always associated with either blatant discrimination or more subtle system discouragement means that it is hard to establish compelling objective evidence that either type of dissuasion is operating. On the other hand, evidence of felt discrimination is entirely easy to develop by simple and direct questions, and our data in this regard make a convenient point of departure. There is no need to confuse these perceptions with some reality as defined by an outside observer, and we shall indeed turn to objective patterns of sex difference in professional status at a later point. However, as we shall see, the major points of felt discrimination turn out to be quite marked and non-controversial across our samples, and show a comfortable degree of fit with the analyses of more objective data.

We asked a large battery of items concerning perceived discrimination less to establish any absolute rates, than on the simple assumption that if sex-specific discouragement to women was concentrated in certain aspects of career development, it should come through clearly as a relative matter in such items. We asked our women respondents to indicate the degree of difficulty, if any, that they may have encountered because of their sex in connection with each of about eight specific types of opportunity or reward, across each of the three broad domains of graduate education, teaching in academic departments, and research. Professional women were asked an additional set of eight items within a fourth domain of administrative opportunities, wherever they could claim any relevant experience. The control sample of professional males was posed the same set of items across the four domains, but was asked to judge the degree to which women, in their observation, encountered discrimination on grounds of sex. Few female graduate students would have had academic teaching or research experience, so that the items in these two domains were asked in a prospective vein, while the items on discrimination during graduate training in political science referred to past personal experience, as they did for adult professionals as well. The control sample of male graduate students was given a comparable set of items addressed to their perceptions of points at which women are likely to experience discrimination. We shall give our main attention to a summary index of the intensity of perceived discrimination for each of the 23 items asked in common of all four samples, as portrayed in Table 1.

Table 1 Variations in Perceived Discrimination by Career Aspect and Sample^a

MALE PROFESSIONALS	FEMALE PROFESSIONALS	FEMALE GRAD. STUDENTS	MALE GRAD. STUDENTS
		—2.12—	
		JOB CONSIDERATION	
		—2.06—	
		PROMOTION	
		—2.00—	
		TEACHING APP'T.	
		—1.94—	
		—1.88—	
		SALARY	JOB CONSIDERATION
		—1.82—	
JOB CONSIDERATION		TENURE	
		INITIAL RANK	
		—1.76—	
		TEACHING APP'T	
		—1.70—	
TEACHING APP'T		—1.64—	
		—1.58—	
		DECISION-MAKING	
		—1.52—	
		FRINGE BENEFITS	PROMOTION
		—1.46—	
SALARY	JOB CONSIDERATION	Placement Service Grant Application	
		—1.40—	
		TENURE	
		—1.34—	
	SALARY	—1.28—	
PROMOTION			SALARY
	TEACHING APP'T	—1.22—	
TENURE			INITIAL RANK DECISION-MAKING Placement Service Grant Application
	PROMOTION	—1.16—	
Grant Application		Secretar. Assist. Financial Support	
INITIAL RANK	Placement Service	—1.10—	
		Financial Support	
	Financial Support	—1.04—	
	INITIAL RANK	— .98—	
		Journal Public. Comm. Press Publ. Research Time	Later Profess. Inter. FRINGE BENEFITS
Financial Support		— .92—	
	TENURE	Profess. Support Later Profess. Inter. U. Press Public.	Grad. Admission Secretar. Assist. Dep't Admission Profess. Support Research Time Comm. Press. Public.
Placement Service DECISION-MAKING Grad. Admission	DECISION-MAKING	— .86—	
Profess. Support FRINGE BENEFITS Later Profess. Inter.	Later Profess. Inter.	— .80—	
	Profess. Support Grant Application FRINGE BENEFITS	— .74—	
Secret. Assist.		— .68—	Degree Candidacy Journal Public. U. Press Public.
	Research Time Secret. Assist. Teaching Fellow	— .62—	
		Teaching Fellow	
Dep't Admission Comm. Press Public. Research Time		— .56—	
	Grad. Admission Exams, Thesis	Exams, Thesis Degree Candidacy	Teaching Fellow
Teaching Fellow Journal Public.		— .50—	
Degree Candidacy	Dep't Admission Degree Candidacy	— .44—	
		Exams, Thesis	
U. Press Public.		— .38—	
	Journ. Public. U. Press Public.	— .32—	
	Comm. Press Public.		
Exams, Thesis		— .26—	

^a The full items which were posed for rating in terms of "degree of problems . . . felt . . . because of . . . sex" were as follows:

For graduate instruction: "Standards for admission to graduate school"; "Standards for admission to your graduate department"; "Financial assistance, scholarships"; "Candidacy to advanced degree"; "Performance expected in examinations or thesis"; "Conduct of undergraduate or discussion sections"; "Placement service"; "General support of professors"; and "Follow-up interest of professors."

FOR TEACHING: "CONSIDERATION OF JOB APPLICATIONS"; "APPOINTMENT TO TEACHING POSITIONS"; "INITIAL RANK ASSIGNMENT";

"PROMOTION"; "TENURE"; "SALARY"; "FRINGE BENEFITS (e.g., TRAVEL AIDS, LEAVES, SECRETARIAL ASSISTANCE)"; "PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL OR DEPARTMENTAL DECISION-MAKING."

For research: "Grant or fellowship applications"; "Secretarial assistance"; "Allowance for research as part of 'load'"; "Leave of absence or other research arrangement"; "Publication in professional journals"; "Publication by University presses"; "Publication by commercial presses."

For each of these items the respondent was invited to indicate whether sex-related problems were "blatant", "moderate", "slight", or "none" if relevant to the individual. Items are located in according to mean responses to the item based on simple integer scores (0-3).

Two marked patterns are obvious in the most cursory scanning of these perceived discrimination reports. First, across all four samples, reports of discrimination are much more prevalent for the domain of academic teaching than they are for the other two areas of graduate training and research. Among female graduate students, for example, the eight items which rank highest of 23 in perceived discrimination are exactly the eight items in the teaching battery. The situation is nearly as clearcut for the other three samples, with five to seven of the eight teaching items appearing at the top of each group's list. The two other domains of research and graduate training trail about equally far behind teaching in their overall levels of perceived discrimination.

A second gross feature of these data is a marked "generation gap" in reports made by the four samples. Graduate students are more likely to perceive discrimination along sex lines than their post-graduate elders. The difference between the two male control samples is limited, but it becomes very dramatic between the two female groups. Graduate student women give much higher reports of perceived discrimination than either of the other three samples. On the other hand, women who are practicing as political scientists are even *less* likely overall to report discrimination by sex than either of the male control groups.

Several points should be kept in mind in any interpretation of these broadest features of the data. Where women students are concerned, for example, the high concentration of discrimination reports in the teaching area has a peculiar conceptual status. Few if any of these graduate women can be reporting discrimination in the teaching area from their own immediate experience, for they have not as yet entered the academic marketplace or taken on normal professional teaching roles. Indeed, in the one domain where graduate women can claim personal experience—the area of graduate instruction—reports of

discrimination are quite limited. In the aggregate they outrun only slightly the parallel reports made about graduate instruction by the other three samples, and even this difference arises mainly because graduate women give high reports of discrimination for the one item in the graduate-training set which fewest of them have yet encountered—their ultimate treatment at the hands of the university placement service, again an integral part of the academic marketplace. Therefore there is a sense in which the graduate women's reports about the teaching area are more nearly apprehensions than "felt discrimination."

However, it would be quite wide of the mark to dismiss these apprehensions as groundless. For one thing, these graduate women are mainly located at large academic institutions with graduate training facilities, and our study, as well as others, shows that women are even more sharply underrepresented in the faculties of such institutions than they are in the profession as a whole. This fact in itself could justify a fair degree of apprehension. Moreover, it would be unwise to consider the low reports of felt discrimination in teaching roles that come in from older women with first-hand experience as a completely accurate gauge of reality. As we have emphasized before, our sample of professional women is not merely a glimpse at the set of graduate women some years later. They are the subset of onetime graduate students who have "made it," and we have systematically lost from view their peers of earlier years who were less successful. If discrimination along sex lines does constitute serious discouragement to the pursuit of careers in political science among many women, then comparable reports of felt discrimination provided by our missing set of "dropouts" could be expected to run a good deal higher than among the remaining successful practitioners.

We have, of course, no firm way of "proving" this kind of supposition. However, there is certainly internal evidence in the data that women who have built more or less successful adult careers in the discipline are indeed a select group. Moreover, it is quite possible that they are not fully appreciative about the degree of winnowing along sex lines that does occur. As suggested above, our sample of male political scientists is more likely to report discrimination against their female teaching colleagues than those colleagues themselves report. While we should bear in mind the likelihood that males responding to our questionnaire are probably more sympathetic to problems of female status than the majority who did not respond, there is no reason to imagine this self-selection bias would be greater toward sympathetic men than it would be toward the more aggrieved among the women. Moreover, these male political scientists are by and large the "gatekeepers" of the discipline, and could be expected to have the most direct and realistic view of the processes which surround the passing of the gates. Many departmental gate-keeping committees are all-male, and it would not be surprising if, when a stray female does sit on such a committee, explicit discriminatory postures may be suppressed. What strikes our eye in the data is the simple fact that reports of discrimination by sex provided by the male practitioners most clearly outrun those of their female colleagues at exactly the most crucial "gatekeeping" points in each of our three domains: school admissions, where graduate education is concerned; consideration for teaching jobs, the awarding of teaching items; and in the matter of grant applications, where the domain of research is involved.

For all of these reasons, the apprehensions of female graduate students about treatment in entering and maintaining teaching jobs cannot be discarded lightly. Even were they totally groundless, the apprehensions themselves are real enough, in the sense

that they would be likely to have real effects in building discouragement from the kinds of long-term planning and perseverance required to develop a coherent career. If these apprehensions could be shown to be "objectively" groundless, then the A.P.S.A. would have some responsibility to publicize the evidence in order to allay fears and prevent discouragement. If, on the other hand, the fears have some grounding, then other kinds of remedial action need to be developed.

Consensus on Areas of Discrimination

For purpose of policy selection, therefore, the crux of the issue comes to lie in the "objective" parts of the study, and we will find them of some illumination. However, it is worth stressing that the contours shown by the perceived-discrimination materials taken alone alleviate some of the burden of proof which would otherwise remain with the objective materials. This is true because the differential patterns of perceived discrimination across our four samples are rather dwarfed by the entirely remarkable level of consensus as to the points where discrimination by sex is most and least likely to occur along the stages of career progress. If we take all 23 items rated in common by all four samples and establish their four separate rank orders of discrimination severity, then there are six possible pairs of rankings across the four groups that may be examined for their congruence. Taking a measure of rank-order correlation (Spearman ρ) as our index of agreement, the lowest of these six possible correlations is .84; the highest is .96; and the mean of the six coefficients is very close to .90.⁵ The degree of consensus as to where discrimination is more or less of a problem is truly massive within the discipline.

⁵ Moreover, the nature of the data is such that Pearson correlation coefficients would run visibly higher still.

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Such consensus is important for a very simple reason. In the classic form of litigation about discrimination, the aggrieved party alleges that discrimination has occurred in some specific decision, and the decision-maker retorts that the decision was based instead upon other more universal criteria. At this point the issue is joined as to whether the plaintiff is charging discrimination as some form of defensive fantasy, or has in some more objective sense been discriminated against. Thus the central problem is to disentangle perception and reality. This does not, however, seem to be the chief problem within the discipline. Despite possible abiding disagreement between the sexes as to the absolute levels of discrimination that pertain, there appears to be very little disagreement concerning the points at which such discrimination as exists tends to concentrate. For purposes of setting priorities among various remedial policies—a main goal of our Committee—this fact greatly reduces the premium that would otherwise have to be placed on objective demonstrations of greater or lesser discrimination here or there.

Let us therefore take more detailed note of the broad lines of agreement across the four samples. All quadrants of the discipline appear to see discrimination against women as centering not only within academic teaching, but more especially in the gateways that represent access to standard teaching roles. Discrimination against women with regard to the "consideration of (teaching) job applications" is rated highest of all the 23 items in every one of our four sample groups. The closely related item of "appointment to teaching positions" runs second or third on all lists. If responses of our male professional sample can be taken as any "inside view," it may be significant that these two items stand quite far above the other 21 in their ratings of discrimination. Moreover, within the domain of nine items focussed on graduate education, the "placement service" tends to be singled out by far the most

frequently for criticism of discrimination (it is the first of nine graduate instruction items for three of the samples, and a close second place for the male professional sample). This strong and consensual focus on the gates to conventional teaching positions has meshed well with other information available to the Committee, and has been important in developing its sense of priorities for remedial action.

Without obscuring this central fact, however, some other points of agreement as to the locus of discrimination are worth brief consideration. In addition to problems at the starting point, later hurdles in departmental career progress for practicing teachers also receive relatively high reports of discrimination. Salary, promotions and tenure tend to occupy three of the five or six ranks just below job consideration and successful appointment for all of the sample groups, and "initial rank assignment" follows rather closely. Female professionals place discrimination in salary in second place on their 23-item lists, and seem to sense less discrimination surrounding the granting of tenure or initial rank assignment than the other three samples see or anticipate. Of the eight teaching items, only "participation in school or departmental decision-making" and "fringe benefits (travel aids, leaves, secretarial assistance)" are accorded quite modest discrimination ratings, although it should be mentioned that in absolute terms, female graduate students continue to show high levels of apprehension about both of these items.

Where graduate instruction is concerned, the item concerning receipt of "financial assistance and scholarships" tends to run a rather close second to treatment by the placement service on most lists, and surpasses it for first place among male professionals. Virtually all of the other graduate education items—including such things as school and departmental admission, the establishment of candidacy, standards expected on theses or examinations, the conduct of teaching

fellow roles and informal professorial support—are given significantly lower discrimination ratings, although there is some consensus as to third place in the instruction hierarchy: many of our respondents place “follow-up interest of professors” in this position, an item again related to subsequent gateways to academia.

Within the final domain, that of research, “grant applications” tend to run well ahead of the other five items on the list within all four samples and especially, as we have seen, among male professionals. Once beyond grant applications, the other research and publication items draw only very limited criticism for three of the samples. However, graduate student women express at least moderately high levels of concern about encountering discrimination in professional journals, or University and commercial presses. Unlike some of the other apprehensions of graduate women that received some support from male professionals, this anxiety is shared nowhere else, and least of all among the male and female professionals with some experience in publishing. This may well be a point at which the graduate women’s apprehensions are indeed quite exaggerated, and suggestive of the ways that discrimination by sex may be feared on one hand, and actually exercised on the other. Graduate women tend to anticipate that they may be discriminated against wholesale in their adult professional roles, as though most males in the discipline were generically hostile to any intrusion on their part. Yet this view may be quite overgeneralized. When a woman presents some intellectual *fait accompli* such as a manuscript, it is likely that most males will examine it against universal criteria, even without the safeguards of anonymity frequently provided in the publication review process. This kind of judgment is quite different from that involved in the academic job market, where both recommendors and hirers tend to proceed much less in terms of accomplishments in hand, but rather on the basis of long-range estimates as

to perseverance and accomplishments that might be expected of a candidate in future decades. It is here that males are likely to depend heavily on the kind of conventional sex-role assumptions that systematically downgrade women as prospects.

However all this may be, any summary of the perceived discrimination materials must emphasize that concerns across all four samples tend to focus in common upon areas that could hardly be called peripheral. Indeed, if we were to ask some independent judge to single out those items of our 23 that are most crucial for career progress in each of the domains of graduate instruction, teaching and research, it seems very likely that the items so chosen would also be those where the reports of discrimination are most prevalent.

Let us turn to see what kind of fit there may be between these perceptual materials and what can be learned more objectively about the relative status of women at the two career phases.

The Status of Women in Graduate Instruction

There are many aspects of the graduate instruction process that bear on student welfare but lend themselves only poorly to “objective” measurement and comparison. Thus, for example, it would be difficult to develop indices of the general supportiveness of professors or their follow-up interest in students on bases other than the reports of the clients themselves, along the lines of the perceptual materials in the preceding section. Similarly, performance expectations with regard to exams, teaching fellow roles, or thesis preparation are largely intangibles difficult to monitor on any independent grounds.

Nevertheless, two aspects of student welfare do permit more objective scrutiny. The first is the gateway to the process itself: admission to a department of political science as a bona fide graduate student.

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The second is the nature and amount of financial assistance made available to facilitate study. Both admission and support are limited "goods" which attract more claimants than can be supplied, and thus selective distribution is involved. And both leave relatively tangible records of the results of competition. Therefore we shall focus in this section on the relative status of current graduate women in these two regards. First, however, it is useful to say some introductory words about our male and female samples of graduate students. Male students were deliberately undersampled, with an eye to providing no more than a small "control group." Therefore they differ widely in size, with only 94 effective cases of males, as against some 635 women. Internally, however, the samples are somewhat less distinctive from one another on many "objective" characteristics than we had expected. Thus, for example, since a wide majority (70%) of our graduate women are or have been married, we thought that they might report an uncommon amount of disruption of and part-time engagement in their graduate careers. When we asked "Have you experienced any major discontinuities (over a year in length) that have affected the development of your major career?" some 33% of women responded in the affirmative. However, 29% of the male control sample made the same reply, suggesting that in this graduate cohort at least, intrusions such as military service make roughly comparable inroads on normal career development, whatever subsequent discrepancies may pertain in the institutional facilitation of a return to studies. Furthermore, somewhat indirect materials bearing on part-time engagement in graduate training indicate that currently there are not wide differences between the sexes in this regard either.

We were also interested in how males and females were distributed across different types of graduate schools, with particular

emphasis on ratings of university quality.⁶ Once again, however, sex differences are remarkably slight. While there may very well be marked differences in the sex ratio of graduate students across various individual departments of political science, there is no systematic progression in this ratio when departments are grouped in gross classes across the school quality range. Indeed, the distribution of male and female students jointly by school quality and incidence of personal career discontinuities are virtually identical.

The two samples do differ quite clearly with regard to one characteristic of high relevance to our current inquiry, however. Although we lack any detailed information on individual qualifications for graduate work such as Graduate Record Examination scores or undergraduate grades, we did ask respondents to enumerate any special academic honors they may have achieved, typically although not exclusively at the undergraduate level. When these reports of honors are grouped into coarse classes, it is clear that our graduate women can claim visibly more than their male peers (Table 2).

Since differences of this kind might be expected to have a strong bearing on the outcome of competition for berths in the better graduate schools, as well as for the more desirable forms of financial support, we shall keep them in clear view as we proceed.

Graduate Admission. We asked our respondents for the number of graduate schools to which they had applied, as well as the number where they were accepted. We also asked them to single out the five

6 It would have been useful for the purposes of this study to have had available ratings of the specific quality of various departments of political science. When in this report we refer to "school quality", however, we refer to overall ratings of universities and colleges based on a combination of A.A.U.P. data on levels of faculty salary, and assessments of the "demonstrated academic potential of the student body, as provided by James Cass and Max Birnbaum in *The Comparative Guide to American Colleges* (Harper and Row, 4th Edition, 1969).

Table 2 Past Academic Honors Received by Graduate Students

	Women	Men
Top Honors: Phi Beta Kappa (usually accompanied by graduation with various high degrees of distinction)	21 %	8 %
Moderate Honors: Graduation with honors; Membership in undergraduate disciplinary honorary societies, etc.	30	24
No Honors Reported	49	68
	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>

graduate schools which had been of greatest interest to them, with the acceptance or rejection outcome for each. Since we can attach quality ratings to most of the schools involved, we are able to make estimations as to levels of aspiration and levels of success by individuals in the graduate admission process.

The average graduate student in our samples had applied to only about three graduate schools (mean of 3.17 for males, 2.93 for females). Exactly 36% of both male and female samples had applied to only one school, and the slightly higher application rate among males overall was due to one enterprising fellow who applied at 37 schools. If he were set aside, women would have been slightly more diligent about applications than men, but the differences are entirely trivial. Men turned out to be accepted at 81% of the schools to which they applied, and women at 76%. Women were, on the other hand, more likely to apply at higher-quality schools than men, and some differences in this direction still remain even after the higher incidence of past honors (as in Table 1) is controlled away.

One derived measure which we expected to be rather central to our analysis of admissions involved the average quality of accepting schools (success level), expressed in proportion to the average quality of target schools most interested in (aspiration level). This measure turned out, however, to be almost amusingly inert, taking a value of about .96 for the most

diverse subgroups. To some degree, such an outcome is foreordained by the fact that most aspirants are accepted at most places they apply: the competitive aspects are less keen than we first imagined. However, its sheer inertia does have some interest, for there are fairly marked individual and group differences in level of aspiration. Thus, for example, men and women with Phi Beta Kappa keys apply on balance to a much higher cut of graduate schools than people without such credentials; they are, however, more likely to be accepted at such graduate schools as well, so that the success rate remains quite constant.

Table 3 Aspects of Graduate Application and Admission, by Sex and Past Academic Honors

	Mean Quality, Schools Applied of Greatest Interest to Candidate		Mean Quality, Schools where Candidate was Accepted	
	Women ^a	Men ^a	Women	Men
Top Honors	4.72	4.73	4.52	4.53
Moderate Honors	3.90	3.70	3.71	3.55
No Honors	3.92	3.89	3.72	3.68

	Ratio of Number of Schools Accepted to Number where Applied		Ratio, Mean Quality Schools Accepted to Schools Applied	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Top Honors	.873	.896	.961	.956
Moderate Honors	.857	.827	.953	.966
No Honors	.823	.853	.959	.964

^a The women's observations are based on about 545 cases without missing data on some contributing variable; the effective male observations are about 81.

In Table 3 we summarize some of the main results of our examination of graduate admissions by sex. It is difficult in the extreme to generate much excitement about sex discrimination from these findings: the differences are everywhere small and well within sampling error. On the other hand, it is true that only a rather faint breath of suspicion has been attached to the graduate admissions process by our respondents of both sexes and ages in any event (Table 1). Therefore it is worth moving directly to a consideration of financial support in graduate training, an item which, aside from the placement service, attracted as much criticism as any among the various aspects of graduate instruction canvassed.

Financial Support. We collected rather detailed information concerning the financial bases on which our graduate student respondents had operated during their training up to the time of the interview. These data were expressed as proportions of total expenditures, and included various kinds of fellowships, scholarships, assistantships and traineeships, as well as "private" support from own earnings, the spouse, parents, and other sources. While some of

the details are of interest, we shall limit our attention here to three main types of support. The first represents the true prize: fellowships and scholarships that carry no work obligations. The second involves financial support gained in return for various labors that are at least training-related: teaching and research assistantships and the like. The final level is recourse to private support.

The support picture within our graduate samples varies widely both at the individual level in terms of credentials ("past academic honors") and at the institutional level in terms of school quality. Phi Beta Kappas at what is roughly the upper quarter of graduate institutions with regard to school quality have drawn well over half of their support from attractive fellowships, and

Table 4 Financial Support for Graduate Training, by Sex, Honors and School Quality

FEMALE	TOP HONORS				MODERATE HONORS				NO HONORS			
	School Quality				School Quality				School Quality			
POSTGRADUATE	Low	Med.	High	TOTAL	Low	Med.	High	TOTAL	Low	Med.	High	TOTAL
Fellowship	23.6%	45.8%	56.2%	50.3%	19.2%	22.1%	46.8%	28.0%	12.9%	22.7%	36.5%	23.7%
Assistantship	14.6	20.4	15.0	16.9	26.6	16.7	10.7	17.4	24.6	28.6	11.6	22.5
Own Resources	61.8	33.8	28.8	32.8	54.2	61.2	42.5	54.6	62.5	48.7	51.9	53.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(11)	(39)	(77)	(128)*	(40)	(80)	(52)	(188)*	(73)	(129)	(87)	(297)*
MALE												
POSTGRADUATE												
Fellowship	b	b	b	50.0%	b	b	b	19.6%	1.5%	29.2%	46.8%	27.1%
Assistantship	b	b	b	47.1	b	b	b	15.8	13.0	26.1	23.8	16.3
Own Resources	b	b	b	2.9	b	b	b	64.5	85.5	44.7	29.4	56.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N				(7)				(22)	(10)	(18)	(20)	(62)*

* Totals include some cases with missing data on school quality.

b Inadequate case numbers.

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must turn to private resources for only about one-quarter of their subsistence. Students who do not claim past honors, enrolled at schools of the lower half in quality, only get a bit more than 10% of their support from fellowships and must fall back on private resources for nearly two-thirds of it. The general trends here are not surprising, although the magnitude of differences does suggest the importance of equal access to the best facilities for people of equal ability.

The central financial support comparisons, with the most important mediating variables taken into account, are displayed in Table 4. There are somewhat larger differences by sex in this table than appeared in Table 3, although the directions remain thoroughly mixed. Men with the strongest background credentials appear almost completely subsidized, whereas top women must use significant private resources. However, the number of male cases is very small, and in any event women in this category do equally well where the most desirable sources of support are concerned. Women of intermediate honors levels do significantly better than males of comparable credentials. Among the most numerous cases in the "no honors" category, women fare slightly worse than men, although here again differences are small and within sampling error. All told, including a number of other explorations beyond the results shown in Table 4, there seems to be very little case for systematic differences in the bounty of graduate subsidization between men and women. Women actually fare better than men overall, as they should in a rational system that rewards credentials. When their superior credentials are controlled away, sex differences nearly vanish.

Thus at each point in the graduate instruction process where objective comparisons are available to us, it is hard to find much cause for alarm. We should keep in mind that we have only surveyed here those women who have already survived the first serious professional hurdles into graduate school, and it is possible that a

significant winnowing has already occurred along sex lines at those gates. However, the women within our field of view have thus far shown few signs of lack of competence or enthusiasm. It certainly cannot be said that their aspirations, by comparison with men, have been toned down to lower levels where choice of graduate schools is concerned (Table 3). Nonetheless, they do express strong apprehensions about their future chances. To evaluate those apprehensions, we must turn to "the future just past."

The Status of Women as Professional Academics

Ideally, we should look next at the gateways into adult teaching roles, and more especially since those gateways are perceived as the points where discrimination by sex tends to concentrate in the discipline. As we have explained, however, the limitations of our design make any close inspection rather difficult. Clearly the adult female professionals who gave us questionnaires represent only a remnant of women who once did graduate work in political science. As one modest symptom of that attrition, the proportion of women with Phi Beta Kappas proceeds from 21% in our graduate sample to 37% among our practicing professionals. On the other hand, the fact that the parallel progression between our male samples is from 8% to 35% serves to remind us that substantial attrition occurs everywhere. In point of fact, our examination of adult professionals will provide us some indirect view of the differential workings of placement service and initial job consideration. However, we shall start our review with the less complex matter of faculty salaries, also a sore point in the materials on perceived discrimination.

Our male and female professional samples are somewhat more balanced in raw size than was the case for the student samples. We are dealing with 386 cases for the women, and 145 for the men. About 20% of both samples are either not working or are

Table 5 Types of Institutions where Academic Professionals Are Located, by Sex

		Women	Men
PUBLIC*	Undergraduate & Graduate	52.5%	57.0%
	Undergraduate Only	6.1	9.6
PRIVATE NON-DENOMINATIONAL	Coed Undergrad & Graduate	12.4	16.7
	Undergraduate Only	2.7	3.5
	Not Coed Undergrad & Graduate	1.7	0.0
	Undergraduate Only	3.4	3.5
PRIVATE DENOMINATIONAL	Coed Undergrad & Graduate	5.4	7.0
	Undergraduate Only	10.4	2.6
	Not Coed Undergrad & Graduate	2.0	0.0
	Undergraduate Only	3.4	0.0
		100.0%	100.0%

* Public institutions represented in our sample are almost exclusively coeducational.

located in nonacademic institutions, however. Since our primary focus in this portion of the report is upon the relative status of women in standard academic roles, we shall restrict our attention to the 310 women and 116 men with working connections to academic institutions.

The distribution of these academic professionals by types of institution, as shown in Table 5, implies somewhat less radical sex differences than folklore would typically suggest. However, there are optical illusions on both sides that help to explain the difference. It is clear, for example, that the sex ratio in the kinds of political science departments represented in the last three rows of Table 5 must be dramatically different from that which pertains in large public and non-denominational schools, even keeping in mind that women academic professionals are a small minority overall in any event. And the casual observer tends to think of academic institutions as somewhat equal units, even though it might take the combined faculties of thirty small schools of the type near the bottom of Table 5 to match the faculty size at a single giant institution. Thus his sense of what goes on at "colleges" he knows is likely to overweight

the situations of the smaller institutions.

More intensive examination of the deployment of our two samples shows that women professionals are indeed heavily concentrated at smaller schools, in a degree even beyond that which Table 5 already implies. Thus, for example, within the set of academic professionals at public institutions with graduate schools (row one of Table 5), the average size of institution is visibly smaller where women are concerned. On the other hand, there is a good deal less than perfect equation between size and quality, and while males are on balance more likely to populate the higher-quality institutions, quality differences tend generally to be less impressive than those associated with institution size, due in no small part to a number of small but prestigious schools that are or have until recently been restricted to women students.

Table 5 might be thought to have a good deal of bearing on problems of differential job placement of men and women, and of course it is not irrelevant to that issue. However, inferences should not be made from it too lightly. Academic professionals whose institutional characteristics are known to us

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show exactly the same proportion of men and women who are Phi Beta Kappa, but members of our male sample are somewhat more likely to have completed their doctorates (82%, as against 73% for women).⁷ People of both sexes without doctorates tend to pile up in undergraduate institutions, and some—although not all—of the raw differences in proportions of men and women at these institutions can be traced directly to this fact. Other special circumstances of this kind affect the relative deployment of men and women, and we shall postpone further comment on placement until a later point.

Now that we have some initial familiarity with our two professional samples, let us turn directly to the issue of comparative salaries. Taken in raw form, the sex differences in salary are quite shocking. Our academic males report an average annual gross salary of \$17,000.⁸ The parallel figure for our academic women—all of them employed—is only \$10,500, or less than five-eighths as much. However, there is a host of mitigating circumstances that must be taken into account before comparisons become at all meaningful. The first and most obvious is that some part-time salaries are included in these reports for both men and women, but their incidence is much higher among women. Less than 6% of our academic males have part-time appointments, whereas the figure is a full 30% among the academic women. If we limit ourselves to full-time women, then the average annual salary increases to \$11,820. If we drop the handful of academic males who are part-time, however, average income among the remainder is less: \$16,560, instead of \$17,000. Clearly there is not much similarity in the part-time syndrome for academic males and females. The part-time

academic male tends to be “moonlighting”: he has some other job in business or government, and maintains a partial academic location either for diversion or for supplemental income or both. The part-time woman typically holds no other position in the labor force, so that her total income is truly a partial wage and visibly below that of her full-time sisters.

In any event, the gap between the salaries of full-time academic males and full-time academic females is somewhat narrowed, but still remains substantial. From this point on we shall limit our attention mainly to full-time academic personnel of both sexes. We do so with hesitation because many women in the profession—nearly one-third of academics—find themselves, by choice or otherwise, in part-time employment, and any full view of the status of women in the profession would be obliged to take their positions, which tend to be severely disadvantaged, into account.⁹ However, we have little choice but to reduce our focus at this point to full-time academic women because we wish to talk of the status of women relative to that of men, and so very few men in our sample are part-time (N of 7) that they provide no adequate basis for further comparison.

Among the set of full-time academics, women continue to differ from men in other background characteristics that help to “explain away” their lower annual income. We have already noted that women are less likely to have completed their doctorates, and this holds true for full-time people (77.5% of women, but 83.5% of men). The women in our sample also report less discipline-related professional work experience than comparable full-time academic males. Part of this latter difference is due to the fact that the women’s sample is, for whatever reason, considerably younger

7 Again, it would be unwise to take these figures for doctorate completion as representative of abiding sex differences. The proportion of our female professional sample which was thirty years of age or less at the time of the study is about 10% greater than is true of the male professional sample. Thus when these younger cohorts have run their course a little longer, the differences in proportion of completions is likely to narrow at least somewhat.

8 All of our average salary figures are estimated from data originally grouped in nine income classes.

9 In view of the fact that we had earlier discarded about 20% of our female sample not in academic positions, the further discard of women who are part-time or whose time fraction was not ascertained sharply reduces our field of view to about half of the women in the original sample.

Table 6 Annual Incomes for Full-Time Academic People

	WOMEN		MEN
	Ever Married	Never Married	
With Doctorate	\$11,683	\$14,709	\$16,950
(N)	(95)	(44)	(81)
Without Doctorate	\$ 9,145	\$ 9,110	\$14,700
(N)	(29)	(10)	(16)

than the male sample. Part of the difference on the other hand springs from the fact that the item tapping work experience asks for "full-time equivalent" years, so that a woman working half-time for 10 years would only have accrued the equivalent of five years of full-time experience.

Nonetheless, taking some of these further factors into account still leaves a rather substantial income difference between the sexes, as Table 6 suggests. This table gives more than a little hint of the cash value of the doctorate for both sexes. Moreover, by splitting apart women according to whether they have ever been married or not, it helps to isolate a set of never-married women whose career lines can be expected to have been as continuous as those of men, and whose professional work experience therefore should be little excuse for decreased salaries. More detailed controls on years of professional work experience (not shown) still leaves women possessing doctorates short an average of about \$3,750 a year relative to comparable males, and the contrasts are greater among those without a doctorate. In both instances, a rather intriguing pattern of income discrepancies begins to emerge. The smallest income differentials are those at the beginning of the career (less than 3 years of professional work experience, for example). The difference between the sexes expands very rapidly during the early middle years of the career (about 3-10 years), and then shrinks somewhat again thereafter.

Even though Table 6 takes quite a number of relevant male-female differences into

account, it fails to consider one of the more important determinants of salary and promotion, the degree of research productivity. Victoria Schuck, examining articles published in leading journals in the discipline, programs of annual meetings and the like, has suggested that on most indices of professional activity men seem to produce at rates two to four times greater than those displayed by women.¹⁰ If differentials of this magnitude were to hold between otherwise comparable groups in Table 6, it might become somewhat difficult to argue that the income differences are more than the systematic outcomes of a non-discriminatory incentive structure.

We asked our respondents for enumerations of their publications, including number of articles published (book reviews aside), books published, unpublished papers presented at professional meetings, etc. The gross results accord reasonably well with the less direct Schuck estimates, despite the different data base. Taking all academics, for example (not merely full-time), women report an average of 2.56 published articles, while men report an average of 5.54, for a ratio of slightly more than two to one. In order to express more fully the range of possible intellectual products, an index was created giving each unpublished paper a weight of one; each published article a weight of two; and each published book a weight of eight. All academic men showed an average of 22.0 on this index, as compared to 9.9 for all academic women, again almost the same ratio.

¹⁰ Victoria Schuck, *op. cit.*

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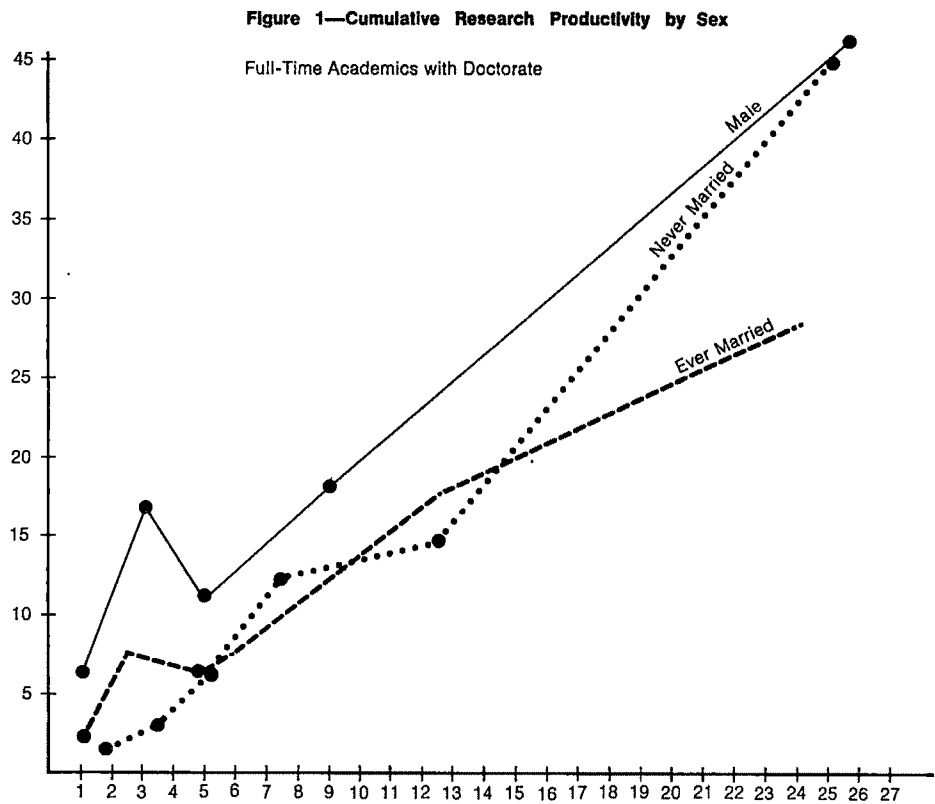
Needless to say, it is important to bring other considerations to bear on these publication data, such as the greater frequency of part-time status among women, fewer years of professional work experience and the like. However, even with these other factors controlled, men seem to outproduce women by a factor of roughly two to one.

Most intriguing are the data which track research productivity as it cumulates for men and women by years of professional work experience. The initial differences favor the men but are fairly small. In the early middle years, male productivity leaps far ahead of that for comparable women. In the later period, however, women regain some portion of the lost ground, although they never catch up to men in the aggregate. In other words, this is exactly the same temporal pattern that we already noted for the

evolution of sex differences in income over the years of the career.

What causes this early lag in productivity among women, compared to their male peers? At first glance, the answer might seem obvious: the early career years are also the central child-rearing years, a fact which would easily account for a lesser concentration on research during this period. However, such an hypothesis would not be relevant for academic women who have never married, and it is easy to verify whether an early lag or dropping out differentially characterizes the productivity record of women who have been married.

Somewhat to our surprise, Figure 1 (limited to full-time academics) shows no confirmation whatever of these expectations. Beyond minor sampling wrinkles, women of both



marital statuses appear to produce at much the same rates, and consistently lower than men, over about the first half of the normal career. Moreover, the later gain in cumulated productivity which women achieve relative to men is not, as we fully expected, due to the latter-day freedoms gained by married women after their children gain self-sufficiency or leave home. Instead, it occurs almost exclusively among the set of women who have never married, and whose careers have therefore been more similar to those of males from the outset.

Hence the productivity lag is not so easily explained, and we must look elsewhere to account for it. Before we do, however, let us for the moment take the gap in productivity as a given and ask in what degree it accounts for sex differences in income. With very stringent controls on our "index of professional visibility" (the weighted index of books, papers and articles), average male income continues to outrun that for women among full-time academics. The differences are necessarily smaller than those in Table 6, averaging less than \$1,400 for the "never married" women with doctorates, and about \$3,600 for women who are or have been married. When the lesser years of female professional experience not already reflected in productivity differences are taken into account, the unexplained gap in income by sex diminishes slightly further, but remains fairly consequential.

To summarize, then: while at first glance it appears that academic women only receive about 60% of the remuneration given to academic men, a variety of factors including part-time work for females, lesser degree completion and slower research productivity account for a significant portion of the income differences. Nevertheless, there remains an income decrement for females relative to males who are comparable to them in a wide range of regards. It is particularly marked for women who have married, but appears to be present even for women who have never married and whose career trajectories are thus most like those of their

male colleagues. Such women in the profession seem to receive only about 90% of the income given comparable males.

In any assessment of this kind there is always the possibility that further unmeasured factors exist which could account for the remainder of the differentials in income by sex without invoking blatant discrimination. There is, for example, some slippage in academic incomes arising from the frequent option to remain on an academic or research payroll during the summer months, thus increasing annual salary by a factor like two-ninths. It could be argued that women may be less likely to take such an option than men: married women might avoid the arrangement to be with children home from school, and unmarried women without dependents might feel less economic pressure to continue work in the summer. On the other hand, the summer option is much more likely to be available in large schools than in the smaller institutions where women tend to be assembled, so that it becomes a moot point whether summer supplementation of salary is an equally free choice for men and women. Unfortunately, we failed to collect information on the availability or the use of such an option, and cannot evaluate its effects here.

Nevertheless, as far as we can carry our inquiry there remain significant differentials by sex in annual incomes after a wide variety of extenuating circumstances are dutifully taken into account.¹¹ Certainly the evidence for discrimination in this domain holds up much more convincingly than anything we have seen with regard to the objective facts of graduate instruction. Hence the relatively frequent perception of discrimination registered among professional

¹¹ This includes some factors we have not mentioned, which were examined but discarded because they failed to account for much sex differentiation. People with undergraduate honors (Phi Beta Kappa) tend to receive better placements and draw higher incomes, other things equal. However, among full-time academics the sex differences in such past honors are trivial. Similarly, it is true that women tend to teach at smaller academic institutions, a factor that might seem to account for lower salaries. However, among the set of full-time males there is remarkably little correlation between institution size and salary.

women where salary is concerned (Table 1) has considerable claim to an objective basis.

Promotion. We shall deal in more cursory fashion with rates of promotion, since much the same sequence of argumentation as we have presented for salary pertains again here. The academic women in our sample are distributed at lower ranks on the whole than are the men. However, their more frequent part-time status must be taken into account, along with the several other factors. Considering only academics with full-time appointments who currently possess a doctoral degree, Table 7 provides a rough estimate of some of the time lags in promotion that women appear to encounter relative to men. Again we see the pattern of small initial differences which widen markedly and then diminish at least somewhat toward the end of the process.

Table 7 does not, however, make any effort to control for higher male research productivity during the early middle years when rank is relatively "elastic". When such controls are levied the differences in Table 7 naturally diminish somewhat, but are not completely removed. Overall, it seems likely that some of the watchdog functions of the A.A.U.P., which proceed without regard for sex, may help to minimize disparities in rank, particularly for full-time academics with lengthy service. In the initial career stages, however, the early spurt of male productivity helps to produce substantial if temporary discrepancies in ranks. However, there is in addition some early discrepancy

which remains unaccounted for and must be seen to be, as with salary, a potential symptom of discrimination.

Initial Placement. At this point we have two residual concerns, with a strong possibility that they may be related. We have not as yet considered the objective facts surrounding initial placement, as best they may be seen in our limited data. We also have failed to explain, up to this point, why academic women seem to lag in research productivity in the early years relative to the track record of male academics. The possible relationship is that if women received particularly unfavorable initial placements, it might account for an early lag in productivity as well. We shall close this report with some consideration of these possibilities.

We collected a very limited amount of data concerning the respondent's first job, including its academic status, full or part-time nature, and the rough distribution of time allocations to research, teaching and other kinds of activity. The obvious hypothesis is that women are downgraded in the initial placement process, ending up in undesirable academic locations with heavy teaching loads and few research opportunities. Until they can find better positions, their productivity is necessarily limited.

When we consider the balance of time reported for research and teaching in connection with the first job, we do indeed find differences between men and women which run in the general direction predicted

Table 7 Apparent Lags in Promotion for Full-Time Academic Women with Doctorates

	Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Full Professor
Most rapidly-promoted 25%	—	—1.5 yrs.*	—5.5 yrs.
Most rapidly-promoted 50%	—	—3.0 yrs.	—3.6 yrs.
Most rapidly-promoted 75%	—1.1 yrs.	—5.4 yrs.	—

* This cell entry means that the first 25% of a cohort of full-time academic women to be promoted to associate professor arrive at this point after about 1½ more years of professional experience than the first 25% of a cohort of full-time academic males.

by the hypothesis. However, they are very small differences at best. For example, males currently in academic jobs report that their first jobs demanded 57% of their total work time be given over to teaching, with 26% available for research. Women currently in academic jobs, on the other hand, report that their first jobs involved an average allocation of 60% of their time for teaching, with 20% available for research. It is hard to imagine that differences as limited as this could account for a male productivity which in these early years outweighs female research output by a margin of three or more to one.

Nevertheless, women express much lower levels of satisfaction with their first jobs than do men. The difference in feelings about the initial placement are even more marked among those men and women who currently boast doctorates, despite the fact that sex differences in the research-teaching balance of the first jobs are even smaller here than those cited above. Clearly there are significant problems in initial placements received by women that are not expressed by the relative proportions of work time available for research.

Some part of the extra dissatisfaction of women with their first jobs is fairly easy to trace. Of those married women now possessing doctoral degrees, a full third had only part-time jobs at the outset (as opposed to 8% of comparable males), and there is some tendency for early dissatisfaction to be concentrated among these part-time academic wives. We have no way of determining whether the part-time nature of the first appointment was a matter of choice for the married woman or a last resort. However, the dissatisfaction with the placement strongly suggests that it was not chosen for the "flexibility" provided, and the limited contact with the discipline may well account for sparse research output in the earlier professional years.

However well these pieces may fit together, they cast no light on the situation for the majority of women with full-time initial

appointments and competitive proportions of research time, who also show less satisfaction with their first jobs than men, as well as lagging publication rates. Since women generally tend to be placed in smaller academic institutions, as we have seen, it is rather surprising that the sheer proportions of research time available to them match those for males as nearly as they do. However, it is possible that our measure of time proportions open for research fails to capture a variety of other factors at smaller institutions, including limited research facilities, collegial stimulation, and competitive pressure, which contribute both to job dissatisfaction and low research output among women.

While it is plausible that small-school placement has some causal implications for research productivity, we have the additional evidence from Figure 1 that unmarried women, who bulk large among those with initial full-time appointments, do regain significant publication ground on their male counterparts in later years. If these women had initial placements in small schools but then migrated in substantial numbers to larger schools as time wore on, the functional association between initial placement in small schools and early lag in research output would become quite compelling. However, signs of such migration are not noteworthy: the relative publication rate among these older women seems higher despite continued small-school locations.

There are at least two effects which undoubtedly contribute to this seeming relative spurt in female productivity in later years. The first is somewhat ironic where discrimination by sex is concerned. While both male and female academics achieve some reduction in their teaching loads as they advance in rank and professional experience, older males are at the same time drawn off increasingly into administrative activity. In one sense, these career paths of males may signify a further form of discrimination against women. On the other hand, many would consider this selection toward administration at the very most a mixed

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blessing, and women may actually profit from it in relative research productivity.

The second source of the late spurt seems reasonable but remains speculative. There is reason to believe from other work on the problem that women continue to drop out from academic careers well after the completion of a degree and initial participation in postdoctoral teaching roles. Some of this dropping out may well arise from personal factors and be independent of variations in the professional situation. Nonetheless, it would be entirely reasonable to assume that dropout rates would also be relatively high among women whose early job placements are unfavorable, either because they are part-time or in some other sense lack promise for career development or intellectual growth.

This aspect of the winnowing process would progressively withdraw from our view the women of lower demonstrated research productivity. The older survivors in the discipline would then tend to show higher rates of productivity not because of any individual spurts in output, but because of simple "composition effects."

Whether unfavorable initial placement does or does not account for the early lags in research output among women, the fact remains that women do show a very distinct lack of enthusiasm about the first jobs they received in the discipline. Given the levels of talent that seem to mark the cohorts of graduate women, the disappointment in itself constitutes some indictment of the processes involved. While our study could not be designed for the kind of longitudinal tracing necessary to follow these processes in any incisive way, the central role of initial placement as a special problem for women receives some documentation here.

Summary

By and large, there seems to be a very satisfying fit between the perceptions of discrimination abroad in the discipline among both males and females, and the objective

evidence we have been able to develop on the basis of our survey. In a nutshell, we have found only limited concern about discrimination on grounds of sex within the graduate training process taken alone, and our objective materials fail to display signs of any marked discrimination at this stage as well. On the other hand, there seems to be substantial suspicion of discrimination in the workings of the academic marketplace and in career progress for women in conventional college teaching roles. Although our study design was not tailored to address biases in the initial placement process, it is clear that the transition from student status to adult teaching roles is not a pleasant experience for most women, and the prospective alarm felt by current cohorts of graduate women cannot be lightly dismissed. Moreover, while it is true that virtually no "objective" evidence for discrimination can be considered absolutely unequivocal, there are decrements in both the annual incomes and promotion progress of women teaching in political science which cannot readily be attributed to other obvious factors than sex itself.

While there are obviously other principles involved than sheer efficiency, it might be observed that these patterns taken as a whole are not impressively "rational." If substantial investments are being made in providing something approaching equal graduate training for women, that portion of their subsequent underutilization which is not a matter of volition on the part of the women themselves seems an unequivocal waste.

In sum, both the consensus in the discipline as to points where sex discrimination is most likely to be found, as well as the match between these perceptions and more objective calculations, seem to present a sufficiently coherent picture that priorities for remedial policies are not hard to establish.

The 1970 APSA Elections

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The annual election for officers and members of the Council of the American Political Science Association took place between November 2 and 23, 1970, with results reported in the Winter, 1971, issue of this journal. Voting was for one President-elect, three Vice Presidents, one Secretary, one Treasurer and eight members of the Council. There were two candidates each for President-elect, Secretary and Treasurer, five for Vice President and sixteen for Council. These candidates were nominated and supported by a variety of groups and three of these groups—The American Political Science Association nominating committee, the Ad Hoc Committee and the Caucus for a New Political Science—fielded complete or virtually complete slates.

This report is an analysis of some of the patterns in the voting. We have worked with constraints, however. Since we received only ballots for the candidates, we were unable to analyze voting on constitutional amendments and resolutions or to look at candidate voting patterns in conjunction with voting patterns on issues. Secondly, there was the limitation inherent in any secret ballot; it was not possible directly to relate voting patterns to attributes of the voters. Thirdly, we did not receive the ballots until early April, 1971. Carding and analyzing them took so much time that we were not able to do all that we had planned.¹ Thus this article is a great deal less comprehensive than we would have liked.

We propose to compensate for the limitations caused by time by continuing our research and releasing it in the form of a Special Study. This Special Study will be available to interested persons, and will be automatically mailed to people whom we feel are particularly likely to be concerned. We intend to make the Special Study something of a

continuing process. As followers of Sir Karl Popper, we believe that knowledge grows not because investigators are objective, but because the discussion process is objective. Thus, anyone who wishes may write in criticism of our procedures or in presentation of an analysis of his own. We intend to reproduce most such comments, together with any reply which we may have. This material will be distributed to the people who receive the original Special Study. This will be an easy, albeit not very prestigious, publication for those who are worrying about perishing.

The American Arbitration Association reported having received 8,559 ballots of which 173 were void due to insufficient identification, duplication or late posting.² Our count indicated 8,392 ballots or six more than the total number of valid ballots reported by the AAA. This discrepancy is less than one-tenth of one percent and need not concern us. Our totals for specific candidates also differed from the official figures by margins ranging from two to ninety-nine votes with a median of fifteen. *None of the outcomes were different*, however; if anything, they were more fully confirmed. Somewhat more than half of the ballots were keypunched and verified directly. Consistency checking turned up no errors. The others were coded, then keypunched and verified. Inconsistencies were found by the key-puncher in about twenty-five cases and were corrected. A random sample of one-tenth of the coded ballots included no errors. We are reasonably confident of our counts, therefore, and would recommend that machine counting be used in the future.

Turning to the actual analysis, the most striking feature of the ballots was one noted by Mueller in his study of the 1969 election. "The ballot data disclose on the part of the voters a degree of idiosyncratic behavior of electoral doings and undoings, that would never be expected even in the most careful

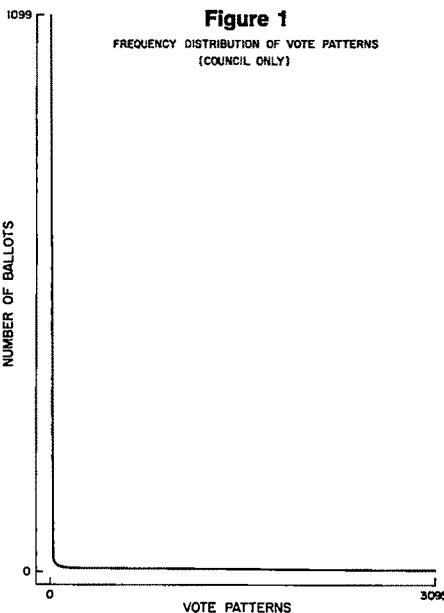
1 Data processing and analysis were supported by the Department of Political Science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. We greatly appreciate the programming assistance and helpful comments of Rodney Eslinger and Bruce Klein.

2 Margaret U. Carlson, "1970 APSA Election Results," *PS* (Winter, 1971): p. 48. See Tables 7 and 8 for our counts.

Table 1 Number of Ballots by Popularity of Voting Pattern

Voting Pattern	Whole Ballots	Council Only
Unique Ballots	4,260	2,301
Ballots whose patterns have 2-14 voters each	1,407	2,548
Ballots whose patterns have 15 or more votes each	2,707	3,527
Ballots which have a surfeit of votes for Council or for Vice-Presidents	18	16
Total	8,392	8,392

and imaginative investigation of the austere aggregate results."³ As can be seen in table 1, once again the members of the APSA behaved in a highly individualistic manner. The data for the Council race only are plotted in figure 1. The patterns of votes are arranged from left to right in declining order of frequency with the number of votes for each pattern shown on the vertical scale. The closeness with which the line hugs the axis is quite remarkable. It would be even closer for data on the whole ballot.



3 John E. Mueller, "The Political Scientist Decides: An Examination of the 1969 APSA Ballots," *PS* (Summer, 1970): p. 320.

This unusual distribution, not easily indicated by the aggregate data, raises wider implications. Much empirical work in political science has employed aggregated voting data, of a sort which would not lead even an imaginative scholar to hypothesize as much individualistic voting behavior as we have found in the APSA ballots. Perhaps the underlying reality in national politics is as diverse as it is in our association. This would appear to be a readily researchable problem and we feel that it would repay attention.

It is easy to over-emphasize the individualistic nature of the voting, however, if individualism is assumed to mean randomness. Almost 40% of all ballots were voted either as one of the three straight tickets or as straight but one. If one takes the race for Council only, 50% of all ballots were virtual straight ticket votes. (A virtual straight ticket is one which includes all but one candidate on a ticket; the eighth vote may not be used or may be given to any one of the other candidates on the ballot.) Notes to tables 7 and 8 show that a sizeable proportion of unique ballots were virtual straight ticket votes. But other reasonable patterns such as candidates endorsed by the Caucus but not also by the APSA nominating committee, those endorsed by both the Ad Hoc committee and the APSA but not by the Caucus, only those whose sex was female, those nominated by no organization, etc., were represented. Given the large number of permutations possible, it is perhaps surprising that there were not even more unique ballots.

Table 2 Straight Ticket Voting

"Party"	Council Only	Whole Ballot
Ad Hoc	1,099 (13.1%)	954 (11.3%)
Caucus	948 (11.3%)	569 (6.8%)*
APSA	282 (3.4%)	175 (2.1%)
Totals	2,329 (27.8%)	1,698 (20.2%)

* Straight Caucus voting is taken to mean the inclusion of Victoria Schuck for Vice-President although the ballot lists her supporters as Ad Hoc Committee and Women's Caucus. If she is excluded, only 175 ballots (2.1 percent) voted straight Caucus. These 175 may be added to the 569 listed above if one wishes a third, and looser, definition of straight Caucus voting.

The number of straight ticket voters is given in table 2. We believe that it is impossible to say much about trends on the basis of these and last year's figures since several factors appear to be working simultaneously. When considering Council only, the number of devotees to Ad Hoc committee and Caucus seem about equal although the Ad Hoc committee does better on the whole ballot. This is also true when one looks at deviations from straight tickets. Table 3 shows the number of voters who deviated from straight tickets by one, two, three and four votes and table 4 gives the same data cumulatively. Of course, the further down the table one goes, the more difficult the interpretation since the deviations from the tickets begin to overlap. This is especially true for the APSA ticket and others, since the APSA ticket attempts to balance candidates of the various factions.

Given the limitations of our data, we were forced to concentrate on the relative strength of "parties" in the association. Here again, our results were not greatly different from Mueller's. In addition to the three major tickets, other groups endorsed or nominated candidates, but the primary race was between the Ad Hoc Committee and the Caucus. The aggregate results in tables 7 and 8 indicate a race in which the Ad Hoc Committee came off well and the Caucus was not so successful. In each of the races in which Ad Hoc-APSA candidates ran directly against Caucus candidates, the latter were defeated and soundly so in two of

the three cases. No Caucus candidate who did not have APSA nominating committee backing was elected. The reality was infinitely more complicated, however.

Table 3 Deviation from Straight Tickets
(based upon whole ballot)

Straight but:	APSA	Caucus*	Ad Hoc
0	175	569	954
1	203	538	741
2	271	401	555
3	555	289	613
4	1,810	318	754

* Schuck is included in Caucus as well as Ad Hoc tickets.

Table 4 Cumulative Voting for the Tickets

Straight but:	APSA	Caucus*	Ad Hoc
0	175	569	954
1	378	1,107	1,695
2	649	1,508	2,250
3	1,204	1,797	2,863
4	3,014	2,115	3,617

* Shuck is included in Caucus as well as Ad Hoc tickets.

Some of the more popular deviations from the recommendations of the parties are listed in tables 5 and 6. All voting patterns which were chosen by fifteen or more voters for the entire ballot are shown in table 5 and for the Council only in table 6. Some candidates were excluded from their tickets much more frequently than were others. For example, Alger and Converse do not appear in the tables at all; i.e., voters of the popular patterns neither excluded them if voting APSA or Ad Hoc nor included them if voting Caucus. On the other hand, names such as Schuck, Robinson and Press appear frequently.

Robinson was nominated by the APSA nominating committee and was endorsed by the other two major groups. He received the highest number of votes of any of the Council candidates, but as can be seen from table 8, all but 39% of these came from

Table 5 Voting Patterns (Whole Ballot)

Pattern	Number of Votes	
Straight Ad Hoc	954	(11.4%)
Straight Caucus with Schuck	569	(6.8%)
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Press	214	(2.6%)
Straight Caucus without Schuck	175	(2.1%)
Straight APSA	175	(2.1%)
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson	103	(1.2%)
Ad Hoc, excl. Schuck, incl. Spitz (or Ad Hoc for Council; APSA otherwise)	56	(0.7%)
Caucus, excl. Schuck, incl. Davis	45	
APSA, excl. Spitz, incl. Schuck	38	
Caucus, excl. Schuck, incl. Banfield	36	
Ad Hoc, excl. Schuck	36	
Ad Hoc, excl. Schuck and Robinson	36	
Ad Hoc, excl. Schuck and Robinson, incl. Press	35	
Caucus, excl. Schuck and Spitz	31	
Caucus, excl. Robinson, incl. Press	25	
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Rustow	23	
Ad Hoc, excl. Schuck and Robinson, incl. Spitz and Press	21	
Caucus, excl. Schuck and Robinson	21	
Caucus, excl. Robinson	19	
Ad Hoc, excl. Cohen, incl. Press	17	
Caucus, excl. Rustow, incl. Press	17	
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Mitchell	16	
Ad Hoc, excl. Tullock, incl. Press	15	
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Kettler	15	
Ad Hoc, excl. Greenstein, incl. Press	15	

straight or virtual straight ticket voters. Why large numbers of voters defected from their tickets to exclude Robinson can only be a matter of speculation. It could have been because he was black but this does not seem to have been a major factor with the other black on the ballot. Some voters may have believed that he was likely to win a seat anyway and put their votes onto other preferences. Perhaps the most convincing reason is that no matter which party one supported, Robinson was tainted by an enemy endorsement. APSA deviants (which would appear only in an extension of table 6) did not exclude Robinson nearly so frequently as did Ad Hoc, and to a lesser extent, Caucus voters.

Victoria Schuck was nominated by the Women's Caucus and by the Ad Hoc committee; but at the end of the business meeting a member of the Caucus for a

New Political Science announced that she was supported by that organization as well. As far as we can discover, the Caucus for a New Political Science never mentioned Miss Schuck as its candidate in its electoral literature and it did not, of course, arrange to have itself listed on the ballot as supporting her. After the election, however, she was listed as one of the "Caucus-endorsed candidates (who) won office."⁴ The difficulty of deciding whether we should count Schuck as being on all three tickets or being only Ad Hoc and Women's Caucus was compounded by the sexual prejudices of most members of the Caucus for a New Political Science. Most of them would tend to vote for a woman under almost any circumstances. Since the Caucus was shown on the ballot as nominating only two

⁴ Ed Malecki, "Letter to the Editor," *PS* (Winter, 1971): p. 96.

Table 6 Voting Patterns (Council Only)

Pattern	Number of Votes	
Straight Ad Hoc	1,099	(13.1%)
Straight Caucus	948	(11.3%)
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Press	324	(3.9%)
Straight APSA	282	(3.4%)
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson	157	(1.9%)
Caucus, excl. Robinson	51	(0.6%)
	51	(0.6%)
Caucus, excl. Robinson, incl. Press	44	
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Rustow	44	
Caucus, excl. Rustow, incl. Press	34	
APSA, excl. Kettler, incl. Greenstein	32	
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Mitchell	30	
Ad Hoc, excl. Patterson, incl. Rustow	29	
Caucus, excl. Card, incl. Press	28	
Ad Hoc, excl. Cohen, incl. Press	27	
Those endorsed by Ad Hoc and APSA, but not by Caucus	25	
Caucus, excl. Raskin, incl. Press	24	
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Kettler	24	
Ad Hoc, excl. Tullock, incl. Press	24	
Ad Hoc, excl. Greenstein, incl. Press	22	
Ad Hoc, excl. Patterson, incl. Press	21	
APSA, excl. Kettler, incl. Cohen	20	
Caucus, excl. Rustow	20	
Caucus, excl. Kettler	20	
Ad Hoc, excl. Patterson, incl. Mitchell	19	
Caucus, excl. Robinson and Rustow	19	
Ad Hoc, excl. Prothro, incl. Press	18	
Ad Hoc, excl. Cohen, incl. Mitchell	16	
Ad Hoc, excl. Cohen, incl. Rustow	15	
Caucus, excl. Kettler, incl. Press	15	
Ad Hoc, excl. Robinson, incl. Sibley	15	
Caucus, excl. Guzman	15	
Ad Hoc, excl. Tullock, incl. Rustow	15	

vice-presidents and the voter could vote for three, a Caucus voter, even if totally uninformed of the "endorsement" of Schuck, would be apt to vote for her. The question is whether she received these votes because of her endorsement by Women's Caucus or because of the endorsement by the Caucus for a New Political Science.

Of those voters who voted for every candidate formally listed on the ballot as representing the Caucus, 569 voted for

Miss Schuck and 175 did not.⁵ This is not as helpful as might be wished, but it at least indicates that there were some loyal members of the Caucus who never suspected that she would be claimed as a Caucus candidate. In a further effort to shed light on the question, we printed the votes for other candidates cast by those who voted for Schuck (see table 9). Once again, the test is hardly decisive, but the votes are closer to the Ad Hoc Committee than the Caucus. The

⁵ Ironically these 569 gave Miss Schuck her margin of victory over Spitz, the joint candidate of the APSA nominating committee and the Caucus.

Table 7 Ticket Voting for Non-Council Candidates

(*Caveat:* Data in this table are based on those in Table 6 and, therefore, refer only to those 2,707 ballots whose patterns were voted 15 or more times each. There are many other ways to vote a straight but one ticket and the data in this table account for only 69% of such Ad Hoc ballots, 62% of such Caucus ballots and 19% of such APSA ballots. In cases where it is difficult to distinguish APSA and Ad Hoc Votes, totals have been divided equally between the tickets, producing the anomaly of half votes.)

Candidate	Endorsement	Total Votes	APSA	Ad Hoc	Caucus	Other
<i>President elect:</i>						
Heinz Eulau*	APSA, AH, CR	4,716	251½	1,517½	—	2,947
Hans Morgenthau	C	3,548	—	—	938	2,610
<i>Vice-President</i>						
Edward C. Banfield*	APSA, AH	5,252	251½	1,517½	36	3,447
John A. Davis*	APSA, AH	4,589	251½	1,517½	45	2,775
Richard Falk	C	3,545	—	—	938	2,607
Victoria Schuck*	AH, W	4,885	38	1,372	630	2,845
David Spitz	APSA, C	4,530	175	77	907	3,371
<i>Secretary</i>						
Thomas R. Dye*	APSA, AH	5,523	251½	1,517½	—	3,754
Edward Malecki	C	2,607	—	—	938	1,669
<i>Treasurer</i>						
Donald R. Matthews*	APSA, AH	5,745	251½	1,517½	—	3,976
Ben Stavis	C	2,444	—	—	938	1,506

* Indicates winning candidate.

Note: The abbreviations in the "endorsement" column are as follows: APSA, the American Political Science nominating committee; AH, the Ad Hoc Committee; CR, the Committee for a Responsible Political Science; C, the Caucus for a New Political Science; W, Women's Caucus.

percentage of Schuck voters who voted for Eulau, for example, was higher than the percentages of all voters who did so. The matter cannot be said to be settled however, and we have dealt with it by various devices in the other tables.

It has been suggested that Press's presence in the race, as an independent, may have contributed significantly to the success of Caucus Council candidates.⁶ As can be seen from table 8, Press had more support among Ad Hoc backers than from members of the Caucus. It is certainly possible that had he not run, many of the votes cast for him would have gone to Ad Hoc candidates. We originally intended to test this possibility by a more complicated procedure. Unfortunately, we did not have time to carry out the necessary work before our printing

deadline, so we were compelled to turn to simpler methods. Table 10 shows how those who voted for Press voted on the other candidates. It is clear that his supporters were more commonly Ad Hoc supporters than Caucus voters. The difference, however, is not overwhelming, and we doubt that Press's absence would have lead to any change in those elected. This must be taken, of course, as a very tentative conclusion which we intend to subject to further testing.

Ralph Guzman was endorsed by both the Caucus for a New Political Science and the Chicano Caucus. Tables 6 and 8 indicate no particular influence that the latter endorsement had; neither did a table similar to those presented for Schuck and Press voters. It would be difficult to identify any influence that the endorsement of Heinz Eulau by the Committee for a Responsible Political Science had. Eulau did less well than the

6 Charles Press was nominated by Samuel Krislov and others and was endorsed by none of the three major groups.

Table 8 Ticket Voting for Council

(Caveat: The "ticket" voters for Council number 4,003 and represent those ballots that were straight APSA, straight Ad Hoc, or straight Caucus or were deviations from one of these by only one vote and that were of a pattern for which at least five ballots were cast. The inclusion of less frequently voted patterns representing other minor deviations from straight ticket voting would make small differences in the figures below; represented in this table are 90% of the straight but on Ad Hoc votes, 78% of the similar Caucus vote and 63% of such APSA votes.

Candidate	Endorsement	Total Votes APSA Ad Hoc Caucus Other as % of Total				
		Total Votes	APSA	Ad Hoc	Caucus	Other as % of Total
Chadwick F. Alger ^a	APSA, AH	4,536	510	2,035	—	1,991 (44%)
Emily Card	C	2,525	—	—	1,390	1,135 (45%)
Bernard C. Cohen	AH	3,587	41	1,967	—	1,579 (44%)
Philip E. Converse ^a	APSA, AH	5,206	515	2,033	45	2,613 (50%)
Fred I. Greenstein ^a	AH	4,019	67	2,001	36	1,915 (48%)
Ralph Guzman	C, CC	3,074	31	17	1,403	1,623 (53%)
David Kettler	APSA, C	3,421	437	34	1,387	1,563 (46%)
Joyce M. Mitchell ^a	APSA, C	4,505	496	103	1,403	2,503 (56%)
Samuel C. Patterson	AH	3,297	19	1,957	5	1,316 (40%)
Charles Press	Krislov	2,338	35	457	180	1,666 (71%)
James W. Prothro ^a	APSA, AH	4,949	529	2,002	46	2,372 (48%)
Marcus Raskin	C	2,731	5	5	1,392	1,329 (49%)
William P. Robinson, Sr. ^a	APSA, AH, C	5,271	499	1,441	1,279	2,052 (39%)
Dunkwart A. Rustow ^a	APSA, C	4,324	464	118	1,351	2,391 (55%)
Mulford Sibley	C	3,295	14	27	1,390	1,864 (57%)
Gordon Tullock ^a	APSA, AH	4,061	464	1,990	13	1,594 (39%)
Total Valid Ballots		8,375				4,373 (52%)

^a Indicates winning candidate.

Note: For definition of abbreviations, see Table 8; and CC, Chicano Caucus; Krislov, Samuel Krislov and others.

other candidates of the Ad Hoc-APSA in the dichotomous races, but this may have been directly related to the substantial reputation of his opponent in the profession. Incidentally, the difference between the divisions in the race for President-elect and in the races for Secretary and Treasurer were effected essentially by the "unique" or near unique voters. An extension of table 5 would have to go a long way before including many of the names of the six candidates in these three races.

On the basis of table 5, we prepared table 7 which shows the party sources of support for each non-Council candidate insofar as the patterns of fifteen voters or more can be classified by parties. Table 8 is based upon table 6, together with an extension of that table to include all ballots for Council which fell in patterns adopted by five or more voters. Voters who cast votes in these popular patterns were allocated to parties if they cast all, or all but one, of their Council votes for the given ticket. About 4,000 voters met these criteria, and the support given each candidate by each "party" is shown in table 8. From inspection, we can see that Ad Hoc endorsement is worth (in round numbers) about 2,000 votes from this group of 4,000 "committed" voters, Caucus endorsement is worth about 1,400 or more, and APSA about 500 or more. There seems to be a mild synergistic effect under which joint APSA-Ad Hoc endorsement produces somewhat more votes than the sum of their separate strengths. This effect, which is more prominent in the non-Council than in the Council voting, may well be a statistical artifact. In any event, it is not of major importance in determining the outcome.

About half of the total voters are represented in table 8, and this half is about half Ad Hoc. The Caucus has about three-eighths of these "committed" voters and the APSA nominating committee can count on about one-eighth. Although we have not as yet directly examined the remaining one-half of the voters, the more "individualistic" and less committed half, it is possible to

Table 9 Other Votes Cast by the 4,885 Schuck Voters

Candidate	Number of Votes
Eulau	2,946
Morgenthau	1,883
Banfield	2,964
Davis	2,687
Falk	1,763
Spitz	2,052
Dye	3,318
Malecki	1,492
Matthews	3,398
Stavis	1,419
Alger	2,809
Card	1,589
Cohen	2,458
Converse	3,149
Greenstein	2,645
Guzman	1,859
Kettler	1,725
Mitchell	2,502
Patterson	2,293
Press	1,343
Prothro	2,970
Raskin	1,559
Robinson	3,291
Rustow	2,207
Sibley	1,808
Tullock	2,602

deduce something about them by subtracting the votes shown on table 8 from the total of votes cast. Clearly those voters who defied classification in table 8 cannot have cast more than about one-fourth of their votes for the Caucus, and they must have cast much more than half of them for the candidates of the Ad Hoc committee. These estimates have the somewhat ironic consequence that the anti-establishment Caucus can only hope to win election of its candidates if it is successful in making a deal with the establishment, i.e., the APSA nominating committee. Only joint Caucus-APSA nominees have a chance against the Ad Hoc committee, and even then the situation is decidedly chancy. Of the four cases where a jointly nominated APSA-Caucus candidate ran against an Ad Hoc

candidate, two were won by Ad Hoc and two by the coalition.

Political scientists are indeed idiosyncratic in their voting, yet there is no doubt that being on a ticket is a good thing for a candidate and being on more than one of the tickets is an even better thing. Being on the APSA slate and also endorsed by the Ad Hoc committee is perhaps the best thing of all—if one wishes to win. Nevertheless, by their behavior, political scientists appear to want an association open to a variety of opinions and informed by scholarship.

Table 10 Other Votes Cast by the 2,338 Press Voters

Candidate	Number of Votes
Eulau	1,398
Morgenthau	895
Banfield	1,551
Davis	1,357
Falk	871
Schuck	1,343
Spitz	1,303
Dye	1,743
Malecki	533
Matthews	1,790
Stavis	504
Alger	1,244
Card	508
Cohen	1,067
Converse	1,537
Greenstein	1,194
Guzman	772
Kettler	730
Mitchell	1,139
Patterson	1,060
Prothro	1,406
Raskin	507
Robinson	1,097
Rustow	1,022
Sibley	867
Tullock	1,108

A Caveat on the Analysis of the 1970 APSA Elections

Now here is the real story on the APSA ballots. The best predictor of success at the polls is the presence or absence of a middle initial on the ballot (reported in tables 7 and 8). The data are as follows:

		Fullness of identification	
Success score	+	+	—
	—	11	3 11

which gives a Kendall's Q of .91. A-t test on the mean votes for losers and winners gives a value of 3.52 which is significant at the .01 level. The Council candidate with the largest number of votes even used "Sr." after his name.

The story changes a little if one controls for party, however. Most of the Ad Hoc candidates fall into the upper left hand cell and most of the Caucus candidates are in the lower right hand cell; i.e., the Ad Hoc people, who do most of the winning, tend to use middle initials and the Caucus people, who lose more frequently, are less formal. Yet, the only Caucus candidates to win were exactly those who included their middle initials. Further, if Council votes are correlated with length of name, $r = .76$. It is possible that political scientists, having exhausted other criteria for decision making, ascribe honor to those replete with label.

C.L.T.

Voting Participation in the 1970 APSA Election

By Membership Category	Total Vote	Percentage Of APSA Members Voting		
Annual	4768	62%	Pennsylvania	448 64
Student	3586	58	Puerto Rico	10 50
			Rhode Island	48 70
			South Carolina	32 66
			South Dakota	16 66
			Tennessee	84 58
			Texas	261 62
			Utah	21 37
			Vermont	41 65
			Virginia	370 59
			Washington	133 69
			West Virginia	38 57
			Wisconsin	189 64
			Wyoming	6 85
Total	8354	60%	TOTAL U.S.	8026
By Sex			FOREIGN	328
Women	790	**		8354
Men	7564	**		
By State				
Alabama	45	64%		
Alaska	4	66		
Arizona	81	84		
Arkansas	9	40		
California	924	73		
Northern California	(379)	**		
Southern California	(545)	**		
Colorado	87	63		
Connecticut	167	61		
Delaware	24	70		
District of Columbia	423	47		
Florida	132	64		
Georgia	98	69		
Hawaii	37	50		
Idaho	12	54		
Illinois	417	59		
Indiana	212	69		
Iowa	77	62		
Kansas	91	74		
Kentucky	68	67		
Louisiana	54	59		
Maine	23	58		
Maryland	353	76		
Massachusetts	373	64		
Michigan	322	66		
Minnesota	151	70		
Mississippi	15	42		
Missouri	130	56		
Montana	16	66		
Nebraska	43	68		
Nevada	14	53		
New Hampshire	38	80		
New Jersey	230	63		
New Mexico	28	65		
New York	1043	55		
Upstate New York	(411)	**		
New York City	(632)	**		
North Carolina	136	55		
North Dakota	19	98		
Ohio	314	62		
Oklahoma	40	60		
Oregon	79	69		

*Compiled by the APSA National Office from data supplied by the American Arbitration Association; information on the 1969 APSA Election is contained in the special summer issue of PS, 1970, p. 613.

**Percentage cannot be calculated because figures on size of group are not available.

In Defense of the Assembly

Duncan MacRae, Jr.
University of Chicago

The draft constitution for the Association, presented to us by the Constitutional Revision Committee, responds to a widely expressed desire for assurance that our officers are representative of our membership. We live in a time of increasing demands on all of our institutions, including those of the APSA. An important purpose in devising workable democratic forms is therefore to insure that those who make these demands do not feel that they have been unheard because of biases in their institutions of government. Although this is not the only purpose of our constitution, it is an important one, and the central one that the framers of the proposed draft seem to have had in mind. I do not believe that this purpose can easily be attained by other alternatives before us, including our present constitution.

In the past few years there has been increasing concern on the part of various groups within the Association that they were not being adequately represented. Groups based on intellectual, ideological, ethnic, and geographic differences, as well as on differences of age or employment in various types of institutions, have felt this concern. The working of the present constitution may have allowed that concern to grow unduly. The President appoints half the Committee on Nominations, which nominates the next President, who appoints half the next Committee on Nominations, and so on. The Executive Director is a voting member of the Executive Committee but is not himself subject to election. A plausible case can be made that the Association might thus be controlled by a small elite that favored some group excessively. Electoral competition in recent years on the mail ballot has reduced the force of this argument but perhaps not eliminated it. Even if our officers actually served the general interest just as well under the present constitution as under the proposed one, they might still be suspect because of the way in which they were chosen. New guarantees—at least symbolic and perhaps real as well—seem necessary.

A change of focus from the Presidency to the Assembly is intended to bring this about, and is the major change proposed in the draft constitution. Those who favor this change need not prove that the officers elected under the new constitution *will* be more representative than those chosen in the past. It is only necessary that the membership be *assured* of their representativeness. A shift from executive toward legislative government, with removal of voting power from non-elective officers, seems intended to accomplish this. The proposed Assembly is in general terms a slightly larger Council with additional powers, nominated by a committee chosen more broadly than in the past. Its separation from the Presidency places it in a system of government roughly parallel to that of the United States, or to Fifth-Republic France.

Some critics of the proposed constitution favor the annual Business Meeting or the mail ballot as presently existing alternatives to the Assembly. Each has the advantage of being more directly democratic. The Business Meeting, however, involves a self-selected minority with a strong geographical bias, to judge from Evron Kirkpatrick's reports of the distribution of attendance at our previous annual meetings. Such a bias need not aid any particular ideological faction in future disputes; but it might give special influence to organizers of local forces, much as the Chicago Democratic organizations has played a special part in Democratic nominating conventions held in their city. The mail ballot goes to a less biased electorate, but sharply restricts the possibility of deliberation or combination of alternatives into coherent policies. This is why the mail ballot (with a proper electoral system) is appropriate for the election of officers, but dangerous if used for a long list of referendum-type propositions whose permutations may not always be completely consistent. The combination of particular proposals into coherent policies must be made by a deliberative body. The Council and the Business Meeting have performed this function to some extent in the past; but insofar as

they are considered unrepresentative by various groups in the Association, they will operate less effectively.

The proposed Assembly would seem to provide a greater assurance of representativeness than either the present Council or the Business Meeting. Like the Council, it would permit deliberation in a way that the mail ballot cannot. The decision procedures of the Assembly would differ from those of the mail ballot by permitting voting that is strategically calculated rather than what Farquharson has called "sincere" voting. The strategies in question might involve bargaining and aggregation of interests, as economists such as Buchanan and Tullock have suggested; or they might involve deliberation in view of moral principles, as Hallowell and Tussman have urged. Either of these processes requires a body smaller than the membership but representative of it. The proposed system would be representative rather than direct democracy; but rather than brandishing these phrases, we should think carefully what ends we wish to attain, beyond the mere working through of certain processes.

I am disheartened, not only by the diversity of criticisms directed at the proposed constitution, but also by the imprecision of the notions of democracy on which they rest, and the willingness of critics to sacrifice the entire draft for details alone. If the drafting committee seems to have indulged itself by deliberating in Puerto Rico, but produced a good draft, perhaps we should penalize the committee rather than penalizing ourselves by defeating their product. If the number of signatures required for candidacies is too great, this question can be decided separately without involving the main structure of the constitution. The same is true of Vice-Presidencies, the remuneration of the President, the publicity given the Assembly's actions, and other matters of similar importance.

What we now risk is that we may act out in our 1971 Business Meeting, and on the mail-

ballot questions that follow, the very deficiencies that our present constitution embodies. An overcharged agenda, made so by the increase of demands and a distrust of the Association's officers; a long list of questions moved to the mail ballot, without enough time and thought allowed to combine them into viable alternative policies; and a combination of opposition votes based on disparate considerations—these may well defeat the proposed constitution in much the same way as cabinets were defeated in the Fourth French Republic. Perhaps some members will gain the satisfaction of saying "no," and will thus be willing to live for a bit longer with our present constitution. But I fear that the same suspicion now directed toward the Constitutional Revision Committee will again be directed at the officers of the Association, and that the problems that led to the appointment of the committee will not disappear so easily.

If we succeed in defeating the proposed constitution through a combination of oppositions to its details, I fear that we shall have proved to any onlookers outside our discipline that we have little special expertness in the science of art of government. If so, we can hardly set an example for other professional associations in this respect, and still less for the polity at large. How can we then claim, as professional political scientists, to advise our government collectively on broad policies in which we have neither special qualifications nor special interest? The proposed constitution would limit our capacity to take stands on such policies. Perhaps such a constitutional prohibition is unnecessary. But prudence alone may lead us, as individuals, to hesitate before expressing our inexperienced views on national policy through the channel of the Association. To take such collective political stands is likely to accomplish little more than to draw the Association down into the arena of national political controversy.

Open Letter to Members of the Association Robert E. Lane, President

July 1971

Dear Colleague:

In this final letter I want to talk about the discipline and the profession—and the Association that serves them. Surely comments on “the state of the discipline” command an instant inattention by discriminating readers, but bear with me for a moment; I want to reveal a contrast between the agendas of our public controversies and what seem to me to be equally important issues which escape public attention, the hidden agendas of Association policies (and politics).

Education: Our public controversies deal with such things as an alleged Association neglect of the smaller or less prestigious schools and the neglect of teaching as contrasted to research. Quite properly so. The public discussion draws attention to grievance or inequities and our desires for the Association to do something about them.

But given the will to do something helpful how should the officers of the Association, the Council, and the Executive Director proceed? We could appoint another committee and, as things now stand, pay for one committee meeting. This committee could prepare a statement on teaching and the importance of community colleges. On matters of these kinds, we could introduce resolutions or endorse resolutions introduced by others and present them to the business meeting where, perhaps with modifications, they would be adopted. But then what? How do such actions reduce grievances? Who listens and acts on our committee reports and business meeting resolutions? How are things different after these actions have been taken?

No, I think there are only three actions that will reduce the grievances and remedy defective situations: (1) the development of Association *programs*, that is, institutionalized, relatively longer term, well staffed efforts to implement a policy (exchange information, examine cases, develop model programs); (2) serious studies by carefully selected scholars who are funded to permit them to give their time to a complex problem, and (3) national office implementation within existing staff capabilities, as illustrated by the work done this year to modify college and university anti-nepotism rules.

Responsible effective implementation of Association policies usually requires, under current low

dues and low income conditions, the discovery of outside resources. Hence in this area of education we are discussing, we have this year sought a major grant from the National Science Foundation for a program of improving undergraduate education and teaching; we are considering whether or not to submit a proposal for a study on the matching of graduate educational programs with market demand and social need; and we are looking for funds to implement our concern for academic freedom in the discipline. It takes about six months to develop a proposal (including gaining a consensus among concerned groups in the profession, finding the person who can write the proposal, getting it criticized, rewriting it) and often about six months for the foundation to respond. The behind the scenes discussion has to do with strategies of effective implementation, as well as priorities.

Journals and information exchange: The public controversies dealing with our two journals (APSR and PS) have to do with their contents, their backlogs, their referees—things of that nature. I think the *Review* is an excellent journal, (and *PS* is, too, although it needs to be expanded); but given the plural interests in our discipline there will always be criticism.

Within the more limited confines of the Association officers and editors and regional officers and editors, however, there is another controversy arising from another perspective. The *Review* receives over 420 manuscripts a year; it can publish only about 50. The *Review* also receives over 3,000 books for review; it can review only about 360. Since we cannot afford higher printing and mailing costs, the question arises: should we publish a separate book review journal, expanding our treatment of the literature with which we deal, and also allowing, in the vacated *Review* pages, a few more articles an issue? This would be possible by charging the membership a modest fee for the new book review journal and a larger fee to non-members, thus providing the funds to finance the expansion. There are two sides to the issue (would you be willing to pay for an expanded book review journal?) and its resolution is uncertain.

At the same time, wholly outside the reaches of public controversy, there has been developed a plan to help the regional journals with their business functions (soliciting advertising, library subscriptions, circulation overseas—if

they want this help) and to provide the regional memberships with more choice among the regional journals (through a consortium of regional associations). The Association could also help the specialized journals (like *Law and Society* or *Comparative Politics*) with their promotion, their advertising, and their business matters. The purpose of all of this would be to improve the information exchange process, reducing lost information, and making research more cumulative.

Finally, there is no public controversy about the abstracting and bibliographic facilities within the discipline; yet these are crucially important for both teaching and research. We are proposing a program to the NSF Office of Science Information Service, which, if funded, will permit the Association to improve the abstracting services. The curious thing is that there has been little articulate demand in our scholarly community for improving these services.

Manpower, recruiting, placement: The public controversies in the profession over Association policies in the manpower field have to do with elitism (the "buddy system" in recruiting), open listing, and programs for recruiting more Women, Blacks, Chicanos and others into the profession. The Association has responded with policies designed to encourage an open listing policy of positions available, supported resolutions for provisions for half-time study and employment for women, repeal of anti-nepotism rules, has developed and administers a Black Fellowship program, and hopes to expand such Fellowship Programs to Chicanos and others.

These have all been helpful, but consider the little discussed and rather pedestrian question of developing a better manpower information system, including an up to date *Biographical Directory*. This *Directory* is widely used by department chairmen to locate people with special fields, to find out where people are and what they have written. It is now five years old—the five recent classes of Ph.D.'s are not listed, including the growing number of young Black, Women and Chicano scholars in political science. Have we done the right thing in spending so much for referenda, committee meetings, and so forth, instead of developing better manpower information systems including directories? What have been the wastes in

inefficient, or less than optimal allocation of human resources?

The same kinds of contrasts could be drawn between the public controversies and the important behind the scenes issues in other areas. In public affairs, there is much public discussion of the "relevance" of our research, while the means of delivering relevant research findings to policymakers so that it can make a difference goes undiscussed. In governing the Association the powers of the business meeting are thoroughly ventilated, but the problem of changing the President and Council members from private scholars to disciplinary statesmen is little considered.

I don't know how to add to the current (and often useful) discussion of dramatic public problems some elements of these less dramatic but very important Association policies and implementations. But I think several things are clear: (1) the elected officers of the Association must take time out of their private lives to learn about and master discipline-wide perspectives and assume responsibility for presenting these perspectives to the membership; (2) all of us need to think strategically about how the Association can, through its central resources, improve the allocation of manpower, help universities and colleges with their educational problems, devise ways to improve and make more rational the information exchange in the discipline, make our policy-relevant research known to policymakers, and reduce inequities affecting our members; and (3) we need to tax ourselves more heavily for these hidden but vital services to the discipline, services whose benefits affect us all.

For the many letters I have received during the past year—many thanks.

Robert E. Lane

Report of the Treasurer, 1970-71

Donald R. Matthews
Brookings Institution

The fiscal affairs of the Association during the last year can be summed up in a single word—*crunch!*

A translation of this concept into dollars is presented in Table 1. Despite a substantial increase in income and twelve months of budget-cutting and tightening of financial controls, the Association barely managed to avoid the largest deficit in its history this year. How can this happen? The membership deserves an explanation.

The impact of this long-standing imbalance between services demanded and willingness to pay was first felt in FY 68-69 when the Association ran up a deficit of \$104,591. Last year the deficit amounted to \$192,320. At the end of the first quarter of this year it appeared that our deficit might amount to \$220,000, a rate which would have entirely exhausted the endowment fund of the Association in another two or three years. These reserves are not sacrosanct. But they do produce income. And they provide a financial cushion which permits

Table 1 Comparison of Income and Expenditures
FY 69-70 and 70-71

	FY 69-70	FY 70-71	Difference
Income	\$455,410	\$628,403	+\$172,993
Expenditures	647,730	774,679	+ 126,949
Difference	—192,320	—146,276	

Notes: Figures are for general operating fund. Income from grants (save staff salary and overhead items) are excluded as are direct costs of grant supported programs. FY 70-71 data are estimates based upon actual figures to May 1, 1971.

A Recipe for Financial Ruin—This year's financial problem has been in the making for some time (see Figure 1). Between July 1964 and the beginning of this year, the Association's expenditures increased, on the average, 35 percent each year. In part, of course, this has been the result of inflation. But many new and costly programs also were begun during these years—the Black Fellowship Program; *PS*; the activities of the Committees on the Status of Women, Blacks, and Chicanos; the Committees on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom, to mention a few. Broader membership participation in Association decision-making became the rule, but even this is costly in an organization with such a far flung membership. The airlines have been a major beneficiary of APSA "participatory democracy."

No provisions were made to finance these admirable innovations. The principal source of APSA's general operating fund is membership dues. These remained fixed from 1959 until this past fall. While expenditures increased by an average of 35 percent each year, the average rate of increase in income was only 14 percent per year!

the Association to respond quickly to new needs through temporary deficits without awaiting another dues increase (the narrow, 624 vote margin of last fall's dues increase did not suggest that this would be easy in the near future) or outside funding (increasingly difficult to obtain under present economic conditions). The

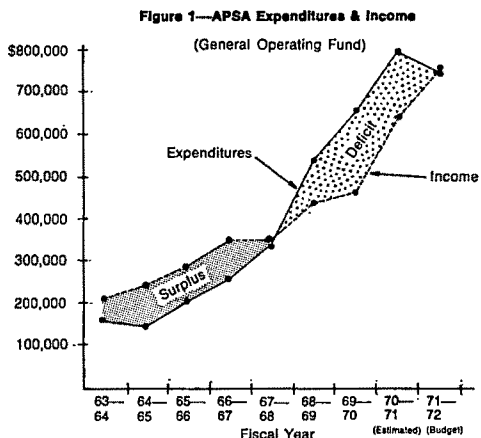


Table 2 Detailed Income Estimates

	FY 70-71	FY 71-72	Differences (\$)
<i>Membership</i>			
Regular	\$120,000	\$168,000	+48,000
Student	40,000	65,000	+25,000
Family	350	500	+ 150
Life	200	200	0
Institutional (APSR & PS)	125,000	130,000	+ 5,000
Total	285,550	363,700	+78,150
<i>Grants: Salaries & Overhead</i>	85,000	71,500	—13,500
<i>Annual Meeting</i>			
Preliminary Program	8,527	11,500	+ 2,973
Final Program	20,774	20,000	— 774
Registration	12,560	40,000	+27,440
Exhibits	24,550	25,000	+ 450
Total	66,411	96,500	+30,089
<i>Advertising</i>			
APSR	60,000	65,000	+ 5,000
PS	225	225	0
Total	60,225	65,225	+ 5,000
<i>Dividends and Interest</i>	40,000	40,000	0
<i>Sales</i>			
Back Issues	11,000	12,000	+ 1,000
Directories	1,200	500	— 700
Mailing Lists	16,000	16,000	0
Panel Papers	7,617	8,000	+ 373
Reprints	800	750	— 50
Departmental Chairmen Lists	1,400	3,000	+ 1,600
Total	38,017	40,250	+ 2,233
<i>Rent</i>	27,000	30,000	+ 3,000
<i>Royalties</i>	13,000	14,000	+ 1,000
<i>Personnel Service</i>	9,200	15,000	+ 5,800
<i>Miscellaneous and Contributions</i>	4,000	4,500	+ 500
Total	628,403	740,675	+112,272

prudent course seemed to be a sharp reduction in expenditures in order to conserve as much of our endowment funds as possible. Thus the Council at its December meeting instructed its Administrative Committee to reduce expenditures during the last half of FY 70-71 and to prepare a balanced budget for FY 71-72. The painful retrenchment was begun. The results of this process are presented in detail above.

Income: FY 70-71 and 71-72 Compared—Looking first at the income side (Table 2), the reader will note that dues generated almost half of

APSA's income this year—\$285,550. This sum, in turn, can be divided about equally between dues paid by individuals and institutional memberships, essentially subscriptions to the APSR and PS. While both charges were increased substantially this year, the short-run impact on Association income was less than we had hoped for. The new individual dues rate came into effect after last fall's referendum and thus were reflected only in billings sent out during the last half of the fiscal year. A number of libraries and institutional subscribers responded to the hike in rates by cancelling their

Report of the Treasurer, 1970-71

Table 3 Detailed Expenditure Estimates and Proposed Budget

Publications	Estimated FY 70-71	Proposed FY 71-72	Changes (\$)
A. APSR			
Printing	\$120,000	\$115,500	— 4,500
Salaries ^b	23,000	32,000	+ 9,000
Postage	11,400	14,400	+ 3,000
Book Review Ed. (Salary, misc.)	1,500	4,000	+ 2,500
Travel	3,500	3,500	0
Telephone & telegraph	1,700	2,000	+ 300
Stationery	1,500	1,500	0
Authors reprints (printing)	1,500	1,500	0
Office supplies	600	600	0
Furniture & equipment	400	400	0
Advertising	200	200	0
Miscellaneous	750	750	0
Total, APSR	166,050	176,350	+10,300
B. PS			
Printing	44,000	35,000	— 9,000
Editorial Board	1,353	0	— 1,353
Postage and handling	3,000	4,000	+ 1,000
Design	2,081	0	— 2,081
Miscellaneous	750	1,000	+ 250
Total, PS	51,184	40,000	—11,184
C. Other			
Cash Discount & Foreign Exch.	2,500	2,500	0
Ad Hoc Comm. on Publications	2,500	0	— 2,500
Ad Hoc Comm. on Abstracts	2,800	0	— 2,800
1970 Abstracts	0	1,500	+ 1,500
Total, Other	7,800	4,000	— 3,800
Grand Total, Publications	225,034	220,350	— 4,684
Annual Meeting			
Program printing	26,385	25,000	— 1,385
Program Committee	2,500	2,800	+ 300
General expenses	43,000	40,000	— 3,000
Salaries	8,800	9,000	+ 200
Total, Annual Meeting	80,685	76,800	— 3,885
Special Programs			
A. Professional Equality			
Comm. on Blacks	17,000	10,000	— 7,000
Comm. on Chicanos	5,300	1,000	— 4,300
Comm. on Women	11,000	1,000	—10,000
Black Fellowships	18,000	18,000	0
Total, Professional Equality	51,300	30,000	—21,300
B. Manpower			
Recruitment & Placement Adv. Comm., Newsletter	7,000	7,000	0
National Register	3,804	0	— 3,804
Salaries	13,600	8,500	— 5,100
Total, Manpower	24,404	15,500	— 8,904
C. Education^c			
Pre-Collegiate Comm.	2,100	0	— 2,100
Undergrad. Instr. Comm.	7,100	0	— 7,100
Total, Education	9,200	0	— 9,200
D. Ethics & Academic Freedom Comm.	4,000	1,000	— 3,000
Grand Total, Special Programs	88,904	46,500	—42,404

	Estimated FY 70-71	Proposed FY 70-71	Changes (\$)
Governing the Association			
Council	26,000	18,000	— 8,000
Elections	13,235	20,000 ^d	+ 6,765
Business Meeting	7,100	3,000	— 4,100
Admin. Comm.	4,000	3,000	— 1,000
Audit & Legal Fees	7,500	8,500	+ 1,000
Presidential expenses	1,600	2,000	+ 400
Constitutional Rev. Comm.	1,700	0	— 1,700
Nominating Comm.	600	1,000	+ 400
Elections Comm.	70	500	+ 430
Dept. Chairmen Comm.	900	0	— 900
Rules Comm.	500	500	0
Prog. Plan. & Review Comm.	175	0	— 175
Total, Governing the Assn.	63,380	56,500	— 6,880
Headquarters Functions			
A. Membership & Records			
Computer processing	14,000	15,000	+ 1,000
Salaries	25,491	27,000	+ 1,509
Equipment rental	1,200	1,400	+ 200
Total, Membership and Records	40,691	43,400	+ 2,709
B. Bookkeeping			
Salaries	19,200	21,000	+ 1,800
C. Sales, cost of			
Advertising, back issues, reprints	700	1,000	+ 300
Salaries	8,400	8,500	+ 100
Total, Cost of Sales	9,100	9,500	+ 400
D. Membership in other Societies	2,000	2,000	0
Total, Headquarters Functions	81,791	75,900	— 5,891
General Operating Expenses			
A. Salaries ^a	140,000	143,000	+ 3,000
B. Building			
Mortgage payments	10,000	10,000	0
Taxes (real estate & personal)	8,285	8,285	0
Repairs, upkeep	7,500	9,000	+ 1,500
Custodial salaries	10,800	11,500	+ 700
Utilities	4,800	5,000	+ 200
Supplies (bldg.)	1,800	2,000	+ 200
Insurance	700	700	0
Total, Building	43,885	46,485	+ 2,600
C. Equipment, Supplies, Admin. Expenses			
Postage	16,500	19,000	+ 2,500
Stationery, printing, mimeo, Xeroxing	15,000	15,000	0
Telephone and Telegraph	11,000	12,000	+ 1,000
Office Supplies & Services	8,500	9,000	+ 500
Staff travel	3,300	3,000	— 300
Miscellaneous	3,500	3,500	0
Admin. expenses	4,000	4,000	0
Total, Equip., Supplies, Admin. Expenses	61,800	65,500	+ 3,700
Grand Total, General Operating Expense	245,685	254,985	+ 9,300
Contingency Fund	0	9,600	+ 9,600
Total Expenditures, exclusive of grant-supported programs	774,679	740,635	—34,044

* = less than 1%

^a assumes publication of 1,328 pp. during year

^b all salary figures include taxes and fringe benefits

^c excludes grant programs

^d will be over \$20,000 figure if two referenda are necessary

^e Executive Director; professional and secretarial staff whose activities cannot be allocated to specific programs. Includes taxes and fringe benefits.

Report of the Treasurer, 1970-71

subscriptions. Next year, however, we shall be better off since the new rates for individuals will be in effect for the entire 12 months.

The second largest source of income during 1970-71 was staff salaries and overhead charges from APSA programs supported by outside grants (e.g., the Congressional Fellowship Program). It is not widely understood that these programs are major income producers for the APSA operating budget. Unfortunately several of these grant-supported programs are coming to an end. Unless we are successful in refunding them or starting new grant-supported programs, this source of income will be down sharply in FY 71-72.

Attendance at the 1970 Annual Meeting in Los Angeles was sparse by the standards of recent years—an unfortunately-timed drop in income from registration fees resulted. This year's meeting in Chicago should be far larger. Combined with increased registration fees, this should result in a sharp increase in income from this source.

The other income figures need little explanation—we anticipate only minor changes in all of them, except from the Personnel Service where increased activities combined with higher charges should result in more income during FY 71-72.

In sum, we expect our income to go up from \$628,403 this year to \$740,675 next year, an overall increase of 18 percent.

Expenditures: FY 70-71 and 71-72 Compared—
The details of the more painful half of the financial picture is presented in Table 3. A few comments upon the more important items seems desirable.

The most important single activity of the Association is the APSR. Despite increases in printing costs and postage rates and a desire more adequately to support the Offices of the Managing Editor and Book Review Editor, the Council proposes to hold the total costs of the *Review* at approximately the present level. How? By holding the size of the *Review* to approximately 332 pp. per issue. We cannot afford to do anything about "the backlog problem" next year.

The *PS* budget was cut in the midst of this

fiscal year, with the acquiescence of the Editorial Board, and will be cut still further in FY 71-72. The result: *PS* will have fewer pages next year.

The Association has led the way, compared to other academic professional organizations, in establishing programs to combat the effects of discrimination on the basis of sex, race and ethnic origins upon professional opportunities. The total cost of these programs this year equalled that of publishing *PS* or about one-third the cost of bringing out the *Review*, a heavy charge on our limited resources. The Council decided to continue the Black Fellowship program at its present level of funding but to cut back support for the Committees on the Status of Blacks, Chicanos and Women. Centuries of injustice cannot be set aright out of current income. The Association's strenuous activities in this realm can be continued and expanded only as outside funds are obtained to support them. So far, efforts to raise this money have been fruitless but there are grounds for cautious optimism that they will materialize soon.

The Council gave much attention to the costs of governing the Association which, at 8 percent of total expenditures, sounded high this year. The main saving reflected in next year's budget figure is the result of scheduling one less Council meeting next year. A very long ballot in this fall's referendum plus increased postage rates will up the costs of elections so much that this saving is largely wiped out.

While every effort has been made to allocate the costs of the headquarters staff to specific programs in this budget, it becomes impossible to do so when one person is involved in five or six different programs. The Association headquarters staff is too small to allow a great deal of specialization. The final category in the budget thus presents data on those headquarters expenditures which cannot be allocated to program areas.

Two items under "general operating expenses" deserve an explanation. Salaries of full-time personnel at the Association's office will go up 6 percent, on the average, next year. The local labor market, dominated by the Federal government salary scales, give us little option. However, part-time and temporary employees used in the past to help with peak work loads, will be entirely eliminated. The result is the total salary bill will go up by only 2 percent—

Table 4 Comparison of Income and Expenditures

FY 70-71 and 71-72

	FY 70-71 (estimate)	FY 71-72 (budget)	Difference
Income	\$628,403	\$740,675	+\$112,272
Expenditures	774,679	740,635	— 34,044
Difference	—146,276	+40	

Notes: See Table 1.

and the mail will not get answered as fast. The administrative staff has also been instructed to hold the line on office equipment, supplies, and the like. The small increase budgeted for next year in this item is the result of increased postage, telephone and telegraph rates.

In sum: our total expenditures of operating funds this year amounted to \$774,679. This will be reduced by 4½ percent to \$740,635 during FY 71-72. The budget is (precariously) balanced (see Table 4).

The Development of Budgetary Procedures—

In the course of wrestling with this year's financial problems, a budgetary system was developed which goes well beyond that of previous years. The task of drawing up a proposed budget was delegated by the Council to its Administrative Committee (consisting of the President, President-Elect, Treasurer and four Council members). The new by-laws of the Council require that the Administrative Committee's proposed budget be balanced. This proposed budget was presented to the Council by the Treasurer, and was subject to extensive discussion, debate and amendment. All amendments to the Administrative Committee's budget were considered to be only provisionally adopted until all items in the budget had been discussed and, if necessary, voted upon. At that time all motions acted upon favorably were aggregated into a single, omnibus

amendment upon which a roll call was held.

It would be less than frank to imply that these procedures always worked smoothly during the revision of the FY 70-71 budget at mid-year or the development of the FY 71-72 budget this spring. In particular, adequate consultation with committee chairmen and heads of other Association activities was sometimes lacking in the process of making budget decisions. This problem can and will be avoided in the future. No doubt improvements can and will be made in the modified program budget format developed this year, too. Suggestions for improvement are welcome.

*Investments—*A Finance Committee, chaired by the Treasurer, is charged with the responsibility of supervising the investment policies of the Association, although the portfolio of securities in the endowment fund are under the direct management of Loomis-Sayles Company of Washington, D. C. The endowment fund of the Association was valued at \$600,958.00 on May 30, 1971.

The issues regarding the Association's investment policies were thoroughly debated during 1968-69 and the Council then adopted a policy of avoiding "investments inconsistent with the pursuit of peace and of a democratic and humane social order." Guidelines to enable the realization of this objective were developed and Loomis-Sayles instructed to manage our funds accordingly. A list of securities owned by the Association was last published in *PS*, Spring 1971. Those who believe that any of the firms in which the Association has funds do not qualify under the terms of the Council resolution are urged to contact the Treasurer. A thorough review of investment policies in light of current conditions will be held this fall.

The Finance Committee was reorganized during the year, becoming a three-man committee of Council members. Under this arrangement, supervision of the Association's investments, and initiative in making investment policies, resides in the hands of a group thoroughly familiar with the overall financial status of the Association.

Balance Sheet and Auditor's Report—The Association's balance sheet, as of June 30, 1971, will be available at the Annual Meeting. The accounts of the Association are audited by Seidman and Seidman and their report may be inspected by any member upon request.

1972-73 Congressional Fellowships

The deadline for submitting applications for the 1972-73 Congressional Fellowship Program is December 1, 1971. Preference will be given applicants between the ages of 23 and 35.

Qualifications:

- For Political Scientists—Completion or near completion of Ph.D. in political science. Preferences will be given to persons who are teaching or who intend to teach.
- For Journalists —Bachelor's degree and at least two years of professional experience in newspaper, magazine, radio or television work.
- For Law School Faculty—LL.B. degree and at least one year's teaching experience in an accredited law school.

Further information and application blanks may be obtained from:

The American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Report of the Executive Director 1970-71

Evron M. Kirkpatrick

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Introduction

In 1970-71 our Association continues to carry on a wide range of programs and activities. Some of them, as described in the following pages, are designed to serve a single purpose. Most, however, serve several purposes for the discipline and profession.

This report is intended to provide information about Association activities and to serve as a basis for comments and suggestions by members. It does not cover every activity or program in which we are engaged. Some activities are covered in other reports (for example, those of the Editor of the *APSR* and the Treasurer), and others (for example, the actions of the Council, Business Meetings, and Committee reports) are covered in *PS*.

The Association has made extensive efforts in the last few years to involve more of its members in its activities and the inclusion again this year of so many members is an indication of the broad scale of participation by political scientists in the activities of the Association. This year in this report over 709 names are included as sharing in the activities of the Association. Over 1,197 donors to the Association are also listed. 302 members of the Association currently serve on various committees of the Association which serve to govern and advise on Association programs and activities and act as liaison to scholarly organizations and government agencies.

For the last several years the Association has operated with large deficits but the Council, with the support of committee chairmen and committee members, have planned a balanced budget for the fiscal year 1971-72. The National Office also is making extensive efforts to control its expenditures at a time of rising costs.

For the first time this report is being presented in the summer issue of *PS* to allow all members to review it before the Annual Meeting and to relieve the need for publishing it in the Annual Meeting Program and in a special issue of *PS*. Extra copies of the report are available and may be obtained by writing to the office of the Executive Director.

The Annual Meeting

The Association's Annual Meeting serves as a

major contributor to the exchange of scholarly and professional information in political science, with the scope and diversity of the discipline continuing to be reflected in the wide variety of panel sessions. In 1970, over 820 scholars from 270 educational institutions and research organizations participated in 168 panels and special meetings.

The 1971 Annual Meeting will consist of 150 panels. Of these panels, 31 will be run on a new format introduced this year, the workshop. The Program Committee developed this small, informal session, with papers available to meeting attendants two months before the meetings, to encourage a wider and more considered exchange of ideas. Information about various aspects of the Annual Meetings for the past decade is presented in the next few pages. The tables contain information on attendance, including totals for various cities in which the meetings were held, and a summary of participation for the institutions contributing the largest number of chairmen, paper readers and discussants. Members may obtain a complete tabulation of panel participation for 1970 and for the period 1966 to 1970 by writing to the Association.

The *Proceedings* of the Annual Meeting—all of the papers delivered in the panels—will appear in a copyrighted microfilm edition available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, at modest cost to libraries and individuals. Single copies of papers will be available also through University Microfilms following the Annual Meeting. The *Proceedings* have been indexed cumulatively from 1904-1913 and from 1956-1970; this *Index* is available from University Microfilms in a hard cover edition.

The Spring *PS* includes the Preliminary Program for the meeting continuing the publication format begun in 1968. The Final Program is distributed to all members and others registering for the Annual Meeting as well as to Members of Congress, Executive Branch officials, Governors and State Legislators, foreign embassies, journalists, libraries and departments of political science in the nation's colleges and universities.

The Program Chairman for the 1972 Annual Meeting is Dwaine Marvick of the University of California, Los Angeles. His memorandum soliciting various paper and panel suggestions

for the 1972 meeting, and listing the various program sections and their chairmen, was published in the spring *PS*.

The 1972 Annual Meeting will be held in Washington, D.C. from September 5-9 with headquarters at the Washington Hilton and additional rooms at nearby hotels. Rates in all hotels will be \$16 for singles and \$22 for doubles.

Summary of Annual Meeting Panel Participation by Institution

1971 Annual Meeting

1971 Panel Participation: Panel Papers

Michigan (14)
New York University (12)
Pennsylvania (10)
Yale (10)
Harvard (9)
Indiana (8)
Minnesota (7)
North Carolina (7)
Washington (7)
MIT (6)
Texas (6)

1971 Panel Participation: Chairmen,
Paper Readers, and Discussants

Michigan (26)
Harvard (25)
Wisconsin (18)
Yale (17)

California (Berkeley) (16)
New York University (15)
Chicago (14)
Cornell (14)
Pennsylvania (14)
Columbia (13)
Minnesota (13)
North Carolina (13)

1967-1971 Annual Meetings

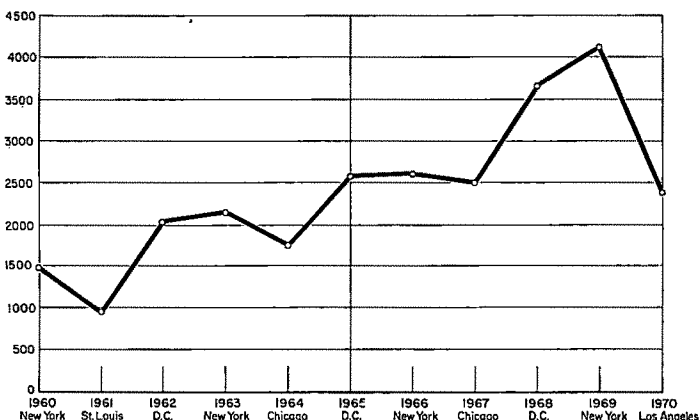
1967-1971 Panel Participation: Panel Papers

Michigan (57)
California (Berkeley) (33)
Wisconsin (32)
Yale (32)
Harvard (31)
Chicago (29)
Pennsylvania (28)
New York University (27)
California (Los Angeles) (26)
Columbia (25)

1967-1971 Panel Participation: Chairmen,
Paper Readers, and Discussants

Michigan (106)
Harvard (101)
Wisconsin (89)
California (Berkeley) (81)
Chicago (74)
Yale (71)
Columbia (61)
California (Los Angeles) (61)
University of Washington (53)
Northwestern (47)

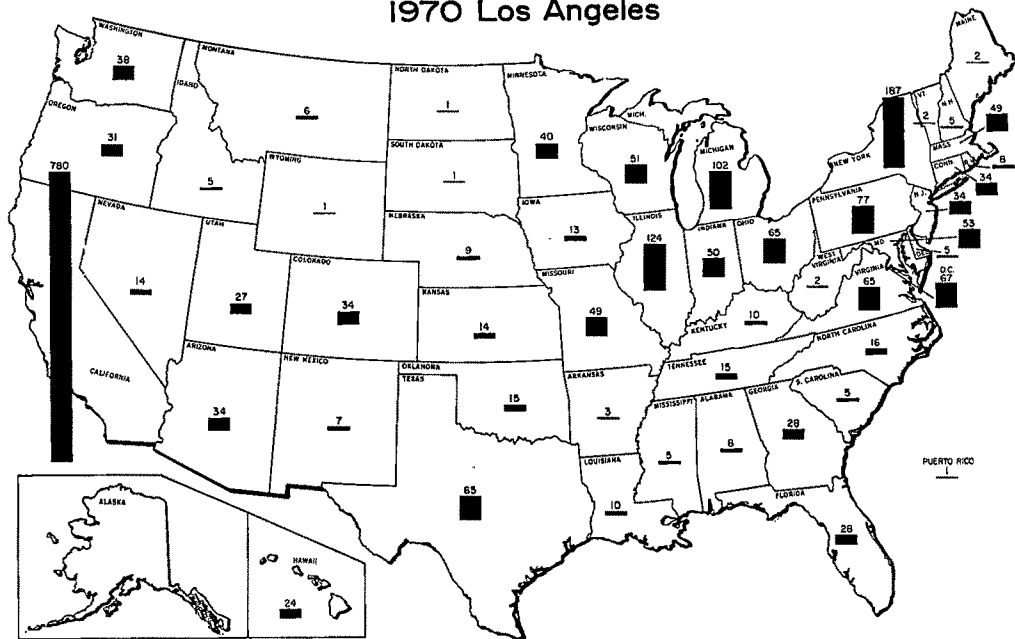
THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
Annual Meeting Registration: 1960-1970



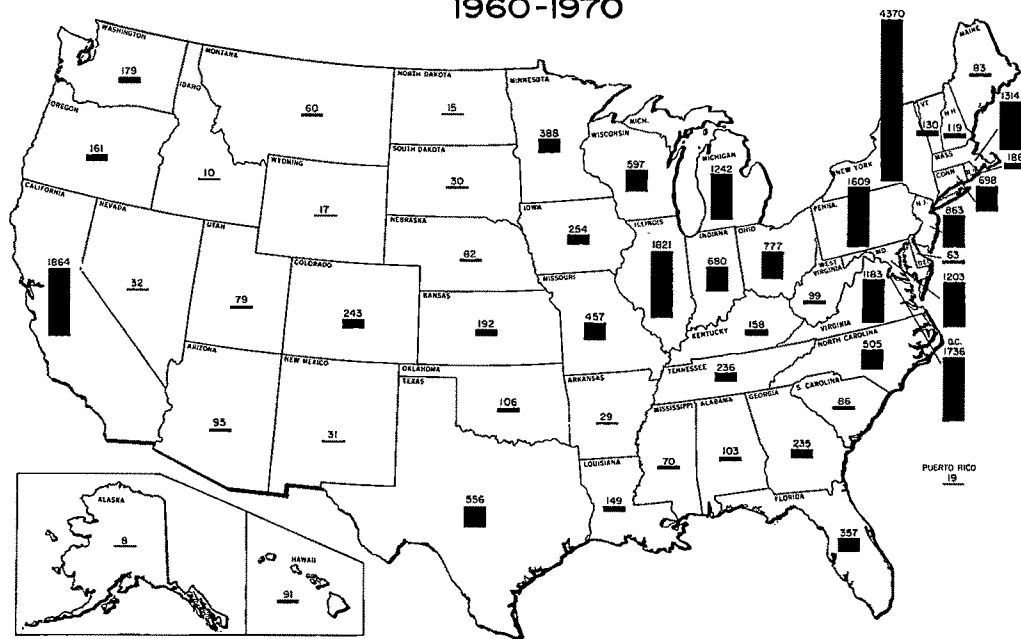
Attendance by State at American Political Science Association Annual Meetings 1960-1970

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
	N.Y.	St. Lo.	D.C.	N.Y.	Chic.	D.C.	N.Y.	Chic.	D.C.	N.Y.
Alabama.....	5	9	6	7	9	14	5	11	16	13
Alaska.....	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	2	0
Arizona.....	2	5	6	3	3	5	6	10	13	8
Arkansas.....	0	1	0	2	1	3	1	4	6	8
California.....	56	87	78	96	93	99	114	140	137	184
Colorado.....	7	9	10	14	27	30	25	30	29	28
Connecticut.....	51	15	51	77	31	76	86	49	95	133
Delaware.....	3	1	6	9	2	6	7	6	11	13
District of Columbia.....	108	50	254	105	67	304	127	82	373	199
Florida.....	21	14	23	21	24	29	34	39	55	69
Georgia.....	13	10	15	14	18	22	21	16	38	40
Hawaii.....	0	0	5	1	6	12	9	9	14	11
Idaho.....	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Illinois.....	88	116	90	115	324	135	112	349	161	207
Indiana.....	33	45	70	46	60	58	48	95	72	103
Iowa.....	6	23	19	12	34	23	16	54	28	26
Kansas.....	5	25	12	10	25	17	18	28	24	14
Kentucky.....	3	5	5	12	12	11	15	26	30	29
Louisiana.....	7	9	8	8	10	15	21	18	18	25
Maine.....	5	1	7	6	4	7	13	7	15	16
Maryland.....	55	26	161	86	52	183	97	63	265	162
Massachusetts.....	104	49	117	148	79	142	149	92	162	223
Michigan.....	82	53	100	64	106	97	115	175	170	178
Minnesota.....	14	16	13	33	47	26	20	70	43	66
Mississippi.....	3	4	4	9	8	7	5	5	8	12
Missouri.....	12	65	29	19	34	33	37	69	34	76
Montana.....	0	1	0	3	4	5	1	5	31	4
Nebraska.....	4	5	3	2	10	5	10	14	8	12
Nevada.....	2	1	0	0	1	3	3	4	1	3
New Hampshire.....	12	6	4	11	4	12	18	10	18	19
New Jersey.....	66	18	61	107	24	92	130	52	103	176
New Mexico.....	1	0	0	3	0	3	3	4	2	8
New York.....	350	116	262	546	201	398	660	230	522	898
North Carolina.....	24	18	52	27	27	62	59	39	98	83
North Dakota.....	0	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	3	2
Ohio.....	41	40	69	61	65	89	87	93	114	140
Oklahoma.....	2	10	4	9	6	9	2	23	11	15
Oregon.....	7	4	12	13	9	13	17	17	19	19
Pennsylvania.....	99	54	130	146	81	190	187	139	243	263
Puerto Rico.....	0	0	1	3	0	1	3	3	3	4
Rhode Island.....	10	3	8	19	10	20	29	14	35	30
South Carolina.....	5	2	13	6	6	11	4	5	14	15
South Dakota.....	1	3	3	2	2	3	4	2	6	3
Tennessee.....	15	12	16	13	17	18	21	28	46	35
Texas.....	19	40	39	32	39	52	48	62	74	86
Utah.....	1	5	6	1	4	8	6	7	7	7
Vermont.....	18	4	12	12	6	12	14	8	17	25
Virginia.....	51	26	152	65	45	162	100	69	281	167
Washington.....	6	6	15	9	9	13	10	24	28	21
West Virginia.....	5	5	12	7	2	10	8	6	23	19
Wisconsin.....	26	30	31	31	64	54	51	98	84	77
Wyoming.....	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	2
Total—U.S.....	1419	953	2060	2184	1776	2603	2580	2405	3617	3977
Foreign.....	44	8	11	40	10	64	77	68	106	165
Total.....	1493	961	2071	2224	1786	2667	2657	2473	3723	4142

APSA ANNUAL MEETING ATTENDANCE, 1970 Los Angeles



APSA ANNUAL MEETING ATTENDANCE TEN-YEAR SURVEY 1960-1970



Publication and Information Exchange

One of the major activities of the Association is facilitating the dissemination of scholarly and professional information in the discipline.

A committee of the Association, the Scientific Information Exchange Committee, and two ad hoc committees, Publications and Abstracts, have given extensive consideration to Association publication and information exchange needs during the last year.

The Association publishes the *American Political Science Review*, *PS*, the *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting*, the *Cumulative Index to the Proceedings*, *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review* and the *APSA Biographical Directory*.

Scientific Information Exchange Committee

Over the past two years the Committee developed a proposal to study the present state of information exchange in the discipline generally, including the role of journals and meetings, institutional communications, data banks and networks, and possible innovations to make the system serve political scientists more effectively. Following a major shift in policy and procedures in the information division of the National Science Foundation, the Committee is now preparing a proposal specifically addressed to meeting the secondary bibliographic needs of the discipline.

The Committee is composed of:

Robert E. Lane, Chairman Yale	Samuel Patterson Iowa
Carl Beck Pittsburgh	Nelson W. Polsby California (Berkeley)
David Easton Chicago	Stein Rokkan Michelsen Institute Norway, President, IPSA
Kenneth Janda Northwestern	
William Livingston Texas	

Ad Hoc Committee on Association Publications

Appointed to consider how the Association might improve the pattern of journals in the discipline, the Committee explored the feasibility of separate Association publications for book reviews, abstracts, political theory, political socialization and education, and other specialized

research areas. The Committee's decisions will provide the basis for a continuing review of the Association's publications program. The members of the Committee were:

Robert E. Lane, Chairman Yale	Kenneth Janda Northwestern
David E. Apter Yale	Henry S. Kariel Hawaii
James David Barber Yale	John H. Kessel Ohio State
Carl Beck Pittsburgh	Nelson W. Polsby California (Berkeley)
Heinz Eulau Stanford	Austin Ranney Wisconsin
Donald G. Herzberg Eagleton Institute	Philip Siegelman San Francisco State
Herbert Jacob Northwestern	

Ad Hoc Committee on Abstracts

The Ad Hoc Committee on Abstracts was appointed for the purpose of determining how the Association might improve the abstracting services available to members of the profession. Tasks identified for immediate action include the development of a thesaurus for indexing and retrieval, the exploration of cooperative arrangements with *International Political Science Abstracts*, and an assessment of the existence of a need by members of the discipline for a fully-automated abstracting service. Members of the Committee were:

Robert E. Lane, Chairman Yale	Michael C. Hudson SAIS
Carl Beck Pittsburgh	Serge Hurtig Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques
Lorraine Borman Northwestern	William S. Livingston Texas
Gary D. Brewer RAND	Warren E. Miller Michigan
David Easton Chicago	Albert Somit SUNY at Buffalo
Richard I. Hofferbert Michigan	William A. Welsh Iowa

American Political Science Review

The *American Political Science Review* continues to be the major intellectual publication of the discipline. On March 1, 1971, Nelson W. Polsby of the University of California, Berkeley became Managing Editor, succeeding Austin Ranney of the University of Wisconsin who had served

as Editor for five years. At the same time, Philip Siegelman of San Francisco State replaced Richard Fenno of Rochester as Book Review Editor. The Annual Report of the Managing Editor of the *Review* will be published in the fall issue of *PS*.

PS

PS, now in its fourth year of publication, continues to serve as the primary source of professional news in the discipline of political science. Received by both individual and institutional members of the Association, the quarterly publication has featured items of interest to political scientists such as the report on pre-collegiate political education, information on the National Science Foundation Register, extensive debate on the proposed new Association Constitution, and articles on the employment market in the discipline. It also contains a section devoted to teaching in the profession. Regular sections cover professional information and notes, Association news, research and training support, professional conferences and news and notes about individual political scientists.

Walter E. Beach is currently serving as Editor, succeeding Earl M. Baker, now of Temple University, who successfully served as Editor for two years during the inception and early development of *PS*.

Members of the *PS* Editorial Board are:

James David Barber, Chairman Yale	Barbara Hinckley Cornell
John A. Davis CUNY	Henry S. Kariel Hawaii
Betty Glad Illinois	Martin Landau California (Berkeley)

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting

As part of its effort to improve scholarly access to research materials and to facilitate their dissemination, the Association, in cooperation with University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, has made available complete proceedings of the APSA Annual Meetings, including copies of all papers delivered from 1904-1912 and 1956 through 1970.

Cumulative Index to the Proceedings

In addition, the Association will publish this fall through University Microfilms the *Cumulative Index to the Proceedings* of the Annual Meetings 1904-1912 and 1956-1969. Approximately 1500 papers are included in the *Index*, which was compiled by Mark Iris, a graduate student at Northwestern University, under the direction of Kenneth Janda, who designed and edited the indexing of the 1968 and 1969 annual *Proceedings*.

Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review

The publication in 1969 of the *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review* brought up to date the keyword indexing of the discipline's major research journal. This *Index*, also edited by Kenneth Janda and containing an improved version of the system he designed for the 1964 edition, is available for \$6.50 from University Microfilms.

APSA Biographical Directory

The Fifth Edition of the *APSA Biographical Directory* was distributed in 1968 to all members of the Association without charge. Copies of the *Directory* continue to be available (now at half price) for purchase from the Association, \$12.50 hardbound and \$9.00 paperbound. The *Directory* contains information on 12,000 political scientists, as well as listings by geographical location and fields of interest.

The Association is currently developing plans for the Sixth Edition of the *Directory*, in the context of an overall scientific manpower information system.

Reprint Permission Policy

During the past year, the Association has serviced 342 reprint permission requests under the established policy for permission to reprint articles appearing in Association publications.

The Association reprint permission policy, established in the fall, 1969, is as follows:

- The author of an article to be reprinted is free to give or deny permission, or to impose conditions, fees, or a share of royalties.

- The Association, upon receiving a request to reprint, informs the requester that a detailed response will be forthcoming after the Association contacts the author or authors. At the same time, it informs the author of the request and asks him to complete a form, noting whether or not permission is given and the conditions under which it will be given.
- A response is then made to the person requesting permission to reprint, informing him of the author's wishes. A normal fee specified by authors is \$100. The Association also requires a \$50 fee for each article or major portion thereof for commercial use. This includes world rights.
- The Association then receives checks from the requester and forwards payment to the author.
- Annual Meeting panel papers may be reprinted contingent on the permission of the author.
- For short passages of an article, or for reprinting purposes other than commercial, such as for classroom or conference use, neither a fee nor the author's permission is required.

The Association's policies are in conformance with the principles of the Committee on Professional Ethics Advisory Opinion Number One on the subject of reprinting.

Research and Publication Awards

To stimulate research and recognize excellence, the Association each year presents citations and cash awards to authors of outstanding books and dissertations in political science.

Two newly endowed annual awards have been established this year by the Council recognizing distinguished scholars in our profession. They are the *E. E. Schattschneider Award* for the best dissertation completed and accepted in the general field of American government and politics to be awarded for the first time in 1972 and the *Gladys M. Kammerer Award* for the best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy. The selection committee for the Kammerer award, which will be presented for the first time at the 1971 Annual Meeting, is composed of: Charles O. Jones, Pittsburgh, Chairman; Thomas R. Dye, Florida State; and Ira Sharkansky, Wisconsin, (Madison).

The \$1,000 *Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award*, co-sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, is given annually for the best book in government, politics, or international affairs. The winner of this year's award will be announced at the 1971 Annual Meeting on Thursday, September 9. Winners of the 1970 award for the best book published in 1969 were David Butler, Nuffield College, Oxford University and Donald Stokes, University of Michigan, for *Political Change in Britain*. The selection committee for the 1971 award is composed of: William T. R. Fox, Columbia, Chairman; Donald Stokes, Michigan; M. Crawford Young, Wisconsin.

Dissertation awards, designed to recognize the work of younger scholars, and an award for the best paper presented at the 1970 Annual Meeting will also be announced at the 1971 Annual Meeting on Thursday evening, September 9. The awards, the 1970 winners, and the selection committees for this year's awards are:

The Edward S. Corwin Award, for the best dissertation in public law, broadly defined—no award was presented in 1970. The 1970-71 selection committee is composed of: David Danelski, Cornell, Chairman; Paul C. Bartholomew, Notre Dame; and Sanford V. Levinson, Stanford.

The Helen Dwight Reid Award for the best dissertation in the field of international relations, law and politics—Francis Seth Singleton, Alberta, for "The African States and the Congo Affair, 1960-65." The 1970-71 selection committee is composed of: David P. Calleo, School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins, Chairman; Andrew Gyorgy, George Washington; and Raymond Tanter, Michigan.

The Leonard D. White Award for the best dissertation in the general field of public administration, broadly defined—Gary W. Wynia, Minnesota, for "Policy and Bureaucracy in Central America: A Comparative Study." The 1970-71 selection committee is composed of: Laurence I. Radway, Dartmouth, Chairman; Arnold J. Meltsner, California, Berkeley; and Robert V. Presthus, York.

The Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper at the 1969 Annual Meeting—Brian W. Fry, Stanford, and Richard F. Winters, Dartmouth, for "The Politics of Redistribution." The 1970-71

selection committee is composed of: Davis B. Bobrow, Minnesota, Chairman; Melvin Richter, Hunter; and Robert C. Tucker, Princeton.

Political Science Education

The Association has a number of projects underway to upgrade the discipline's efforts in pre-collegiate, undergraduate, and graduate political science education. The Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education together with the APSA Political Science Education Project have initiated numerous activities in the area of elementary and secondary political education. A proposal for a major Association program in undergraduate education has been submitted to The National Science Foundation. Finally, Association internship programs in Congress and state and local governments continue to provide important supplements to graduate political science training.

Pre-Collegiate Education in Political Science

The Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education was established in April 1970 in response to a growing interest and involvement of the political science profession in the problem of educational reform at the pre-college level. Its members are:

Richard C. Snyder, Chairman
Ohio State

Robert E. Lane
Yale

Paul R. Abramson
Michigan State

Howard D. Mehlinger
Indiana

David Easton
Chicago

Jewel L. Prestage
Southern

Fred I. Greenstein
Wesleyan

The Committee is charged with two primary responsibilities: first, to furnish the discipline with a continuing assessment of the state of political science education in elementary and secondary schools; second, to develop and begin to implement a coherent, long range strategy through which the human and intellectual resources of the political science discipline can be more effectively mobilized in behalf of improved pre-collegiate instruction about government and politics.

The Committee's efforts to meet these two responsibilities have already led to substantial progress. See the Committee's report in this issue. An initial assessment of the nature and scope of the need to improve pre-collegiate

political science education has been prepared. The Committee is also well along toward developing the kind of comprehensive, multiple strategy that is required if the political science profession is to make a substantial contribution to educational reform during this decade.

The strategy, which is already unfolding, is comprised of three interdependent components. One is the design and construction of a support system within the discipline, including (1) a network of university-based centers, (2) a cluster of political science departments with an interest in, and commitment to, teacher education, (3) the formation of a subculture of political scientists professionally involved in pre-collegiate education, and (4) the development of a cadre of national leaders as well as permanent staff assistance in the APSA headquarters. The second component is a set of collaborative relationships between our discipline and the many other groups, organizations, and social science disciplines which are also endeavoring to improve pre-collegiate education. Third, the Committee has formulated and described certain long-term programs for effecting change in each of the several sectors of pre-college education that are of prime concern to the discipline of political science: constructive change in elementary and secondary curricula; pre-service and in-service teacher education; and the schools as total institutions, i.e., the social, organizational and cultural context in which instruction and learning occur. The basic assumption underlying the over-all strategy is that a concert of carefully chosen, appropriate research, development, and service activities should link a discipline which is more effectively mobilized to a K-12 educational system whose needs and access points have been explicitly identified.

During the past year, the Political Science Education Project, directed by Lee Anderson and Richard Remy and located at Indiana University, has served as the primary working arm of the Association in the area of pre-collegiate education. Funded by the Office of Education, the Project will be relocated at Northwestern University during the coming year.

The Association has continued to participate in the Consortium of Professional Associations For Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs (CONPASS). The APSA representatives to CONPASS are Evron M. Kirkpatrick, APSA, and

Theodore B. Fleming, Wayne State, who is also on the CONPASS Executive Committee. One of the CONPASS activities, an interdisciplinary project in social science education, led to the preparation of a course entitled "The Quality of Life in America." Ernest Chapels of Maryland represented the political science discipline in the development of this new course.

The Association has also maintained liaison with the National Council for the Social Studies. The APSA and NCSS will jointly sponsor several sessions at the Annual Meeting in Chicago. Similarly the APSA, through the Political Science Education Project, will participate actively in the November NCSS meeting in Denver.

Undergraduate Instruction in Political Science

The Association is intensifying its efforts to serve the majority of its members whose professional lives revolve around the teaching of political science in the nation's colleges and universities.

A proposal for a major education program in political science was recently submitted to the National Science Foundation by Association officials. The proposal requests support to establish a Commission on Undergraduate Education in Political Science (CUEPS) aimed at improving undergraduate political science education in colleges and universities throughout the country. It would be similar to programs supported by NSF in fields such as Biology, Physics, and Mathematics. The Commission, under the auspices of the American Political Science Association, will have as its primary objectives the stimulation of interest, the generation of materials, and the dissemination of information helpful in upgrading political science instruction in a variety of institutional settings. Two Committees, Undergraduate Curriculum (with subcommittees on the Non-Major, Two-Year College, Predominantly Black Colleges) and College Teacher Training, and five task forces, Field Work and Internships, Library Requirements, Mathematical and Statistical Training, Audio-visual Instructional Materials, and Laboratory and Computer-assisted Instruction, are proposed as the primary working aims of CUEPS. The proposal also contains provisions for a Division of Educational Affairs within the American Political Science Association.

The stimulus for this proposal was provided in large part by Robert E. Lane of Yale University who assembled the December, 1970, Conference on Political Science Education and prepared the initial draft. The project director and chairman of the proposed Commission is Vernon Van Dyke of the University of Iowa.

The Committee on Undergraduate Instruction in Political Science, appointed in September, 1969, also has been actively involved in efforts to improve undergraduate teaching. The Committee is composed of:

William Buchanan, Chairman Washington & Lee	William C. Havard V.P.I.S.U.
Russell L. Adams Howard	Robert J. Huckshorn Florida Atlantic
William J. Daniels Union	Edward W. Jackson Fisk
Valerie A. Earle Georgetown	A. F. K. Organski Michigan
Theodore B. Fleming, Jr. Wayne State	

The Congressional Fellowship Program

The Association continues to provide opportunities for individuals to supplement their formal political science education. Begun in 1953, the Congressional Fellowship Program offers a first-hand study and work opportunity in the U.S. Congress to political scientists, journalists, law school professors, civil servants, and foreign participants. In its eighteen years of operation, 479 Fellows have participated in the program, including 148 political scientists, 114 journalists, 160 career civil servants, 51 foreign participants, and 6 law professors. During the 1970-71 program, a "Visiting Scholar in Ecology," sponsored by the Citizens for Ecological Action at Cornell, joined the program to initiate what might prove to be a continuing arrangement for bringing ecologists to the Congress for internship experiences.

Over the years, an increasing number of scholarly works on Congress, legislative behavior, and public policy have resulted from the Fellowship experience. A compilation of these publications, together with evidence suggesting the program's contribution to improved classroom teaching of Congress and legislative behavior, are contained in a report by Ronald D. Hedlund of the University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee) on his independent evaluation of the program.

Awards in political science, law, and journalism, made through a national competition conducted annually by the Association, are supported by a Ford Foundation grant. The Federal executives are nominated and supported by their agencies and departments under an affiliate arrangement with the U.S. Civil Service Commission under the direction of Thomas V. Garcia of the Bureau of Training. Other affiliated participants in the program are supported by the Asia Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund.

The selection process for the program is highly competitive and rigorous, involving applicants in screening by an Association Committee in Washington, D.C. and interviews by regional boards. Final selection of Fellows is the responsibility of an Advisory Committee which also provides overall policy guidance for the program.

1971-72 Congressional Fellowship Program Advisory Committee

William J. Keefe (Chairman)	Donald R. Matthews
Pittsburgh	Brookings Institution
Richard N. Billings	Sen. Walter F. Mondale
<i>Congressional Quarterly</i>	(D-Minn.)
David S. Broder	Nelson W. Polsby
<i>Washington Post</i>	California (Berkeley)
Charles L. Clapp	Randall B. Ripley
The White House	Ohio State
Sen. Peter H. Dominick	Donald Rumsfeld
(R-Colo.)	The White House
Charles O. Jones	Rep. William A. Steiger
Pittsburgh	(R-Wisc.)
Robert E. Hampton	Rep. Morris K. Udall
U.S. Civil Service	(D-Ariz.)
Commission	
Ralph K. Huitt	
National Association of	
State Universities and	
Land Grant Colleges	

1971-72 Congressional Fellowship Program Screening and Regional Selection Committees

Robert Agranoff	J. Leiper Freeman
Northern Illinois	Vanderbilt
Richard Baker	William P. Gerberding
Columbia School of	California (Los Angeles)
Journalism	Donald H. Haider
John F. Bibby	Columbia
Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	H. Field Haviland
Jay Henry Cerf	Fletcher School of Law
The Pathfinder Fund	and Diplomacy
William J. Cook	Harry H. Ransom
<i>Newsweek</i>	Vanderbilt
Cornelius P. Cotter	John Seigenthaler
Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	<i>Nashville Tennessean</i>
Jean Torcum Cronin	John Smith
Sacramento State	California (Los Angeles)
William J. Crotty	Donald Vogel
Northwestern	Wisconsin (Milwaukee)
Milton C. Cummings, Jr.	Bertram G. Waters, III
Johns Hopkins	Associated Foundation of

Thomas A. Dallron	Greater Boston
Office of	Stuart K. Witt
Sen. Charles H. Percy	Skidmore
(R-Ill.)	Raymond E. Wolfinger
Roger H. Davidson	Stanford
California (Santa Barbara)	

The Program, directed by Thomas E. Mann, is designed to improve the Fellows' understanding of the national legislature, in particular, and politics, policy areas, and public affairs, in general. Participants spend about nine months under its auspices, beginning in mid-November with an orientation period that provides a general framework and acquaints them with the Nation's Capitol. Interview and seminar sessions also are scheduled periodically throughout the period of work in Congressional offices. During the orientation and the subsequent interviews-seminar schedule for the 1970-71 program, Fellows met with the following political scientists, government officials, newsmen and other experts in legislative operations:

Speakers for the 1970-71 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientists

James David Barber	Theodore J. Lowi
Yale	Chicago
Morton H. Halperin	John F. Manley
Brookings Institution	Stanford
D. B. Hardeman	Nelson W. Polsby
Trinity	California (Berkeley)
Ralph K. Huitt	Robert Presthus
National Association of	York
State Universities and	Richard M. Scammon
Land Grant Colleges	Elections Research Center
William J. Keefe	Arthur H. Miller
Pittsburgh	Michigan
Robert E. Lane	Robert L. Peabody
Yale	Johns Hopkins

Legislative Branch

Sen. Bill Brock	Rep. F. Bradford Morse
(R-Tenn.)	(R-Mass.)
Robert Chartrand	Sen. Robert Packwood
Library of Congress	(R-Ore.)
David M. Cohen	Michael Pertshuk
Legislative Assistant	Senate Commerce
Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.)	Committee
Richard P. Conlon	Sen. William Proxmire
Staff Director	(D-Wisc.)
Democratic Study Group	Theodore Roe
Thomas Dallron	Office of Senate
Staff Assistant	Majority Leader
Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.)	Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal
Rep. John N. Erlenborn	(D-N.Y.)
(R-Ill.)	Rep. James H. Scheuer
Sen. Mike Gravel	(D-N.Y.)
(D-Alaska)	Rep. William A. Steiger
Rep. Michael J. Harrington	(R-Wisc.)
(D-Mass.)	Rep. Frank Thompson
James B. Harrison	(D-N.J.)
Legislative Assistant	Rep. Morris K. Udall
Rep. James G. O'Hara	(D-Ariz.)
(D-Mich.)	Curtis Wilkie

Report of the Executive Director 1970-71

Rep. Lloyd Meeds
(D-Wash.)
Richard M. Moose
Consultant, Senate
Committee on Foreign
Relations

Office of
Rep. John Brademas
(D-Ind.)
Rep. Lester L. Wolff
(D-N.Y.)

Interest Groups

Weldon Barton
Assistant Director, Legislative Services,
National Farmers Union
Andrew Biemiller
Director, Department of Legislation, AFL-CIO
Robert Choate
President, Robert B. Choate & Associates
John Gardner
Chairman, The Common Cause
Warren Richardson
General Counsel, Liberty Lobby

Executive Branch

John F. Campbell
Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
Charles L. Clapp
Special Assistant to the President, The White House
Sven Groennings
International Relations Officer, Bureau of European Affairs,
Department of State
Paul Hill
Research Specialist, Office of Economic Opportunity
Theodore M. Jones, Jr.
Chief, Coordination Division, Office of Economic Opportunity
Clark McGregor
Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations
William B. Macomber, Jr.
Deputy Under Secretary for Administration,
Department of State
Carla Rethmeyer
Office of French Affairs, Central Intelligence Agency

General

Richard C. Curry
Assistant Secretary to the Secretary of the Interior,
Department of the Interior
Myer Feldman, Attorney
Ginsburg, Feldman and Bress
George Reedy
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Matthew A. Reese
Director, Matt Reese & Associates
John G. Stewart
Director, Office of Communications,
Democratic National Committee
F. Clifton White
President, F. Clifton White & Associates

Press Corps

Marvin Arrowsmith
Associated Press
Richard Billings
Congressional Quarterly
David Broder
Washington Post
Paul Duke
N.B.C.
Fred Emery
Times of London
John Finney
New York Times

Michael Green
McClatchy Newspapers
Neal Gregory
National Journal
Seymour M. Hersh
Dispatch News Service
Clark Mollenhoff
Des Moines Register and
Tribune Company
Arnold Sawislak
United Press International

After the orientation program, Fellows join
Congressional offices of their choice, serving
about four months in the House and four months
in the Senate. Following are the 1970-71
Fellows and the offices in which they served:

1970-71 Congressional Fellows

Fellow	First-Half Office	Second-Half Office
Political Scientists		
M. Kenneth Bowler Ph.D. candidate Wisconsin (Madison)	Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.)	Rep. James C. Corman (D-Calif.)
Gerald L. Clayton Ph.D. candidate California (Berkeley)	Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D-Fla.)	Subcommittee on Separation of Powers
Vernon M. Goetcheus Asst. Professor of Government Columbia	Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.)	Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.)
Robert L. Healy Ph.D. candidate Pittsburgh	Rep. William J. Green (D-Pa.)	Subcommittee on Rural Development
Karl T. Kurtz Ph.D. candidate Washington (St. Louis)	Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-N.J.)	Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.)
John C. Pierce Asst. Professor of Political Science Tulane	Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho)	Rep. Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.)
Rudolph R. Rousseau, Jr. Ph.D. candidate The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	Rep. John C. Culver (D-Iowa)	Sen. James B. Pearson (R-Kans.)
Lisa J. Walker Ph.D. candidate Rochester	Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.)	Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

1970-71 Congressional Fellows

Fellow	First-Half Office	Second-Half Office
Journalists		
Douglass M. Bloomfield Reporter CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER	Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.)	Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D-N.Y.)
Anne Getz Reporter THE DETROIT NEWS	Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations	Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.)
Charles C. Hines Bureau Manager UPI, Little Rock, Arkansas	Rep. Michael J. Harrington (D-Mass.)	Sen. William W. Proxmire (D-Wisc.)
Samuel C. Martino Wisc. State Capitol Bureau Chief MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE	Rep. Paul N. McCloskey (R-Calif.)	Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.)
Joseph H. Nicholson, Jr. Reporter ASSOCIATED PRESS, N.Y.C.	Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.)	Rep. Paul N. McCloskey (R-Calif.)
Stephen E. Ponder Reporter and Editor UPI, Detroit	Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.)	Rep. Lloyd Meeds (D-Wash.)
Edward J. Walsh Reporter THE HOUSTON CHRONICLE	Sen. Adlai Stevenson (D-Ill.)	Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.)
Timothy J. Wyngaard Statehouse Reporter GREEN BAY (WISC.) PRESS GAZETTE	Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.)	Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.)
Federal Service Fellows		
Eugene W. Bierly Atmospheric Sciences Section National Science Foundation	Rep. Charles A. Mosher (R-Ohio)	Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.)
James P. Cook Public Buildings Service General Services Administration	Sen. Edward J. Gurney (R-Fla.)	Rep. Phillip Crane (R-Ill.)
Anselm G. Davis, Jr. Bureau of Indian Affairs Department of Interior	Rep. Lloyd Meeds (D-Wash.)	Sen. Joseph M. Montoya (D-N.M.)
Charles D. Ennis Naval Air Systems Command Department of the Navy	Rep. Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.)	Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.)
Eldon L. Erickson Office of Budget and Finance Department of Agriculture	Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kansas)	Rep. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.)
Alexander I. Estrin Office of Federal Contract Compliance Department of Labor	Sen. Mike Gravel (D-Alaska)	Rep. Alphonzo Bell (R-Calif.)
Francis B. Forand Office of Foreign Direct Investments Department of Commerce	Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D-N.Y.)	Senate Subcommittee on Health
Alfred C. Franklin Office of the General Counsel National Security Agency	Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.)	Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.)
Chester R. Julian Federal Highway Administration Department of Transportation	Sen. Joseph M. Montoya (D-N.M.)	Rep. Dan Kuykendall (R-Tenn.)
Charles W. Maynes, Jr. United States Embassy (Moscow, U.S.S.R.) Department of State	Sen. Fred R. Harris (D-Okla.)	Rep. F. Bradford Morse (R-Mass.)
Arthur T. McNeill Central Intelligence Agency	Rep. Frank E. Evans (D-Colo.)	Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.)
Patricia E. Nicely Institutional Grant Program National Science Foundation	Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.)	Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wisc.)
Jerome H. Ross Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	Rep. William A. Steiger (R-Wisc.)	

Report of the Executive Director 1970-71

1970-71 Congressional Fellows

Fellow	First-Half Office	Second-Half Office
William T. Shinn, Jr. Office of Soviet Union Affairs Department of State	Rep. F. Bradford Morse (R-Mass.)	Sen. Adlai Stevenson, III (D-Ill.)
E. Percil Stanford Administration on Aging Department of Health, Education and Welfare	Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.)	Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.)
Paul R. Swan Mission Analysis Division National Aeronautics and Space Administration	Wednesday Group	Senate Minority Whip
Bonnie S. Whyte Consumer and Marketing Service Department of Agriculture	James H. Scheuer (D-N.Y.)	Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.)
William E. Wright Ceramics Division U.S. Tariff Commission	Sen. Robert Taft (R-Ohio)	Rep. Donald Brozman (R-Colo.)
Harkness Fellow		
Martin A. Walker Visiting Scholar- Harvard	Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (Campaign Office)	
Asian Fellows		
Ghafoor Abdul Arefi Acting Vice President for Administration Kabul University (Afghanistan)	Rep. Lester L. Wolff (D-N.Y.)	Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.)
Jawadul Karim Reporter Associated Press of Pakistan	Rep. James C. Cleveland (R-N.H.)	
Hafizullah Khan Lecturer in International Law University Law College, Lahore	Rep. John N. Erlenborn (R-Ill.)	Senate Rules Committee
Visiting Scholar in Ecology		
Walter E. Westman Ph.D. in Ecology Cornell	Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution	

Initiated with funds from the Stern Family Fund, the program has been largely supported in recent years by the Ford Foundation. However, supplementary funds have been made available throughout the program's history by such other foundations as the Poynter Fund, the New York Times Foundation, Time, Inc., and by affiliate sponsors.

The Congressional Fellows for 1971-72 are:

1971-72 Congressional Fellows

Political Scientists

Charles S. Bullock, 28, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Georgia.
Stephen A. Merrill, 27, Ph.D. Candidate, Yale.
Bruce W. Robeck, 31, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Texas A & M.

David Seidman, 28, Ph.D. Candidate, Yale University
Mark A. Siegel, 24, Ph.D. Candidate, Northwestern.
Thomas Vocino, 30, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Eastern Illinois.
Robert J. Ward, 29, Ph.D. Candidate, Missouri.
Thomas R. Wolanin, 28, Ph.D. Candidate, Harvard.

Journalists

Michael S. Alonge, 28, National and Foreign News desk, *New York Daily News*.
Michael J. Bennett, 34, Reporter, *Boston Record-American*.
Lance Brisson, 27, Freelance Investigative Reporter.
Ben Burns, 30, Night city editor, *Miami Herald*.
Mikel K. Miller, 27, Bureau manager, *United Press International*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
Edward D. Murnane, 27, State Editor and political reporter, Paddock Publications.

Joanne B. Omang, 28, Night New England editor, *United Press International*.
 Richard D. Robinett, 28, Political and Public Affairs Reporter, *Eikhart Truth*.

Harkness Fellow

Bruce Guerin, 29, Australia Economics and editorial writer, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd.

Federal Service Fellows

Leonce A. Cambre, Forest Service and Agriculture, National Science Foundation.
 Cynthia F. Carrington, Field Coordination Division, Office of Economic Opportunity.
 Charles H. Dickens, Student Originated Studies Program, National Science Foundation.
 Josephine K. Doherty, Ecosystem Analysis Programs, National Science Foundation.
 Robert L. Eckert, Navy Air Systems Command, Department of the Navy.
 Sally A. Ehrle, Manpower Administration, Department of Labor.
 Edward Gottfried, Bureau of Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce.
 Robert Graulich, Economic Development Administration, Department of Commerce.
 Robert R. Kane, Public Buildings Service, General Services Administration.
 Richard J. Keating, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.
 Elmer K. Klumpp, Planning, Evaluation and Program Staff, Department of Agriculture.
 Jennifer K. O'Sullivan, Medical Services Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
 Lyle Ryter, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity, Department of Housing and Urban Development.
 Arthur J. Schissel, Litigation Division, Department of the Treasury.
 Madeleine G. Schneider, Environment and Urban Systems, Department of Transportation.
 Cherry Tsutsumida, Health Service and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
 Richard P. Wilson, Manpower Administration, Department of Labor.
 Margaret L. Wireman, Counseling and Tenant Assistance Staff, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Foreign Affairs Fellows

In response to a growing interest by Members of Congress and Executive Branch agencies for a program designed to provide government foreign affairs specialists an opportunity to study the Congressional context of foreign policy decision-making, the Association plans to include a new Foreign Affairs Fellows section in the 1971-72 Congressional Fellowship Program. The Foreign Affairs Fellows will attend a specially designed eight-week seminar on "Congress and Foreign Policy-Making" to be conducted at Johns Hopkins SAIS prior to the commencement of the regular

program. The first class of Fellows in this section includes:

Werner W. Brandt, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State.
 Michael P. Canning, Foreign Service Officer, United States Information Agency.
 John S. Cannon, Foreign Service Officer, United States Information Agency.
 Robert M. Fouche, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State.
 Donald K. Guthrey, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State.
 Robert W. Holiday, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State.
 James P. Lynch, Biological Scientist, Central Intelligence Agency.

State and Local Government Internship Program

As a part of its effort to stimulate teaching and research in the field of state and local government. The Association conducts the state and local government internship program. Since the program was initiated in 1967, 52 grants have been made to political science departments offering the Ph.D. degree to develop and conduct political and administrative internship programs at the state and local level. All decisions regarding funding and general policy for the program, supported by a Ford Foundation grant, are made by an Advisory Committee composed of the following:

Charles B. Hagan (Chairman)	Chester B. Earle
Houston	American
Franklin L. Burdette	Thomas A. Flinn
Maryland	Cleveland State
Paul J. Beckett	Donald G. Herzberg
Washington State	Eagleton Institute of Politics

Criteria established by the Committee for evaluation of applications include:

- The integration of the internship into the department's regular instructional program, as evidenced by provision of seminars, granting of course credit, and contribution—by the institution involved—of faculty time for supervision of internship activities.
- The recruitment, as interns, of advanced graduate students who have demonstrated a commitment—through at least one year of graduate study—to the attainment of the Ph.D. in political science.
- The potential contribution of the internship to the profession generally, through improvement of the quality of teachers and the training of research scholars in the area of state and local government.

Report of the Executive Director 1970-71

Grants for 1971-72 under the Program have been made to fifteen graduate departments, nine of which were renewals.

Receiving grants were: American University, University of Connecticut, University of Oklahoma, Temple University, Wayne State University, Yale University, University of California, Santa Barbara, University of California, Los Angeles, Columbia University, University of Minnesota, University of Utah, University of Maryland, University of Michigan, Washington University, St. Louis, and West Virginia University.

A list of programs, directors, interns and assignments for 1970-71 follow:

University of California, Davis

Richard W. Gable
Director

Interns	Assignments
Bob Foster	State Senate
Mary Bourdette	State Senate
Larry Baxter	Tahoe Regional Planning Agency

University of California, Los Angeles

John C. Bollens
Francine F. Rabinovitz
Directors

Interns	Assignments
Billiana Ambrecht	Citizen Participation in East Los Angeles Public Agencies
Les Birdsall	Greater Los Angeles Coalition
Ned Lazaro	Problem-solving activities of Filipino-Americans in Los Angeles area

University of California, Santa Barbara

R. J. Snow
Director

Interns	Assignments
Samuel S. Kushner	Executive Officer, Los Angeles County, Superior Court
Donald A. Dixon	San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission

Case Western Reserve University

James Ford
Director

Interns	Assignments
James Brasfield	Department of Public Health and Welfare, Cleveland
James Swanson	Planning Commission, Cleveland

Columbia University

James S. Young
Donald H. Haider
Directors

Interns	Assignments
Louis Alexander	Office of the President, New York City Council

Joan Branche

Marianne Chawlak

Victor Hertz

Shirley Ostholm

Paul Posner

Health Services Administration
Office of the Mayor, John Lindsay
Office of the Deputy City Administrator
Health Services Administration
Office of the Deputy City Administrator

Florida

University of Florida and Florida State University
Elston E. Roady & Manning J. Dauer
Directors

Interns	Assignments
Richard Barrett	Florida Senate Committee on Criminal Justice
Gilbert Bergquist	Florida House of Representatives, Committee on Commerce
Ray Wilson	Florida Senate Committee on Health, Welfare and Institutions
Marcia Steinhauer	Florida Joint Committee on South Florida Area Regional Organization
James Steinhauer	Florida Legislative Service Bureau

Indiana University

Ronald E. Weber
Director

Interns	Assignments
Ann Schneider	Indiana Democratic State Central Committee
Stephen Staub	Indiana Republican State Central Committee

University of Maryland

James H. Wall
Conley H. Dillan
Directors

Interns	Assignments
Steven A. Kaplan	Assistant to the Secretary of the Maryland Department of State Planning, Office of the Governor
Alan H. Magazine	Assistant to Mr. Thomas Hunter Lowe, Speaker of the House of Delegates of the Maryland General Assembly
Michael R. Stone	Assistant to the Director of the Department of Community Development, Prince George's County, Maryland
Christoph E. Plathner	Assistant to the Prince George's County Delegation, House of Delegates of the Maryland General Assembly

University of Michigan

Bruce D. Bowen
Director

Interns	Assignments
Eddie Martin	Office of the Speaker, Michigan House of Representatives
Terry V. Gerald	Committee on Public Health, Michigan House of Representatives

Patrick Larky	Ann Arbor, Michigan, Planning Commission and Office of the City Planner
John Muenzer	Detroit, Michigan, Police Department

University of Minnesota

Thomas M. Scott
Robert Eyestone
Directors

Interns	Assignments
John Foster	Minnesota Department of Education
Keith Baynum	Minnesota State Supreme Court

University of Tennessee

Lee S. Greene
Director

Interns	Assignments
Don Carroll Dodson	Office of Planning and Development, Tennessee Department of Public Health
Osbin Lee Ervin	Office of the Mayor, Memphis, Tennessee
Richard Lee Reinhardt	Office of the Mayor, Knoxville, Tennessee

University of Utah

A. J. Wann
J. D. Williams
Directors

Interns	Assignments
Victor G. Nielsen	Office of the Governor Local Government
George M. Gorgler	Modernization Study
Bruce Heath	State Planning Coordination
Howard H. Foremaster	Utah Legislative Council

Vanderbilt University

Harry H. Ransom
Director

Interns	Assignments
Robert Neal	Tennessee State Office of Urban and Federal Affairs
Timothy Schiltz	Office of the Mayor, Nashville, Tennessee
John Spence	Tennessee State Office of Urban and Federal Affairs

Washington University (St. Louis)

Carl McCandles
Director

Interns	Assignments
Sally Barker	St. Louis Tenants Council
William Browne	St. Louis County League of Municipalities
Robert Kernstein	University City

Professional Equality

The Association is continuing its policy of seeking to insure professional equality for political scientists. Committees on the Status of Women, Blacks and Chicanos in the profession have been

established and are currently engaged in a range of activities designed to provide greater professional opportunities for members of their respective groups.

Committee on The Status of Women in the Profession.

The Committee on The Status of Women was established in 1969 to study the status of women in the profession, seek means to enhance their professional status and to encourage women to enter the field of political science. A final report of this committee containing a review of its extensive activities and recommendations is published in this issue of *PS*. The Members of the Committee are:

Josephine F. Milburn, Chairman Rhode Island	Katherine M. Klotzburger New York
Feter Bachrach Temple	Joyce M. Mitchell Oregon
Philip E. Converse Michigan	Susanne Hoeber Rudolph Chicago
Warren F. Ilchman California (Berkeley)	Victoria Schuck Mt. Holyoke
Marian D. Irish American	Irene Tinker Federal City

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession

During the year the Association's Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession has continued in its efforts to improve the status of Blacks in the profession and to encourage Blacks to enter the field of political science.

Members of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession are:

Paul L. Puryear Chairman Florida State	Michael J. Parenti Vermont
Russell L. Adams Howard	William P. Robinson, Sr. Norfolk State
Twiley W. Barker, Jr. Illinois (Chicago Circle)	Harry M. Scoble, Jr. California (Los Angeles)
Lenore Cartwright Illinois	Shelby Lewis Smith Southern
Samuel D. Cook Duke	Nathaniel P. Tillman, Jr. Olive-Harvey
C. Vernon Gray Oaklands	Alex Willingham Southern
Robert E. Martin Howard	Maurice C. Woodard Howard
Frank L. Morris M.I.T.	

The Committee has held several meetings during the course of the year and is continuing its two major studies on the comparative status of Blacks and Whites in the profession and on the cognitive

Report of the Executive Director 1970-71

—value orientations of political science. The Committee also provides overall direction for the APSA Black Graduate Fellowship Program.

APSA Black Graduate Fellowship Program

The Black Graduate Fellowship Program was initiated in 1969-70 with Association support to provide opportunities in graduate training in political science to outstanding Blacks. The funded Fellowships of \$3,600 for the academic year allow the winners to attend the university of their choice. Twenty Honorary Fellows were also selected. Selection of the Fellows as made by a subcommittee of the Committee on the Status of Blacks composed of Robert E. Martin, Chairman, Twiley W. Barker, Jr., Nathaniel P. Tillman, Jr., and Alex Willingham.

The winners are:

1969-70 Funded APSA Black Graduate Fellows

John Edward Hale Florida A&M	Janice Marie Miller Southern
Erma Bryant Lee Tuskegee	Cecilia Allena Vaughan Virginia State
Renee Dianne Lewis Fisk	

1969-70 Honorary APSA Black Graduate Fellows

Benoit Otis Brokens, Jr. Wisconsin	Pearl Theodora Robinson S/C Dispensaire
Joseph Solomon Brown Southern	Gene Howell Roland Florida A&M
Michael Jeffrey Calhoun Princeton	Hubert Ellis Sapp Miles
Earnest Lee Easton Illinois	Hilbourne Alban Watson Howard
Lydia A. Gleece Illinois	Ethel L. Anderson Huston-Tillotson
Earl Dwytt Johnson Eastern New Mexico	Roger Ware Banks New Mexico
Kenneth Stone McHargh Wooster	Lee Roy Berry Notre Dame
Larry Edward Moss Atlanta	Tanner Benjamin Joffrion Tougaloo
Roger Kent Oden North Carolina Central	

1970-71 Funded APSA Black Graduate Fellows

James B. Eaglin Grambling	Jules S. Trapp Howard
Creighton W. Lee Baldwin-Wallace	Donald L. Tryman California Polytechnical State
Georgia A. Persons Southern	

1970-71 Honorary APSA Black Graduate Fellows

Ernest H. Adams New York	Shelia F. Harmon Southern
James Bailey San Jose State	Murel M. Jones David Lipscomb

Jan L. Batiste Oregon	Johnny Lawton California (Riverside)
Carole A. Belk Howard	Earl R. Niles Brandeis
Charles E. Bell Antioch	Michael C. Rogers Nice
Camille E. Brewer Lincoln	Mary Sapp Florida A&M
Carolyn S. Currie Grambling	Carolyn A. Stamps Tougaloo
Milton C. Davis Tusegee	Edward Thompson Arizona
Elizabeth L. Ellis Florida A&M	Jacqueline M. Washington Howard
Helen L. Forrester Long Island	Shirley M. Washington Howard

Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession

As part of an effort to respond to a growing interest for greater involvement of Chicanos in the discipline and profession, the Association has established a Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession. The Committee, under the Chairmanship first of Ralph Guzman, California, (Santa Cruz) and now Charles Ornelas, California, (Santa Barbara), has held several meetings, developed some preliminary drafts of position papers on matters of interest to the Committee and has conducted a survey of Chicano political science faculty and graduate students.

The members of the Committee are:

Charles Ornelas, Chairman California, (Santa Barbara)	Jose Gutierrez Texas
Mario Barrera California (Riverside)	Dwayne Marvick California (Los Angeles)
Charles L. Cotrell St. Mary's	Carlos Munoz California (Irvine)
F. Chris Garcia New Mexico	Joseph L. Nogee Houston
Thomas V. Garcia U.S. Civil Service Commission	

Professional Rights

For several years the Association has had committees actively engaged in exploring problems of professional rights specific to members of the political science discipline. There is currently before the Council a proposal to merge into a single committee the efforts in academic freedom and ethics, as well as such cognate matters as those relating to the status of women and the problems of foreign born students.

Academic Freedom Committee

The initial efforts of the Academic Freedom Committee, established by a resolution adopted at the 1969 Annual Business Meeting, were

detailed in a report of the Committee (*PS*, Summer 1970). During the past year, the Committee has continued to explore new dimensions of academic freedom, as well as reviewing a number of specific inquiries and cases. The members of the Committee are:

Philip E. Jacob, Chairman
Hawaii
Joel D. Aberbach
Michigan
Philip Green
Smith
Elijah W. Miles
San Diego State
C. Herman Pritchett
California (Santa Barbara)

James W. Prothro
North Carolina
H. Mark Roelofs
New York
Allan P. Sindler
California (Berkeley)
James Q. Wilson
Harvard

Professional Ethics Committee

The Committee on Professional Ethics continues to work under the mandate provided by the acceptance of the Bernstein Report of the Committee on Professional Standards and Responsibilities by the 1968 Annual Business Meeting.

It is charged with considering issues involving questions of ethics in the political science profession, issuing advisory opinions, and encouraging discussion of ethical issues by members of the profession.

The Committee has issued eight Advisory Opinions on the subjects of:

(1) Multiple Submission of Manuscripts (March 29, 1969), *PS*, Summer 1969, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 390; (2) Open Access to Documentation and Data (October 11, 1969), *PS*, Fall 1969, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 676; (3) Permissions to Reprint (October 11, 1969), *PS*, Fall 1969, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 676; (4) Academic Marketplace (October 11, 1969), *PS*, Fall 1969, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 677; (5) Appraising Manuscripts and Books (October 11, 1969), *PS*, Fall 1969, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 677; (6) Fraud in Claiming Advanced Degrees (August 28, 1970), *PS*, Fall 1970, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 653; (7) Books and Articles Stemming from Dissertations (August 28, 1970), *PS*, Fall 1970, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 653; and (8) Promptness in Appraising Manuscripts (August 28, 1970), *PS*, Fall 1970, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 653. Additional Opinions are forthcoming and will be published in the next issue of *PS*.

Members of the Committee are:

David Fellman, Chairman
Wisconsin

David Hazel
Central State

Christian Bay
Alberta
Ernst B. Haas
California (Berkeley)
Nancy Hartsock
Michigan

Michael H. Leiserson
California (Berkeley)
Guenter Lewy
Massachusetts (Amherst)
Theodore J. Lowl
Chicago

Governing the Association

Governing the Association is taking an increasing amount of time. Traditional bodies, such as the Council and the Nominating Committee, have expanded their activities, and new bodies such as the Administrative Committee, Rules Committee, and the Elections Committee are providing guidance for new needs. The governing document of the Association, the Constitution, has undergone modification in the last several years and a proposed new constitution is now under consideration.

Council

The twenty-six member Council of the Association now meets several times a year to discuss and set policy on Association business. The Council approves the Association budget, provides oversight on all Association activities, makes recommendations on resolutions and constitutional amendments, and sets overall policy for the Association. Extensive minutes of Council actions are regularly published in *PS*.

Administrative Committee

In 1969, the Council established an Administrative Committee composed of six elected officers of the Council to set the agenda for Council meetings, handle minor pieces of business and act for the Council in between its meetings. The new Administrative Committee supersedes the Executive Committee; an amendment to the current Constitution will be presented to the 1971 Business Meeting to officially replace the Executive Committee with the Administrative Committee.

Members of the Council's Administrative Committee for 1970-71 are:

Robert E. Lane, Chairman
Yale
John A. Davis
The City College
C.U.N.Y.
Heinz Eulau
Stanford
Samuel P. Huntington
Harvard

Donald R. Matthews
Brookings
Joyce M. Mitchell
Oregon
James W. Prothro
North Carolina

Nominating Committee

The Association's six member Committee on Nominations, half appointed by President Karl W. Deutsch and half appointed by President Robert E. Lane, met in March to select nominees for Association officers and Council members. Nominating committees in the last several years have made extensive efforts to canvass opinions of Association members for possible candidates for officers and Council members. The Committee's report and list of nominees for 1971-72 was published in the Spring issue of *PS*.

The members of the Nominating Committee are:

John C. Wahlke Chairman (1969-71) S.U.N.Y. (Stony Brook)	Paul L. Puryear (1970-72) Florida State
Hayward R. Alker, Jr. (1969-71)	J. David Singer (1969-71) Michigan
M.I.T.	S. Sidney Ulmer (1970-72) Kentucky
Roland Pennock (1970-72) Swarthmore	

Rules Committee

In 1970 the Council established a Rules Committee to continue the work of its predecessor Committee on Procedures and Agenda. The Committee revised the rules for the Annual Business Meeting which were approved by the Council at its June Meeting and are published in this issue of *PS*. The members of the Rules Committee are:

John H. Kessel, Chairman Ohio State	Allan P. Sindler California (Berkeley)
Chadwick F. Alger Northwestern	

Elections Committee

Established in 1969 at the time of the first contested Association election, the Elections Committee provides overall guidance of elections conducted for the Association by the American Arbitration Association for election of officers and balloting on resolutions, constitutional amendments and dues referenda. Members of the Elections Committee are:

Fred I. Greenstein Chairman Wesleyan	Ellis Waldron Montana
Henry S. Karlel Hawaii	

APSA Constitution

The Constitution of the Association has been amended in a number of ways in the last few years. Amendments have included provisions for: mail ballot for election of officers and Council members in contested elections; mail ballot on Constitutional amendments and resolutions where specified percentages of voting members are reached in the business meeting; support for academic freedom by the Association; affirmation of Association interest in research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies; and referenda on dues schedules proposed by the Council. The Constitution of the Association is printed in this issue of *PS*.

Proposed New Association Constitution

A proposed new Association Constitution, drafted by a Committee chaired by Aaron Wildavsky, California, Berkeley, was presented to the 1970 Annual Business Meeting. Following discussion the Business Meeting voted to delay a vote on the document for one year to allow for further debate on it. During the year, in order to facilitate discussion of the proposed Constitution, *PS* published several pieces by proponents and opponents of the document including an article in support of the document by two members of the drafting Committee, Victor G. Rosenblum, Northwestern, the acting chairman of the Committee, and Robert E. Hawkinson, Chicago. The Acting Chairman of the Constitutional Revision Committee also held sessions on the proposed constitution at regional political science association meetings. The proposed Constitution will be discussed at an informal session at the Annual Meeting on Tuesday evening September 7 and will be a topic of business at the Annual Business Meeting. The proposed new Constitution is printed in this issue of *PS*.

Human Resources in Political Science

The Association is increasingly concerned about the placement and recruitment of political scientists and has initiated innovations in its services in an effort to assist in this area. It has also established a Committee on Recruitment and Placement and is exploring the possibility of establishing a human resources information system for the field.

Human Resources Information System

The Association is exploring the feasibility of developing an overall scientific manpower information system, with computerized capabilities to assist in information processing and text composition, file search and information retrieval, statistical runs and data analysis, and mailing list production, accounting and auditing control. In addition to allowing for the frequent production of biographical directories, this system would help employers search for persons whose interests and talents best match their needs, facilitate meetings among persons with similar research interests, assist book review editors' search for appropriate reviewers, and generally provide timely and accurate access to the human resource base of the discipline.

Committee on Recruitment and Placement

In September 1970 the Association established a Committee on Recruitment and Placement to provide advice to the Association on problems of recruitment and placement. The Committee has assisted in the development of the open listing policy of the APSA Personnel Service, studied the recruitment and placement situation of regional political science associations and is currently engaged in a survey of departments on the placement situation, the initial results of which are published in this issue of *PS*. This survey of departments follows two studies published a year ago in the summer issue of *PS*, one by Earl M. Baker and one by Martin O. Heisler. The Committee will also conduct a panel at the Annual

Meeting again this year. The topic for the session at 2:00 P.M., Friday, September 10, will be "The Intellectual and Economic Aspects of the Academic Marketplace." The members of the Committee are:

Martin O. Heisler, Chairman Maryland	Marvin D. Rintala Boston College
Eryan T. Downes Missouri (St. Louis)	Judith A. Stiehm Southern California
Robert E. Martin Howard	

Professional Placement

Three services are conducted by the Association to provide assistance to political scientists seeking positions. Also, the Association's Director of the Personnel Service has been meeting regularly with other professional placement service directors to discuss mutual employment concerns and possible future joint efforts to aid professionals in their employment search. The three services offered by the Association are:

APSA Personnel Service

The Association's Personnel Service acts as a clearinghouse to bring together political scientists and prospective employers through a monthly Newsletter listing available positions. Two Council actions, one making it a professional obligation for political science departments to list in the APSA Personnel Service Newsletter all positions for which they are recruiting except those vacancies at the Associate and Full Professor levels which departments expect to fill from among people known to them, and another establishing

Positions Listed in APSA Personnel Service Newsletters

	1965-1966	1966-1967	1967-1968	1968-1969	1969-1970	1970-1971
October	23	32	44	37	44	16
November	37	56	46	42	69	30
December	—	79	70	29	62	34
January	43	83	64	39	58	70*
February	71	65	48	71	52	63
March	32	33	31	69	35	43
April	31	41	23	20	34	48
May	18	27	15	16	21	35
June	17	15	15	27	24	10
July	23	15	8	19	5	20
Total	295	446	364	438	404	369

*First issue after announcement of open-listing policy.

a separate Credential Referral Service of the Personnel Service, has strengthened and streamlined the Service in serving its members. The Council also adopted a policy inviting departments to contribute a \$5.00 levy per graduate student going on the job market. In the first year of operation, departments have shown strong support for the policy which is designed to provide support for expanded activities to aid in the placement of political scientists.

Annual Meeting Professional Placement Service

At the 1970 Annual Meeting, 600 individuals seeking positions and 172 organizations and departments seeking personnel employed the service. The service will be conducted again at the 1971 Annual Meeting.

Retired Professor's Registry

As an adjunct to the Personnel Service, the Association initiated a Registry of Retired Professors in 1967. The Registry serves as an information exchange for retired professors who desire to teach one or more courses on a one semester or one year basis, and departmental chairmen who require faculty for short terms. The Registry is available to Association members without charge. Registered members submit one-page resumes, which are maintained by the Association and forwarded to inquiring institutions where fields of interest coincide. All further contact is made directly between the registrant and the institution. During its fourth year, approximately 170 referrals were made through the Registry.

Public Affairs

The Association has traditionally supported programs and activities of public affairs which bring the skills and knowledge of political scientists to individuals and organizations outside the discipline. In recent years, with the greater interest in public policy and in the relationship of knowledge into action, the Association has intensified its concern and interest in the area of public affairs. At the present time a number of Association programs contribute in part to the Association's interest in public affairs. The programs listed below are especially concerned with public affairs.

State Legislative Service Project

Under a grant from the Ford Foundation, the Association is conducting a series of State Legislative Service Projects. The Projects include the organization of seminars led by senior legislators and other experts in the legislative process and the preparation of manuals describing the operation of the participating legislatures. Both the seminars and the manuals emphasize the immediate practical problems of the newcomer-committee assignment and service, relationships with party leadership and colleagues, parliamentary procedure and the conduct of legislative business and constituency service and education.

As co-sponsors with the participating state legislatures, the Association provides State Legislative Service Fellows counsel in preparing and conducting orientation programs, limited financial support to provide supplementary materials, and assistance in the publication of manuals describing the job of the legislator in the particular state. Overall guidance for the State Legislative Service Project is provided by an Advisory Committee composed of:

Heinz Eulau Stanford	Hon. Michael J. Maloney Majority Leader of the Senate (Ohio)
John G. Grumm Wesleyan	Samuel C. Patterson Iowa
Charles W. Harris Howard	Clara Penniman Wisconsin
Charles S. Hyneman Indiana	David G. Temple Virginia
Evron M. Kirkpatrick APSA	Hon. Jesse Unruh Former Majority Leader of the State Assembly (California)
Hon. Robert P. Knowles President of the Senate (Wisconsin)	

Currently the Association has 17 Legislative Service Projects most of which held seminars for newly elected legislators in 1970-71. The Projects, States, seminar dates and places, Legislative Service Fellows and the co-sponsors are:

California Assembly

State Legislative Service Fellows	Co-Sponsor:
Charles G. Bell California State College (Fullerton)	State Legislative Leaders and Center for Government Studies, California State, Fullerton
Joel M. Fisher California State College (Fullerton)	
Charles M. Price California State College (Chico)	

Connecticut General Assembly

State Legislative
Service Fellow
Wayne R. Swanson
Connecticut College

Co-Sponsor:
Legislative Leaders
Alan P. Rense, Office of
Legislative Research
David B. Ogle, Office of
Legislative Management

Illinois General Assembly

State Legislative
Service Fellow
Samuel K. Gove
Institute of Government
and Public Affairs
University of Illinois

Co-Sponsor:
Illinois Legislative Council
William L. Day
Director of Research

Orientation seminars held December 6-8, 1970, Pheasant Run
State Park, St. Charles, Illinois

Iowa General Assembly

State Legislative
Service Fellow
Charles W. Wiggins
University of Iowa

Co-Sponsor:
Iowa Legislative Research
Committee and Bureau
A. E. Reyhons,
Bureau Director
(In cooperation with the
Institute of Public Affairs,
University of Iowa, and the
Cooperative Extension
Service, Iowa State
University)

Orientation seminar held January 12, 1971 at the State Capitol

Kansas House of Representatives

State Legislative
Service Fellow
Marvin Harder
Wichita State University

Co-Sponsor:
State Legislative Leaders

Louisiana House of Representatives and Senate

State Legislative
Service Fellow
James H. Chubbuck
Institute of Politics
Loyola University

Co-Sponsor:
Louisiana Legislative Council
DeVan Daggett,
Executive Director

Maine House of Representatives

State Legislative
Service Fellows
Kenneth B. Hayes
University of Maine, Orono
Kenneth T. Palmer
University of Maine, Orono

Co-Sponsor:
State Legislative Leaders

Massachusetts General Court

State Legislative
Service Fellow
Edwin A. Gere, Jr.
University of Massachusetts
(Amherst)

Co-Sponsor:
Legislative Research Council
Massachusetts General Court
and the Bureau of
Government Research
University of Massachusetts

Orientation seminars held January 21-22, 1971, University of
Massachusetts, Amherst

Montana House of Representatives and Senate

State Legislative
Service Fellow
Lawrence K. Pettit
Montana State University

Co-Sponsor:
Montana Legislative Council
and Department of History,
Government of Philosophy
Montana State University

Orientation seminar held January 4, 1971, State Capital,
Helena, Montana

New Hampshire House of Representatives

State Legislative
Service Fellows
Laurence I. Radway
Dartmouth College
Frank Smallwood
Dartmouth College

Co-Sponsor:
Dartmouth Public Affairs
Center and New Hampshire
Legislature
Marshall W. Cobleigh,
Speaker, House of
Representatives
John R. Bradshaw,
President of the Senate

Ohio House of Representatives

State Legislature
Service Fellow
Thomas A. Flinn
Cleveland State

Co-Sponsor:
Ohio Legislative
Service Commission
David A. Johnston, Director
William Chance,
Senior Research Associate

Orientation seminars held in January and February, State
Capitol, Columbus, Ohio

Oregon House of Representatives

State Legislative
Service Fellows
William C. Mitchell
University of Oregon
Lawrence C. Pierce
University of Oregon

Co-Sponsor:
Legislative Leaders,
Oregon House of
Representatives

Pennsylvania General Assembly

State Legislative
Service Fellow
Sidney Wise
Franklin & Marshall College

Co-Sponsor:
Legislative Leaders
General Assembly
Commonwealth of
Pennsylvania

Orientation seminars held December 8-9, 1970, Penn Harris
Hotel, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Rhode Island General Assembly

State Legislative
Service Fellows
Elmer E. Cornwell
Brown University
Jay S. Goodman
Wheaton College

Co-Sponsor:
Rhode Island Legislative
Council
Agnelo A. Mosca, Jr.,
Director

Orientation seminars held December 14, 1970, State Capitol,
Providence, Rhode Island

Washington House of Representatives

State Legislative
Service Fellow
James J. Best
University of Washington

Co-Sponsor:
State Legislative Leaders

West Virginia State Legislature

State Legislative
Service Fellows
Thomas Drake
University of West Virginia

Co-Sponsor:
Department of Political
Science, West Virginia
University and the West
Virginia Legislature

Darrell V. McGraw, Jr.

Lloyd G. Jackson,
President of the Senate
Lewis N. McManue, Speaker,
House of Delegates

Orientation seminars held January 13-14, 1971, Charleston,
West Virginia

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Wisconsin State Legislature

State Legislative
Service Fellows
Wilder W. Crane, Jr.
University of Wisconsin
(Milwaukee)
Ronald D. Hedlund
University of Wisconsin
(Milwaukee)

Co-Sponsor:
Wisconsin Legislative
Council
Earl Sachse,
Executive Secretary

Orientation seminars held January 4-7, 1971, Madison, Wisconsin

Nine manuals have been prepared under the project and several more will be published this fall. The manuals already published are:

Illinois

An Introduction to the Illinois General Assembly
(2nd Edition) by Samuel K. Gove and Richard J. Carlson

Iowa

The Iowa Lawmaker (2nd Edition)
by Charles W. Wiggins

Ohio

A Guidebook for Ohio Legislators
by C. William Chance

Pennsylvania

The Legislative Process in Pennsylvania
by Sidney Wise

New Hampshire

Handbook for The New Hampshire General Court by Arthur Ristau

Rhode Island

The Rhode Island General Assembly
by Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., Jay S. Goodman,
William J. DeNuccio and Angelo A. Mosca, Jr.

Washington

The Washington State Legislative Handbook
by James J. Best

West Virginia

The Role of the Lawmaker in West Virginia
by Darrell V. McGraw, Jr.

Wisconsin

The Job of the Legislator (2nd Edition)
by Ronald D. Hedlund and Wilder W. Crane, Jr.

Seminar for Freshman Congressmen

In January, 1971, the Association co-sponsored with a bi-partisan committee of House Members

and the Congressional Research Service in the Library of Congress, the fifth in a series of orientation programs for newly-elected House Members. Held every two years since 1963, the seminars are designed to acquaint the new Members with the functions and processes of the House of Representatives as well as their responsibilities as elected officials. Sessions are also held for the staff of new Members. In conjunction with the Seminar program, the Association this year made available the 2nd edition of *The Job of the Congressman* for use as a supplement to the discussion sessions and as a permanent reference for Congressmen and their staff. Co-authors of the book, published by Bobbs Merrill, are Donald G. Tacheron, former APSA Associate Director, and now Director of Research on the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.); both authors have assigned royalties from the volume to the Association.

The 1971 sponsoring committee for the seminars was composed of:

Barber B. Conable, Jr. (Co-Chairman) (R-N.Y.)	William S. Mailliard (R-Calif.)
Morris K. Udall (Co-Chairman) (D-Wisc.)	John E. Moss (D-Calif.)
Glenn R. Davis (R-Wisc.)	James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.)
Dante Fascell (D-Fla.)	Albert H. Quie (R-Minn.)
The American Political Science Association, represented by: Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Executive Director	The Congressional Research Service represented by: Lester S. Jayson, Director

Public Affairs Awards

Two programs are conducted by the Association, under grants from the Ford Foundation, which are designed to recognize and enhance excellence in public affairs reporting. Overall policy guidance and final review of selection for participation in the two programs, the Public Affairs Reporting Awards Seminars and the Public Affairs Reporting Fellowship Program, are provided by an Advisory Committee composed of:

Warren E. Miller, Chairman Michigan	Ralph K. Huitt National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges
Dan D. Nimmo Missouri	Donald G. Tacheron Joint Committee on Congressional Operations
Vincent J. Browne Howard	
Russell L. Adams Howard	

Public Affairs Reporting Awards

The Association has sponsored an annual competition for reporters of public affairs since 1956 which recognizes excellence in the coverage of state and local government, politics, or public affairs generally. The award winners and their publications, radio or television stations receive plaques and the winners are invited to participate in a one-week seminar with leading political scientists, state and national political leaders and political journalists.

The seminars are designed to enhance the sophistication and accuracy of public affairs reporting by encouraging participants to utilize relevant social science research and by stimulating thoughtful consideration of the role of the journalist in a democratic society.

The first Seminar for Reporters of Public Affairs was held in Sun Valley, Idaho, from June 20 through June 26. The second seminar will be held from October 31 through November 6 in St. Petersburg, Florida. Speakers and discussion leaders for the June seminar were:

Russell L. Adams Federal City	Howard R. Penniman, Director
David S. Broder <i>Washington Post</i>	Georgetown
Edwin D. Goldfield U.S. Bureau of the Census	Nelson W. Polsby California (Berkeley)
Charles O. Jones Pittsburgh	Austin Ranney Wisconsin (Madison)
Philip Meyer <i>Knight Newspapers</i>	Richard M. Scammon Elections Research Center
Warren E. Miller Michigan	John G. Stewart Democratic National Committee

Winners and their publications or stations are:

David Arnold, Topeka Capital-Journal (Kansas)
Pete Ballard, WMAR-TV (Baltimore, Maryland)
Charles Baireuther, Los Angeles Sentinel (California)
Donald Bartlett, Philadelphia Inquirer (Pennsylvania)
Gail Bensinger, Congressional Quarterly (D.C.)
Ken Booth, KEEL Radio (Shreveport, Louisiana)
Lewis Branche, Niagara Falls Gazette (New York)
Barclay Brantingham, Santa Barbara News-Press (California)
Patrick Brasley, Newsday (New York)
John Bulkley, Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Iowa)
Kitsi Burkhart, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin (Pennsylvania)
Dennis Campbell, Sacramento Bee (California)
David Cleary, Philadelphia Bulletin (Pennsylvania)
Mark Coogan, KFI News (Los Angeles, California)
Herbert Cook, Columbus Dispatch (Ohio)
Jonathan Cottin, National Journal (D.C.)
Howard Covington, Charlotte Observer (North Carolina)
Philip Currie, Rochester Times-Union (New York)
Richard Danis, Dayton Daily News (Ohio)
William Deibler, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)
Sue DeLoach, Laurel Leader-Call (Mississippi)
Frank Denton, Anniston Star (Alabama)
Robert Dorr, Omaha World-Herald (Nebraska)
Albert Elsele, Ridder Publications (D.C.)

Gerald Elsea, Cedar Rapids Gazette (Iowa)
Daniel Foley, Lee Newspapers (Helena, Montana)
Burton Fox, WPIV-TV (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)
George Froehlich, Vancouver Sun (Canada)
Michael Gershowitz, Long Island Press (New York)
Woodrow Wilson Golden, Jr., Mississippi Center for Educational Television
James Grohl, Columbus Citizens-Journal (Ohio)
John Hanrahan, Washington Post (D.C.)
Bill Hazlett, Los Angeles Times (California)
David Hopcraft, Plain Dealer (Cleveland, Ohio)
Harry Humphreys, Van Nuys News (California)
Gerald Keir, Honolulu Advertiser (Hawaii)
Eldon Knoche, Delaware County Daily Times (Chester, Pennsylvania)
Robert Krotz, Des Moines Register and Tribune (Iowa)
Bill Leonard, WRC-TV (D.C.)
Phillip Madry, WTVN-TV (Columbus, Ohio)
Roy Martin & Ken Irons, Greensboro Record (North Carolina)
David Offer, Hartford Courant (Connecticut)
Ralph Olive, Milwaukee Journal (Wisconsin)
Douglas Palmer, Deseret News (Salt Lake City Utah)
Donald Pfarrer, Milwaukee Journal (Wisconsin)
Max Price, Denver Post (Colorado)
Pat Ryan, Sports Illustrated (New York)
James Sellers, Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald (Mississippi)
David Shipler, New York Times (New York)
James Steele, Philadelphia Inquirer (Pennsylvania)
Tom Stundza, Gary Post-Tribune (Indiana)
Robert Taylor, Sacramento Union (California)
Larry Van Goethem, Janesville Gazette (Wisconsin)
Georgiana Vines, Knoxville News-Sentinel (Tennessee)
Elizabeth Whitney, St. Petersburg Times (Florida)
William Yerkes, News Tribune (Woodbridge, New Jersey)

Public Affairs Reporting Fellowship Program

The Public Affairs Reporting Fellowship Program is designed to provide an extensive training opportunity for journalists wishing to improve their substantive knowledge in a particular field of interest and to improve their skills in reporting techniques. The 1970-71 Fellows and the institutions they are affiliated with:

Arnold H. Ismach, *San Bernardino (Calif.) Sun-Telegram*, Washington
Sherrie L. Mazingo, *Minneapolis (Minn.) Star*
John T. Opel, *Boca Raton (Fla.) News*, Florida Atlantic
John B. Quigley, *Houston (Tex.) Post*, Houston
Ronald F. Royhab, *Ohio Scripps-Howard Bureau*, American
Martin Salditch, *Riverside (Calif.) Press Enterprise*, London
A. Robert Smith, Washington Correspondent for several northwestern newspapers, Resources for the Future
Regis M. Stefanik, *Kittanning (Pa.) Leader-Times*, Glasgow
Philip Sutin, *St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch*, California, Berkeley
Roger M. Williams, *Time*, Emory
Robert D. Woodward, *Washington (D.C.) Star*, Indiana

The 1971-72 Fellows are:

James Clark, Bridgeport (Conn.) Telegram
Dennis M. Eskow, Tucson Daily Citizen
Frederick Van Hon Garretson, Oakland (Ca.) Tribune
Daniel R. Hackel, WMAL AM-FM-TV (D.C.)
Stanley Harrell, Jr., KPOL (Redmond, Wash.)
Brian Kelly, Washington Star
Michael Krawetz, Westinghouse-International Public Relations (NYC)
Phillip Madry, WTVN-TV (Columbus, Ohio)
John Moreau, Chicago Sun-Times
Rachel Munafò, Delaware County Daily Times
David B. Offer, Hartford (Conn.) Courant

John W. Owen, WMVS-TV (Milwaukee, Wi.)
Jane Salodof, Long Island Press

Scholarly Cooperation and Liaison

Government and Scholarly Organizations

The Association continues to work closely with Federal agencies and Congressional Committees as well as scholarly organizations to advance the interests in the profession, especially where research interest and support are concerned. Activities of this kind are carried out in consultation with the Association's officers and Council members.

National Science Foundation

In an increasing variety of ways the Association maintains liaison and works with the National Science Foundation. Some of these, in the area of pre-collegiate education and undergraduate education are reported on in the sections of this report on those topics. Other areas of activity with the Foundation include:

The National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel

Political science is one of 15 professions participating in the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel which collects and analyses data on the educational and professional status of scientific personnel. In 1969-70 the second survey of political scientists was undertaken. An analysis of this survey of 6,493 qualifying political scientists was published in the winter issue of *PS* in an article by Earl M. Baker entitled "The Political Science Profession in 1970: Basic Characteristics." Register data is maintained at the NSF National Register Records Center, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Overall guidelines for the Project, including development of the questionnaire, selection of the list of specialties, and determination of qualifications for inclusion in the Register, were made by an Association Advisory Committee.

The Committee for the 1969-70 survey was composed of:

Karl W. Deutsch, Chairman Harvard	Tobe Johnson Morehouse
Elmer E. Cornwell Brown	Harold D. Lasswell Yale
Heinz Eulau Stanford	Frank J. Munger North Carolina
Barbara A. Hinkley Cornell	Austin Ranney Wisconsin

The Advisory Committee for the Social Sciences

Robert E. Lane, Yale, was appointed in 1968 for a three year term.

The Advisory Panel for Political Science

The Advisory Panel for Political Science is composed of six members for one year terms. Members for 1970 are:

Bernard C. Cohen Wisconsin	Robert E. Scott Illinois
Fred I. Greenstein Wesleyan	S. Sidney Ulmer Kentucky
H. Douglas Price Harvard	Sidney Verba Chicago

William A. Lucas is the Program Director for the Political Science Program in The Division of Social Sciences at the National Science Foundation.

National Endowment for the Humanities

Since its inception in 1965, the Association has maintained liaison with the Humanities Foundations. Facilities have been provided the Foundation at Annual Meetings in order to bring opportunities available from the Foundation to the attention of political scientists, and Foundation awards to political scientists have been announced in *PS*. Political scientists currently serving on The National Council on the Humanities are Robert E. Ward, Michigan, and Arthur L. Peterson, Ohio Wesleyan.

National Science Board

James G. March, California (Irvine), is serving a six year term which began in 1968 by appointment of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, Division of Behavioral Sciences

A number of political scientists serve on NAS-NRC Division of Behavioral Sciences Committees. They include:

The Association's Representatives to the Division of Behavioral Sciences:

Philip E. Converse Michigan	Robert E. Lane Yale
Heinz Eulau Stanford	

Members at Large of the Division:

William T. R. Fox
Columbia
William H. Riker
Rochester

Kenneth Waltz
Brandeis

Executive Committee Members:

Philip E. Converse
Michigan
Heinz Eulau
Stanford

William H. Riker
Rochester
Herbert A. Simon
Carnegie-Mellon

Committee on Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey

Sponsored jointly by the National Academy of Sciences and the Social Science Research Council, the survey provided a comprehensive review and appraisal of the rapidly expanding fields of knowledge in the social sciences and constitutes a basis for an informed national policy to strengthen and develop the fields. Members of the Political Science Panels are:

Heinz Eulau, Chairman
Stanford
David Easton
Chicago
Harry Eckstein
Princeton
Robert E. Lane
Yale
Harvey C. Mansfield
Columbia

James G. March
California (Irvine)
Warren E. Miller
Michigan
Ithiel de Sola Pool
M.I.T.
Austin Ranney
Wisconsin
Joseph La Palombara
Yale

The complete survey was published by the National Academy of Sciences and is entitled, *The Behavioral and Social Sciences: Outlook and Needs*. A paperback edition of the political science survey edited by Heinz Eulau and James March entitled, *Political Science*, was published by Prentice-Hall; the cost is \$1.95.

Committee on Arms Control Disarmament Agency Research in the Social and Behavioral Sciences

Philip E. Mosely
Columbia

James R. Roach
Texas

Committee on the Assessment of University—Board Research Institutes on Poverty

Merle Kling
Washington (St. Louis)

Committee on Demographic, Economic, and Social Trends in the Western Pacific

Richard W. Gable
California (Davis)

Committee on an Institute for Applied Science and Social Change in a Rural Area

Richard C. Snyder
Ohio State

James L. Sundquest
Brookings

Committee on International Relations in the Behavioral Sciences

Seymour M. Lipset, Chairman
Harvard
Evron M. Kirkpatrick
APSA

Harold D. Lasswell
John Jay
Warren E. Miller
Michigan

Committee on the Life Sciences and Social Policy

James W. Prothro
North Carolina

Committee on the Management of Behavioral Science Research in the Department of Defense

William W. Kaufman,
Chairman, M.I.T.
Ithiel de Sola Pool
M.I.T.

Michael D. Reagan
California (Riverside)

Committee on Research Strategies in the Behavioral and Social Sciences on Environmental Problems and Policies

John P. Creecine
Michigan

U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

The Association's representative on the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO is Walter Laves, Indiana University.

U.S. National Archives and Records Service, Archives Advisory Board

The Association's representative on the Archives Advisory Board of the U.S. National Archives and Records Service is John E. Andrus, Wesleyan University.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

A number of political scientists are among the first group of scholars in residence at the

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Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars of the Smithsonian Institution. Detailed information on the Center was published in the fall 1970 *PS*. Three political scientists are currently serving on the Center's Board of Trustees:

James MacGregor Burns
Williams
Daniel P. Moynihan
Harvard

John P. Roche
Brandeis

The U.S. Information Agency

The Association cooperates with the United States Information Agency in making information available to scholars in other countries about educational opportunities, and about political science as taught and practiced in the United States. USIA also sponsors visits of American schools through its cultural attachés abroad, and arranges for lectures and seminars as part of a program to acquaint foreign scholars with Americans. The Agency also calls attention to papers from American scholarly meetings to foreign scholars, and helps distribute papers from the Association's Annual Meeting to interested readers abroad.

American Council of Learned Societies

The Association's representative to the Council is John D. Lewis, Oberlin.

American Association for the Advancement of Science

The Association's representative to the AAAS is Avery Leiserson, Vanderbilt.

Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on the International Exchange of Persons, Advisory Committee for Political Science

The Advisory Screening Committee for Political Science is composed of:

Joseph B. Board
Union
J. Gray Cowan
Columbia

David J. Danielski
Cornell
Norman D. Palmer
Pennsylvania

Educational Testing Service

The members of the Committee of Examiners for the GRE Advanced Political Science Test are:

John C. Wahlke, Chairman
SUNY, Stony Brook

Paul L. Puryear
Florida State

Peter Bachrach
Temple
Joseph LaPalombara
Yale

C. Kenneth Prewitt
Chicago
James Rosenau
Ohio State

Members of the Committee of Examiners for the undergraduate political science test are:

Tobe Johnson
Morehouse
Roger H. Davidson
California (Santa Barbara)
Timothy Fuller
Colorado College

Donald E. Habbe
South Dakota
Jake Miller
Fisk
Saundra Powell
San Francisco

Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations of the United States"

Elmer Plischke
Maryland

Inis L. Claude
Virginia

Social Science Research Council

Association representatives to the Council holding three year terms are:

Robert E. Ward (1970-73)
Austin Ranney (1969-72)
David B. Truman (1968-71)

Robert E. Ward is also currently serving as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Council; Matthew Hoiden, Jr. serves as a Director-at-Large

Consortium of Social Science Associations

During the past year the Association has joined with other social science associations to found a new organization which will seek to enhance the cooperation among member associations in dealing with shared problems and mutual concerns in the social sciences. Member organizations belonging to the new organization are:

American Historical Association, American Sociological Association, American Statistical Association, American Psychological Association, Association of American Geographers, and Association of American Law Schools and American Political Science Association.

General Information Requests

The Association serves as a referral center for inquiries about the profession of political science. Approximately 2,000 inquiries are received annually and are answered by the Association's national office. About a thousand high school and college students receive information sheets about

"Political Science as a Career." Other often-requested information includes study abroad, research support, study in the United States by foreign nationals, and the annual high school and college debate topics. Although often the Association has no publications or information on the many topics about which it receives inquiries, every effort is made to place the inquirer in communication with a productive source of such information.

Where departmental chairmen or faculty members seek information about employment or curriculum trends in the discipline, the Association provides what data it may have, and usually suggests sources for further reference.

Regional and State Political Science Associations

The Association is increasing its efforts to provide greater assistance to the regional and state political science associations. In the spring *PS*, a list of associations, officers, publications and meeting dates was published. Throughout the year in *PS*, general information on regional and state political science association is published and officers are encouraged to provide materials to the Editor of *PS*. At the 1971 Annual Meeting, the Association has scheduled a meeting on Wednesday, September 8, at 11:30 a.m. in dining room #3 of the Conrad Hilton to which all officers of regional and state political science associations are invited to discuss matters of interest and mutual concern.

International Political Science Association

The Association is continuing its participation in and support of the International Political Science Association. In September, 1970, 260 Americans attended the eighth IPSA World Congress in Munich, Germany; over 100 of them were conference participants. The current President of the Association is Stein Rokkan of Norway; Karl W. Deutsch, Harvard, is a member of the Executive Committee. Three Americans, Quincy Wright, James K. Pollock and Carl J. Friedrich, have served as President of IPSA. Further information on IPSA may be obtained by writing to the Association's Secretary-General, Andre-Philippart, 43 rue des Champs Elysees, Brussels 15, Belgium.

Political Science Department Chairmen Committee

In an effort to develop greater liaison between the Association and political science department chairmen, the Association established a department chairmen's committee this year composed of:

Malcolm E. Jewell, Chairman Kentucky	George A. Lipsky Wabash
Donald M. Freeman West Florida	Don C. Piper Maryland
Jean Grossholtz Mt. Holyoke	Charles Press Michigan State
Robert H. Horwitz Kenyon	Michael D. Reagan California (Riverside)
Sol Lebovitz Bryant	Peter P. Remec Fordham
Carrol R. McKibbin Nebraska	William P. Robinson, Sr. Norfolk

Following the informal sessions with department chairmen held at recent Annual Meetings, the Committee is planning three sessions at the 1971 Annual Meeting: Tuesday, September 7, at 4:00 p.m., on Undergraduate Curriculum; Wednesday, September 8, at 12:00 a.m., on Graduate Departments in the 70's, and Thursday, September 9, at 12:00 a.m. on The Department Chairmanship. The Committee, which has met twice during the past year, is conducting an extensive survey of department chairmen in order to gather information on ways in which the Association may be of greater assistance to departments.

Special Programs for Non-Americans

The Association conducts special programs for non-Americans and cooperates with foreign institutions, groups, and individuals by welcoming political scientists and government officials from other countries.

Again this past year, the Association operated a special membership and travel grant program for Asian political scientists. Supported by the Asia Foundation, supplementary travel funds are granted to Asian scholars temporarily residing in the United States to permit them to attend the Association's Annual Meeting. Travel grant awards were made for attendance at the 1970 Annual Meeting as follows:

Name	Institution	Country
Latheef N. Ahmed		Malaysia
Parris H. Chang	Pennsylvania State	Taiwan
Firdaus bin Haji-Abdullah	Ohio	Malaysia
Ashok Kapur	Carleton	India
Tae-Hwan Kwak	Eastern Kentucky	Korea
Nancy Gok-Ching Ma	Cornell	Hong Kong

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1970-1971 APSA Foreign Visitors

Name	Country	Affiliation	Program
Erhard Busek	Austria	Austrian Economic League	Department of State International Visitors
Millich Enyo		European Economic Community	Eisenhower Fellowship Program
Douglas McCallum	Australia	University of New South Wales	
Anders A. K. Pederson	Denmark	University of Copenhagen	Experiment in International Living
Sadayoshi Okobo	Japan	Tokai University	Fulbright Scholar
Gordon Reed	Australia	Australian National University	
Zygomunt Rybicki	Poland	Warsaw University	Experiment in International Living
Wolfgang Schuessel	Austria	Austrian Peoples Party	Department of State International Visitors
Hayao Shimizo	Japan	Meiji University	
Gunnar Sjoehlam	Sweden	University of Lund	
Geoffrey Yeed	Australia	Prime Minister's Department	Eisenhower Fellowship Program

P. Kim Shee	Indiana	Singapore	them inaugurations of new college and university presidents, during the academic year 1970-1971.
Yawsoon Sim	Grambling	Malaysia	

Membership grants for Asian scholars in their home countries, which enables them to receive the *Review* and *PS* have been granted to over 490 scholars and institutions since inception of the grant program in 1958.

During the past year, Association officers and staff have provided assistance and suggestions on study and travel in this country to a number of foreign visitors. Among those who have visited the Washington office are those listed above.

APSA Representation at Ceremonies
1970-1971

The Association was represented by members at twelve academic and scholarly ceremonies, most of

Membership Services

Group Insurance Programs

The Association sponsors three group insurance programs for members: a Term Life Insurance Plan, underwritten by John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance; an Accident Plan, underwritten by Mutual of Omaha Insurance; and a Hospital Cash Plan, underwritten by Hartford Accident and Indemnity Co. Further information on the three APSA Group Insurance Plans is available to members by writing to the Executive Director.

In 1971, the total volume of life insurance in effect for 641 participating Association members was \$8,176,900. Death claims paid out during 1970-71 totalled \$37,000. Following is a table

1970-1971 Association Representatives at Academic and Scholarly Ceremonies

Institution	Inauguration or Other Ceremony	APSA Representative	Affiliation of Representative
Albion	Bernard Lomas	Charles E. Schutz	Albion
Alcorn Agricultural & Mechanical	Walter Washington	Ernst Borinski	Tougaloo
American Academy of Political & Social Science Centenary	75th Annual Meeting	Louis M. Seagull and Earl M. Baker	Pennsylvania Temple
McMurry	John H. Allen	Lorimer E. Storey	Louisiana Polytechnical Institute
Newark	Thomas Kim	August O. Spain	Texas Christian
Oklahoma City	Nathan Weiss	Joel P. Margolis	Rutgers
Sam Houston	Dolphus Whitten, Jr.	Rufus G. Hall	Oklahoma
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Wilson	Frederick M. Binder	Raymond G. McKelvey	Occidental
	Charles C. Cole, Jr.	Heber R. Harper	Dickinson

showing the claims history of the group term life insurance program since its inception in 1960:

Year	Total Insurance Volume	Number of Death Claims	Total Amount Paid Out
1960-61	\$5,482,260.00	2	\$20,000.00
1961-62	5,922,438.00	1	14,500.00
1962-63	6,559,837.00	1	5,000.00
1963-64	6,884,808.00	5	45,000.00
1964-65	7,461,875.00	6	53,000.00
1965-66	7,393,994.00	8	66,500.00
1966-67	7,405,836.00	4	37,500.00
1967-68	9,573,930.00	6	54,551.00
1968-69	8,612,180.00	7	44,000.00
1969-70	8,383,480.00	8	54,000.00
1970-71	8,176,900.00	4	37,000.00

As of June 1, 697 members of the Association held a total amount of insurance under the Group Accident Plan of \$43,405,000. In the past year there were no claims.

The newest Association insurance plan is a Hospital Cash Plan which went into effect in June 1971.

Political Science Building

The Association headquarters are maintained in the Political Science Building which was purchased by the Association in 1967. The Association maintains offices on the first two floors, which include offices and conference facilities. Conference rooms are available for meetings sponsored by the Association such as Committee meetings and Congressional Fellowship Program seminars.

Organizations occupying the remaining space on the upper floors of the building include: The Association of Research Libraries, and the Civil Rights Documentation Project.

APSA Financial Review

A financial review of the Association is contained in the Treasurer's report which is printed in this issue of *PS*. A brief look at the financial picture of the Association over the years is printed below.

APSA Summary Financial Review

Year	Income	Expenditures	Endowment Fund	Total Assets
1904	\$ 1,018	\$ 252	\$	\$
1914	4,923	4,843
1924	7,458	6,562	1,442
1934	8,724	7,709	8,191
1944	22,658	17,998	9,087
1954	87,568	94,645	23,580	47,783
1964	210,488	160,229	211,154	1,150,749
1965	237,185	148,701	255,720	1,339,803
1966	286,632	200,774	322,449	2,598,204
1967	343,726	256,375	516,951	2,665,817
1968	344,526	342,746	590,259	2,669,671
1969	426,974	531,565	533,597	2,576,187
1970	455,410	647,730	600,857	2,595,883
1971 Est.	628,403	774,679	600,958	2,086,977

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Virginia Sapiro	Bruce Stanfield	Obaid Ul Haq	Thomas J. Williams
Ronald Sarner	Robert T. Starks	S. Sidney Ulmer	Robert G. Willmering
Tahmooures Sarraf	Arthur F. Statzner	U.S. Civil Service Commission	Roger Wilner
Giovanni Sartori	Stauffer Chemical Company	U.S. Steel Foundation	G. D. Wilson
Elizabeth Sass	Bonnie P. Steele	Glenn H. Utter	Frederick M. Wirt
Klin Sastry	Sydney Stein, Jr.	E. H. Valsan	Joseph J. Wisneki
Alberta Sbraglia	James R. Stephens, Jr.	Tran Van Bieu	Robert J. Witek
E. E. Schattschneider	Lawrence Sternfield	Leonardus M. Van Dem Mey	Forest T. Witsman
Bernard Schechterman	John G. Stewart	Vernon Van Dyke	Karl Wittfogel
Arthur Schloss	Sara J. Stewart	Hendrik Van Dalen	Hugo Wolf
Carl Y. Schmidt	Edwin J. Stillings	Carl E. Van Horn	Ellsworth Wolfspurger
Linda Schmitt	Theodore L. Stoddard	Paul P. Van Riper	Sheldon S. Wolin
Victoria Schuck	Walter J. Stone	Robert L. Vautrain	Mark Wollenweber
Elfriede Schulz	John A. Stookey	Luis Vega	William A. Wolters
Paul R. Schulman	Marvin Stottlemier	Heimo Vesala	K. E. Womack, Jr.
John W. Schwade	Carl F. Stover	Vicharat Vadakan Vichit	Patricia A. Womack
Andrew J. Schwartz	Roger E. Strand	L. S. Vieth	Herbert Wood
Mildred Schwartz	Owen S. Stratton	Roberto E. Villarreal	Richard F. Wood
Joseph M. Scolnick, Jr.	Doris Stratmann	Eugene G. Vincent	Laurence S. Woodworth
Thomas J. Scorza	Joel L. Strawley	James A. Visser	Haran A. Wright II
Robert H. Scott	Edwin B. Strong Jr.	George C. Vitry	Ruth E. Wright
Richard Seabold	Robert W. Studer	Eric Voegelin	Donald D. Wrighton
Edward L. Sealover	Forrest E. Studebaker	Sandra L. Vogelgesang	Chitoshi Yanaga
Jeggan Senghor	Abelardo Subido	Lee Voorhees	Nathan Yanai
Douglas A. Seymour	Harold J. Sullivan	Carl R. Wagner	Jacquelyn Yates
Bryon E. Shaffr	Marianna P. Sullivan	John C. Wahlke	John Y. Yin
Samuel L. Shapp	Kasem Sumannakul	Walker Parkersburg Div. of	Yuji Yonemori
Bruce E. Shaw	Harsono S. Suwardi	Textron	Dae S. Yoon
Carrol Shaw	John R. Swando	Robert S. Waldman	Syng N. Yough
J. Shenis	Donald A. Swanson	C. Dwight Waldo	Nadia Younes
Edgar L. Sherbenou	David A. Swickard	Ellis Waldron	Raymond W. Young
Richard J. Sherrier	Edward A. Swierczek	David Walker	William H. Young
Kim Shienbaum	Richard T. Sylves	George Walker	Harriet J. Zagor
Rinn-Sup Shinn	George Szablowski	Jack L. Walker	W. Salley Zanjani
Vergil Shipley	Z. Michael Szaz	James Walker	George W. Zeigler
Leonard Shipman	John Tabori	Hugo Wall	Joseph L. Zentner
Robert V. Shirley	Donald G. Tacheron	Linda Wallen	Arnold J. Zurcher
John N. Short	Ross B. Talbot	Peter R. Walls	

APSA Membership

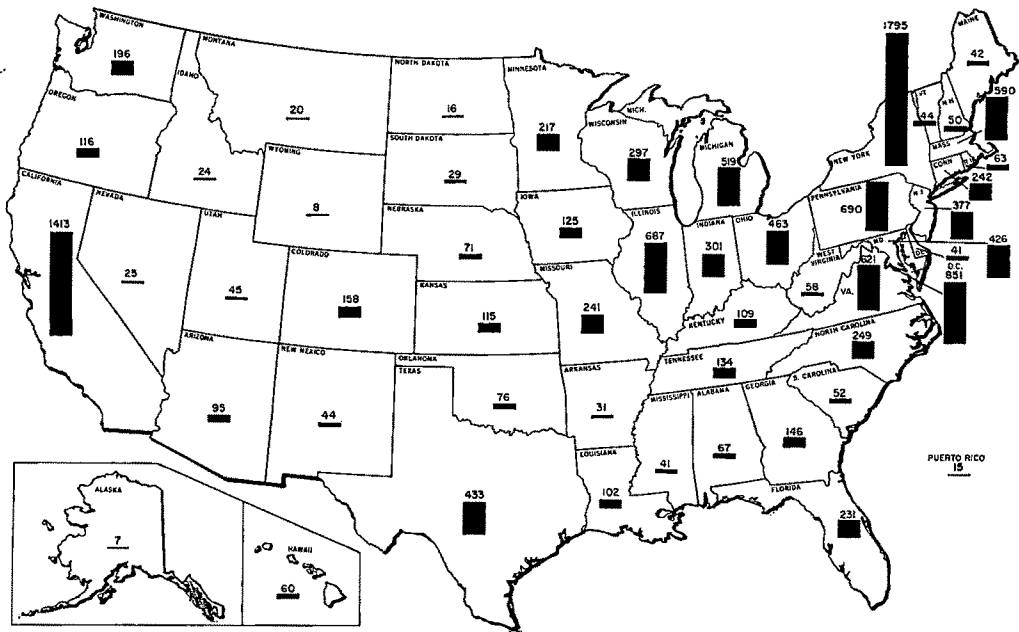
In 1970-71 the Association membership increased slightly from 17,408 to 17,442 members. 13,842 members are individual members, including 7,833 annual members and 6,009 student members. The record of this membership growth and the distribution of the Association membership by state are illustrated in the tables on this and the following page.

The Association has continued to employ a variety of means to stimulate membership growth including writing directly to scholarship and fellowship winners and to non-member political scientists culled from a continuous review of college and university catalogues. Departmental chairmen are also asked to bring Association membership to the attention of new faculty members and graduate students.

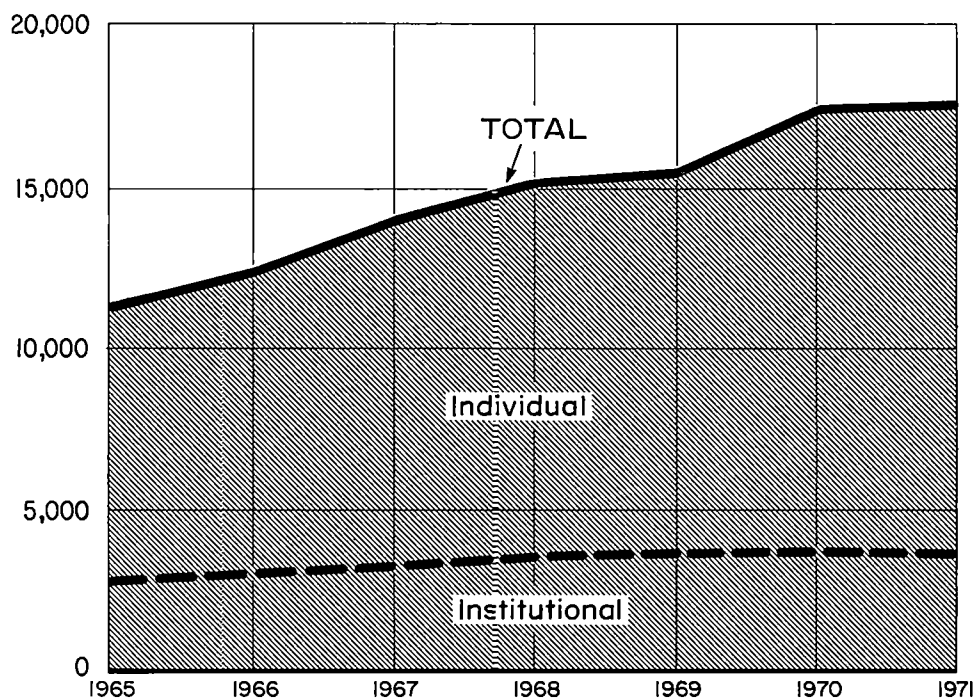
This review of the Association's activities, programs, resources, and membership growth, is a tribute to the membership and leadership of the Association. It is important, however, that the Association continue its effort to build upon the strong record of the past.

I am sure that I speak for all officers of the Association in urging members to give us their comments, ideas and suggestions. Our members, through the excellence and dynamic quality of their teaching and research, and through their willingness to serve the Association in a variety of ways, make the Association, its programs and activities possible; it also is important that the officers have the best help the members can give in building a future record of Association service to the profession, to the discipline, and to the community.

APSA INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP BY STATE: 1971



THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP GROWTH: 1965-1971



MEMBERSHIP GROWTH: 1965-1971

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Individual	8,417	9,738	10,822	11,562	11,953	13,663	13,842
Annual					(7,078)	(7,561)	(7,833)
Student					(4,875)	(6,102)	(6,009)
Institutional	2,784	3,007	3,231	3,566	3,630	3,745	3,604
TOTAL	11,201	12,745	14,053	15,128	15,583	17,408	17,446
Numerical Increase	1,114	1,544	1,308	1,075	455	1,825	38
Percentage Increase	11%	14%	10%	9%	3%	12%	0.2%

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETINGS

of

The American Political Science Association

Complete proceedings of the APSA Annual Meetings (including copies of all papers delivered from 1904-1912 and 1956 through 1970) may be obtained by contacting the Customer Services Department, 313 North First Street, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Hard copy of individual papers: \$2.00 each; microfilm reels of Annual Meeting proceedings price list available from Customer Service Department, University Microfilms.

Recently published . . .

Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review

Volumes 1-62: 1906-1968

Researchers and students in the field of political science will find the new edition of the *Cumulative Index* a valuable source of information. The heart of the *Cumulative Index* is the key-word index to the titles of the 2,822 articles which have appeared in the Review between 1906, its first issue, and 1968.

Copies may be obtained by sending \$6.50 to:

**University Microfilms
313 North First Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106**

Professional Placement Service

1971 Annual Meeting

(September 7-11, 1971)

A Professional Placement Service will be available to members of the American Political Science Association attending the Chicago meeting. The service will be located in the East Hall of the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

Although sponsored by APSA, this Service is entirely separate from APSA's Personnel Service and requires separate registration.

A file of applicants seeking employment will be available for review by employers, and descriptions of position openings will be made available to applicants. Adequate facilities for personal interviews will be provided.

If you plan to attend the Conference and utilize the Placement Service, please complete and mail the form below as soon as possible. Applicant and/or employer order forms will be forwarded to you upon receipt of your request.

Pre-Convention registration is strongly recommended. Employers and applicants filing in advance of the convention will receive expedited service.

Name: _____

(Organization or Institution) _____

Address: _____

(City) (State) (Zip)

☐ Employer

Number of Positions

☐ Applicant

Will you be available for interviews during the annual meeting?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Mail to: **Theresa Scholl**
Employment Service Area Supervisor
Illinois State Employment Service
208 South La Salle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

**BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY
of the
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
FIFTH EDITION**

Published: August, 1968

- * Complete reference volume containing biographical information and names and addresses of approximately 12,000 individual APSA members—political scientists, federal, state and local government officials, businessmen, attorneys, journalists—a cross-section of persons in the United States and abroad who have a continuing interest in the study and development of the art and science of government.
- * Appendices include a geographical listing and a classification of members by fields of interest.
- * Institutions and libraries may order copies at \$25.00 clothbound, \$18.50 paperback. Individual members may order copies at \$17.50 clothbound, \$12.50 paperback.

Mail order to: Biographical Director Order Dept.

American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

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For further information write to:

Director, Insurance Programs
The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

CAMPAIGN GUIDE 1970

Copies of the British Conservative Party's *Campaign Guide 1970* are still available.

Produced by the Party's Research Department, the Guide presents the case which returned a Conservative Government in June 1970. Its 32 chapters and 752 pages contain a wealth of information and comprehensive statistics covering the 1966-70 Parliament, and unobtainable elsewhere in a single volume. It is an essential reference work for any student of the British Parliamentary system, a primary source on the Conservative Party, and an example of perhaps the most comprehensive campaign briefing material produced by any political party.

Priced \$6.00 (cloth cover) or \$3.50 (paper cover), post paid to USA, copies can be obtained from Sales and Supply, Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square, London, SW1P.3HH. England.

APSA HOSPITAL CASH PLAN

The American Political Science Association announces its new low cost group Hospital Cash Plan designed to provide participants with a cash payment of \$20.00 or \$40.00 a day depending upon the program selected. The Plan, underwritten by the Hartford Accident and Indemnity Co., pays for every hospitalized day for up to 365 days for each period of hospital confinement. Benefits are doubled if the participant is hospitalized for cancer.

For further information on the APSA Group Hospital Cash Plan write to:

**Director, Insurance Programs
The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036**

Association News

E. E. Schattschneider Award

The Council of the Association has established an E. E. Schattschneider Award in honor of the late Professor Schattschneider. The Award, to be granted at the Annual Meeting awards ceremony beginning in 1972 will be presented to the author of the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during one of the two previous years in the field of American Government and Politics.

According to Fred I. Greenstein of Wesleyan who introduced the award resolution at the Council Meeting on behalf of himself and a number of co-sponsors who were associated with Schattschneider over the years, the award "seeks to recognize the permanent impact 'Schatt' made through his writings, teaching, professional activity and his unbounded ebullience and imagination." An obituary notice for E. E. Schattschneider appears in this issue of *PS*.

Members of the Association wishing to contribute to the E. E. Schattschneider Award fund are provided a form below. Contributions to the award fund are tax-deductible and will be acknowledged by the Association. Checks should be made out to the American Political Science Association.

American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attached find my contribution of _____
for the American Political Science Association's
E. E. Schattschneider Award.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ (Zip) _____

1971 Annual Meeting Panel Additions

The following panel has been added to the 1971 Annual Meeting Program and will be listed in the final Program.

Teaching Diplomacy (Workshop)

Panel 14E2—Thursday, 9:00 a.m.

September 9

Chairman: Smith Simpson

"Diplomacy: The Missing Link in the Study of International Politics"

Papers:

Ambassador Leon B. Poullada (Retired)

North Arizona University

Diplomatic Reporting

Kingdon W. Swayne, FSO (Retired)

Bucks County Community College

Observation, Analysis, and Appraisal in

Diplomacy

Paul M. Kattenburg, FSO

Foreign Service Institute

APSA Constitutional Documents

At the 1971 Annual Business Meeting, members of the Association will be voting on an amendment to the current Constitution, the proposed new Constitution and amendments to the proposed document. Rules adopted by the Council for the debate and action on the Constitutional documents are contained in this issue of *PS* under the report of the Committee on Rules. Below *PS* is printing the current Association Constitution, the proposed amendment to the current Constitution, the proposed new Constitution and the proposed amendments to the proposed Constitution.

Constitution of the American Political Science Association*

Article 1: Name

This Association shall be known as The American Political Science Association.

Article II: Objects

1. It shall be the purpose of this Association to encourage the study of Political Science, including Political Theory, Political Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration and International Relations.

2. The Association as such is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It will not commit its members on questions of public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose as stated above. But

the Association nonetheless actively encourages in its membership and its journals, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies, however controversial and subject to partisan discourse in the community at large these may be. The Association shall not be debarred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it deems appropriate in support of academic freedom and of freedom of expression by and within the Association, the political science profession, and the university, when in its judgment such freedom has been clearly and seriously violated or is clearly and seriously threatened.

Article III: Membership

1. *Annual Members.* Any person sharing the objects of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life membership and reduced annual dues for retired members and students shall be set by the Council provided that no change in dues shall go into effect unless ratified by a mail referendum of the membership.

2. *Life Members.* Any person paying dues of a life member in a lump sum, or in installments spread over not more than ten years, shall become a Life Member of this Association, and thereafter be exempt from further dues.

3. *Student Members.* Any graduate or undergraduate student registered in a college or university may become a Student Member of the Association upon payment of dues and may remain such while he is so registered, but for no more than five years, by paying annual dues.

4. *Family Members.* Another person in the family of a member may become a Family Member upon payment of dues, and may remain such as long as there is another Association member in the family, by paying annual dues.

5. *Retired Members.* Any member who has been a member for twenty-five years prior to retirement shall be entitled, on retirement, to continue membership at the retired members dues rate.

6. *Institutional and Library Memberships.* The dues and privileges of Institutional and Library Members shall be fixed by the Council but dues may not be less than those for Annual Members.

7. *Privileges of Members.* Each member, other than a Family Member, shall be entitled to a copy of each number of *The American Political Science Review* issued during his membership. All

members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve, shall be entitled to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association.

Article IV: Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and sixteen elected members of a Council, all of whom shall be elective officers and who shall represent the Association in its corporate capacity. In addition, there shall be an Executive Director of the Association, a Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* and such other appointive officers and committees as are hereinafter provided for.

2. The elective officers, together with the Executive Director, the Managing Editor and the Chairman of the Program Committee, shall constitute the Council of the Association. Ex-Presidents of the Association, and upon invitation of the President, the chairman of any committee of the Association and nominees to the next year's Council, may attend meetings of the Council and participate in its discussions but have no vote.

3. The President, the President-Elect, the Executive Director, the Managing Editor, the Chairman of the Program Committee and two other Council members, designated annually by the President, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Council.

Article V: Elective Officers

1. The elective officers, except the President, shall be chosen by vote of the members of the Association attending the Annual Business Meeting, a quorum being present, provided that whenever there is a contest for any elected office or offices such elections shall be conducted by mail ballot of the entire individual membership. In the latter event the Executive Director shall distribute ballots within thirty (30) days following the Annual Business Meeting and under such other conditions as the Council may prescribe, and he shall count only ballots returned within thirty (30) days following distribution; each contested election shall be determined by a plurality of those voting on the particular office; if the number of nominees for the set of vice-presidencies or for Council membership exceeds the number of offices constitutionally to be filled, all such nominees shall appear on the mail ballot, members shall be entitled to vote for a number equal to the number of offices in the set, and the nominees ranking highest in the poll, in a number equal to the number of offices, shall be declared elected.

*Includes amendments adopted by 1970 APSA balloting.

The President-Elect shall automatically succeed to the office of President upon the completion of the President's term, or upon the occurrence of one of the contingencies provided for in section 3 of this article. The terms of elective officers, except members of the Council, shall extend for one year measured from the end of the program of the Annual Meeting, except that an officer's term shall in no event expire until his successor assumes office. The terms of members of the Council shall extend for two years, similarly calculated, and one-half shall expire each year.

2. After each annual meeting the President shall appoint, with due regard to geographical distribution and the fields of professional interest, three members to a Nominating Committee of six, to serve for two-year terms; and he shall designate the chairman. The Committee may canvass the membership directly or indirectly for suggestions, and shall submit to the next Annual Business Meeting one nomination for each elective office to be filled, except the Presidency. These nominations shall be announced to the membership, by any convenient means, well in advance of the annual meeting. Additional nominations, sponsored by at least 10 members of the Association, may be offered from the floor at the Annual Business Meeting, upon 24 hours' advance notice to the Secretary.

3. In case of death, resignation or inability of the President to perform the duties of his office, the President-Elect shall immediately succeed him and shall be President for the remainder of the term unless that is less than four months, in which case he shall serve out the unexpired term and one additional year.

In case of an interim vacancy in the office of President-Elect, the Nominating Committee shall forthwith proceed to nominate and the Council shall elect a new President-Elect to serve until the end of the next annual meeting. Actions to fill a vacancy may in case of need be taken by mail, telegraph or telephone, without a meeting. At the next Annual Business Meeting the Association shall confirm the Council's action by electing the President-Elect to the office of President or instead may elect another member as President, or may take such other action as in its discretion the situation may require, to the end that there shall be in office at all times both a President and a President-Elect.

The Council may fill any interim vacancy in its elective membership until the end of the next annual meeting.

4. The elective officers, except the Secretary

and the Treasurer, shall be ineligible to succeed themselves in office. After a lapse of two years a former member of the Council may be elected to another term.

Article VI: Appointive Officers

1. The Executive Director of the Association and the Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall be appointed by the Council, after it hears the recommendation of the President. They shall have terms to be fixed in each case by the Council; and they shall be eligible for reappointment.
2. There shall be a Board of Editors of *The American Political Science Review* to assist the Managing Editor, and the Council may determine its size, method of appointment and tenure.
3. The Council, or the Executive Committee, may establish other offices, boards and committees, as the business of the Association may require, define their tasks and powers, and fix their terms and methods of appointment.

Article VII: Management of Association and Duties of Officers

1. The membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting or in a special meeting duly called resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise, or repeal the action of the Council, the Executive Committee or any officer. Whenever one-third or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any policy question, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail. One hundred members shall constitute a quorum of the Association, and a majority vote of the members in attendance or voting by mail shall control its decisions. The Association shall meet annually at a time and place designated by the Council. The Council and the officers shall make every effort to acquaint the members with the business of the Association and with the issues involved in the agenda of the Annual Business Meeting or in a ballot by mail, and to provide sufficient time at business meetings for deliberations and decisions.
2. Subject to the foregoing, the Council shall be the governing body of the Association and have general charge and supervision of its business and interests in accordance with this Constitution. The Council shall meet once a year before the Annual Business Meeting, and oftener at its discretion or on call of the President. Nine

members shall constitute a quorum and a majority vote of the members in attendance shall control its decisions. The Council may call special meetings of the Association. It shall receive reports of all officers and committees; adopt the budget and appropriate money; and give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting. It shall receive an annual audit of the Association's accounts. It may give directions to officers and committees, and adopt the rules for the regulation of the Association's business. In the event of an emergency which prevents the holding of the Annual Business Meeting, the Council may exercise all the powers of the Association including the election of officers.

3. Within limits prescribed by the Council, and consistent with this Constitution, the Executive Committee may exercise the powers of the Council when the Council or the Annual Business Meeting is not in session. It shall meet on call of the President, and he shall report its actions to the Council.

4. The President shall preside at business meetings of the Association, the Council and the Executive Committee. Except as may be otherwise provided, he shall appoint all committees of the Association. He shall see to it that the business of the Association is faithfully transacted.

5. The Secretary shall approve and have custody of the minutes of business meetings of the Council and of the Association; and he shall report the actions of the Council to the Annual Business Meeting.

6. The Treasurer shall review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody and disbursement of Association funds, and for keeping the Association's accounts. He shall arrange for the annual audit, and present the auditor's report to the Council. He shall report the Association's financial condition to the Annual Business Meeting. He shall review the Association's investments and make recommendations of investment policy to the Council. He shall seek to advance the interests of the Association in adding to its financial resources.

7. The Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review* shall edit and publish *The Review*, with the advice and assistance of the Board of Editors, and report its affairs to the Council.

8. The Executive Director shall be the chief executive officer of the Association and transact its business. He shall have charge of the central office of the Association. He shall formulate plans and policies for the accomplishment of the Association's objectives, and upon the approval of

the Council or the Executive Committee shall be responsible for their administration. All appointive committees shall look to him for advice and assistance in their work. He shall have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its obligations and maintain its accounts. He shall make an annual report to the Council and consult with the President as questions of policy currently arise.

9. A Program Committee shall be responsible for preparing the professional program of the annual meetings of the Association. A Committee on Local Arrangements shall be responsible for assistance with accommodations and entertainment for members attending the annual meetings.

10. Other committees may be created, for stated periods and stipulated assignments. They shall report to the Council and thereupon be discharged. Unless specifically approved by the Association or the Council for that purpose, their reports shall not be deemed to state the views of the Association nor commit it in any way.

Article VIII: Resolutions

All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice to this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the annual meeting. Whenever one-third or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in opposition to any resolution, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail.

Article IX: Amendments

1. Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council.

2. The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of the Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting at the Annual Business

Association News

Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise.

Proposed Amendment to the Current APSA Constitution

An Amendment Substituting an Elective Administrative Committee for a Partially Appointive Executive Committee

Submitted by the APSA Council

1. Change Article IV, Section 3 from:

The President, the President-Elect, the Executive Director, the Managing Editor, the Chairman of the Program Committee and two other Council members, designated annually by the President, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Council.

to:

The President, the President-Elect, the Treasurer, and four other elected members of the Council appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Council shall constitute the Administrative Committee of the Council.

2. From Article VI, Section 3, delete the words "or the Executive Committee."

3. From Article VII, Section 1, delete the words "the Executive Committee."

4. Delete Article VII, Section 3 (which reads)

Within limits prescribed by the Council, and consistently with this Constitution, the Executive Committee may exercise the powers of the Council when the Council or the Annual Business Meeting is not in session. It shall meet on the call of the President, and he shall report its actions to the Council.

Re-number remaining sections of this article.

5. In Article VII, Section 4, substitute the words "the Association and the Council" for the words "the Association, the Council, and the Executive Committee."

6. From Article VII, Section 8, delete the words "or the Executive Committee."

Proposed New Constitution of The American Political Science Association

Article I: Name

This Association shall be known as The American Political Science Association.

Article II: Purpose

The purpose of this Association is to encourage and to advance the study of politics.

2. The Association is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It may take positions on issues only if they are immediately and directly concerned with the purpose stated above.

3. Should the rights of members to engage freely in teaching, research, or scholarly publication, and to associate for purposes of professional discussion and advancement of knowledge be violated or seriously threatened, the Association may take such action as is appropriate under this Constitution.

Article III: Membership

1. Any person sharing the purpose of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life memberships, non-voting institutional memberships, and reduced annual dues for retired members and students, shall be set by the Assembly.

2. Members shall be entitled to:

a. receive copies of such journals of the Association as the Assembly may determine;

b. attend, participate in, and vote at the Annual Meeting of Members;

c. receive and return all ballots submitted to the membership by the Association;

d. sponsor nominations for elective offices;

e. be eligible for nomination for elective office;

f. sponsor amendments to the constitution and resolutions consistent with it.

Article IV: The Government

1. The government of the Association shall consist of a President, a President-Elect, an Assembly, an Executive Committee, an Annual

Meeting of Members, and the entire membership voting by mail ballot.

2. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, the members of the Assembly, and an Executive Director.

Article V: The Assembly

1. The Assembly shall consist of 30 members chosen for three-year terms, one-third to be elected by mail ballot each year. No member shall serve more than two consecutive terms.

2. In cases of disputed elections, the Assembly shall be the judge of its own membership.

3. The Assembly shall meet at least twice a year at the call of the Executive Committee. A special call by the President or a petition signed by one-third of the elected members of the Assembly shall be sufficient to bring the Assembly into extraordinary session. All meetings shall be announced to Assembly members at least one week in advance.

4. The Assembly may appoint special and standing committees from its own membership and shall establish its own rules of procedure.

5. The Assembly shall:

a. determine the size of the Executive Committee and elect its members from the Assembly's membership;

b. elect and set the term of office for the editors of professional journals published under the auspices of the Association;

c. appoint a Nominating Committee to propose candidates as specified in Article XI, Section 1; the President shall chair this committee and at least two-thirds of the membership shall come from outside the Assembly;

d. advise and consent to the Executive Committee's nomination of the Executive Director of the National Administrative Office and to the President's nomination of the Chairman of the Program Committee for the Annual Convention of the Association;

e. enact an annual budget and set annual dues;

f. include in the budget a salary for the President

in an amount proportionate to the time that he will devote to his presidential duties;

g. select the site of the Annual Convention of the Association;

h. prescribe, at least 6 months in advance, rules for the conduct of the Annual Meeting of Members, for the holding of elections, and for the submission of proposed amendments to the members;

i. appoint an acting President if the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties and the President-Elect is not available to succeed him.

j. publish its minutes and proceedings in an official journal of the Association and, if requested by one-fourth of the Assembly's members, include a record of members voting for and against a motion and of those abstaining and absent;

k. authorize committees necessary to serve the purpose of the Association;

l. pass resolutions necessary and proper to achieve the purpose of the Association.

Article VI: The Executive Committee

1. The Executive Committee shall consist of members elected by and from the Assembly for annual terms. No elected member shall serve more than three consecutive terms. The President and President-Elect shall be voting members. The President shall preside.

2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the call of the President or upon the request of one-third of its members. All meetings shall be announced to Executive Committee members at least three days in advance.

3. The Executive Committee shall:

a. call the Assembly into regular session and into extraordinary session;

b. prepare an agenda for each meeting of the Assembly;

c. review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody, investment, and disbursement of Association funds;

d. report the Association's financial condition to the Assembly and to the Annual Meeting of Members;

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- e. recommend a budget to the Assembly;
- f. appoint, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, an Executive Director;
- g. supervise the work of the National Administrative Office;
- h. prepare an agenda for the Annual Meeting of Members;
- i. perform such other duties as the Assembly may by resolution direct.

Article VII: The President

1. The President shall serve for a term of one year. He shall be ineligible to succeed himself in office.
2. The President shall:
 - a. preside at the meetings of the Executive Committee, the Nominating Committee, the Assembly, and the Annual Meeting of Members;
 - b. appoint, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, the Program Chairman of the Annual Convention;
 - c. be the official spokesman of the Association and represent the Association on ceremonial occasions;
 - d. call the Executive Committee into session and, when he thinks it necessary, call the Assembly into extraordinary session;
 - e. at his discretion appoint special committees from outside the Assembly to report on matters he deems to be of serious concern to political scientists;
 - f. be responsible for the preparation of the budget and for its presentation to the Executive Committee;
 - g. propose programs and policies to the Assembly and to the Executive Committee that in his judgment advance the best interests of the Association.

Article VIII: The President-Elect

1. The President-Elect shall be chosen by mail ballot of the members of the Association.
2. The President-Elect shall serve for a term of

one year. He shall automatically succeed to the Presidency at the end of that term.

3. If the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties, the President-Elect, if available, shall become the President for the remainder of the term. If that remainder is less than six months, he shall serve as President for one additional year. If that remainder is more than six months, he shall serve as President until a new President is chosen according to the provisions of Article XI. If the President-Elect is unavailable, the Assembly shall appoint an Acting President.

4. The President-Elect shall be a voting member of the Executive Committee and of the Assembly.

Article IX: The National Administrative Office

1. The National Administrative Office shall consist of an Executive Director and such staff as he shall appoint under the budgetary authorization of the Assembly.

2. The National Administrative Office shall be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the Association and shall provide administrative support for the governmental agencies of the Association.

3. The Executive Director shall be the chief administrative officer of the Association. He shall be appointed by the Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Assembly to serve for a term of five years. He shall be eligible for reappointment. If a vacancy occurs during his term, the Executive Committee may appoint an acting Director to serve until the office is filled.

4. The Executive Director shall:

- a. have charge of the National Administrative Office;
- b. assist the President in preparing the annual budget;
- c. have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its financial obligations, and arrange for an annual independent audit of the Association's accounts;
- d. formulate plans and policies for the Association and submit them to the Executive Committee for its consideration;
- e. provide information and assistance to the President, the Assembly, and the Executive Committee;

f. prepare an annual report on the activities of the Association for presentation to the Annual Meeting of Members;

g. perform such other duties as the President, the Assembly, or the Executive Committee may direct.

Article X: The Annual Meeting of Members

1. The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held at the Annual Convention and shall provide for the discussion of the policies and the activities of the Association. The President shall preside; the President-Elect, the Executive Director, and the members of the Assembly shall attend. All members of the Association are eligible to participate in the Meeting.

2. The Annual Meeting of Members shall have the authority to:

a. alter the agenda prepared for it by the Executive Committee;

b. receive and consider reports;

c. propose and adopt resolutions consistent with this constitution;

d. act upon constitutional amendments initiated in accordance with Article XII, Section 3;

e. receive nominations made by the Nominating Committee and by petition.

3. Resolutions adopted by the Annual Meeting of Members shall be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Assembly, and shall become effective if the Assembly approves them.

Article XI: Nominations and Elections

1. At the first meeting after each general election the new Assembly shall appoint a Nominating Committee. The President shall chair this committee and at least two-thirds of its membership shall come from outside the Assembly. The Committee shall propose a candidate or candidates for the office of President-Elect, for each Assembly seat falling vacant, and for the office of President if necessary under Article VIII, Section 3.

2. The Nominating Committee shall seek to ensure the representativeness of the Assembly. To that end the Committee shall consider the diverse intellectual and professional currents within the discipline and such membership attributes as

region of residence, ethnicity, sex, and the like by consulting with the membership and, when possible, with organized segments of the Association. The names of candidates proposed by the Nominating Committee shall be made known to the membership at least four (4) months in advance of the Annual Meeting of Members where nominations shall be declared. In the event a candidate becomes unavailable through disability or withdrawal after the nominations have been announced to the membership, the committee may propose a new nominee up to 24 hours in advance of the Annual Meeting of Members.

3. Nominations for the offices specified in Section 1 that are sponsored by at least 200 members of the Association shall be presented to the Annual Meeting of Members upon 24 hours advance notice to the Executive Director and shall appear on the ballot.

4. Elections for all offices shall be decided by a mail ballot of the members of the Association. Rules for balloting shall be prescribed by the Assembly not less than six months prior to any election.

Article XII: Amendments

1. Amendments to this constitution may be proposed by the Assembly or by the membership.

2. Proposed amendments that originate within and are approved by two-thirds of the Assembly shall be submitted to a mail ballot of the members of the Association.

3. Amendments may be proposed by petitions signed by at least 200 members of the Association. Such proposed amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Director not less than 60 days prior to the Annual Convention for presentation to the Annual Meeting of Members. The Executive Director shall promptly announce such proposals to the members. Proposed amendments that are approved by the Annual Meeting of Members shall be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Assembly. Amendments approved by the Annual Meeting of Members and accepted by a majority of the Assembly shall be submitted to the members of the Association for ratification.

4. At least once every ten years the Assembly shall appoint a committee from outside from its membership to review this constitution and to recommend changes or to propose a new constitution. If approved by a majority of the

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Assembly, such recommendations or proposed new constitution shall be submitted to the members of the Association for ratification.

5. Amendments to this constitution, however originated, or a proposed new constitution shall become effective when ratified by a majority of those voting. Voting shall be by mail ballot. Other rules for the conduct of the voting shall be prescribed by the Assembly not less than six months prior to the balloting.

Article XIII: Transition

1. This constitution shall come into effect immediately upon ratification.

2. The President, President-Elect, and Council at the time of ratification shall serve as interim President, President-Elect, and Assembly under this constitution. The Secretary, Treasurer, and Vice-Presidents shall serve out their terms as members of the Assembly.

3. All currently appointed officials shall continue in their positions until June 30, 1972. The first five year term of the Executive Director under Article IX will begin on July 1, 1972.

4. Current members of the Council may serve the remainder of their terms as members of the Assembly. The number of new Assembly members to be elected shall be reduced by the number of holdovers.

5. Committees of the Association in existence at the time of ratification shall become committees serving at the direction of the President.

6. The Council will appoint an Interim Nominating Committee which shall function as specified in Article V, Section 5c, and Article XI, Section 2, of this constitution. Nominations may also be submitted according to Article XI, Section 3.

7. At its first meeting, the Assembly shall determine by lot which of its new members shall have one, two, or three year terms.

Council Proposed Amendments to Proposed Constitution of the American Political Science Association

Article II

In Section 1, add the word "professional" before the words "study of politics."

Article III

Insert a new Article III, entitled "Membership," as follows:

A. *Members*

1. Any person sharing the purpose of the Association who meets one or more of the following criteria may become a member upon payment of annual dues:

- a. Possession of a Ph.D. or equivalent training in political science or a closely related field;
- b. Teaching or research in political science;
- c. Graduate study in political science;
- d. Substantial contribution to or achievement in the advancement of the professional study of politics.

2. Members shall be entitled to:

- a. Receive a copy of each number of such official journals of the Association issued during his membership as determined by the Assembly;
- b. Attend, participate in and vote at the Annual Meeting of members;
- c. Receive and return all ballots submitted to the membership by the Association;
- d. Sponsor nominations for elective offices;
- e. Be eligible for nomination to elective office; and
- f. sponsor amendments to the constitution.

3. All classes of dues for members, including life memberships and reduced annual dues for retired members and graduate students, shall be set by the Assembly.

B. *Associates*

1. Any person sharing the purpose of the Association and not eligible for membership may become an associate upon payment of annual dues. Institutions and libraries may become associates.

2. Associates shall be entitled to receive a copy of each number of such official journals of the Association issued during his associateship as determined by the Assembly.

3. All classes of dues for associates, including life associates and reduced annual dues for retired associates and student associates, shall be set by the Assembly.

Article V

Last Sentence of Section 1 should be amended to read: "No member shall serve for two consecutive terms.

Articles IV, V, VIII

Add the following words to these Sections to provide for retention of Vice-Presidents:

IV, 1. Add "three vice presidents" to composition of Association government.

IV, 2. Add "three vice presidents" to list of Association officers.

V, 1. Add at close, "The three vice presidents shall be members of the Assembly."

V, 5, i. Add as italicized, "appoint an acting President *from among the three Vice Presidents* if the President should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties and the President-Elect is not available to succeed him."

VIII, 3, last sentence. Add as italicized, "if the President-Elect is unavailable, the Assembly shall appoint an Acting President *from among the three Vice Presidents*."

Article IX

Insert the following new Article IX, and renumber subsequent Articles:

1. The three Vice Presidents shall be chosen by mail ballot of the members of the Association.

2. Each Vice President shall serve for a term of one year, and not be eligible for re-election to that post.

3. Each Vice President shall be a voting member of the Assembly.

4. If a Vice President should die, resign or be unable to perform his duties, the position shall be declared vacant and remain unfilled for the remainder of the annual term.

Articles X, XI, XIII

Add the following words to indicated Sections. X, 1, line 3. Add after "the President-Elect, *the*

three Vice Presidents, . . ." shall attend the Annual Meeting of Members

XI, 1, line 5. Add after "for the office of President-Elect, *for the offices of three vice presidents, . . .*" in re. Nominating Committee functions

XIII, 2. Change transition arrangements to read:

"The President, President-Elect, Vice Presidents, and Council at the time of ratification shall serve as interim President, President-Elect, Vice Presidents and Assembly under this constitution. The Secretary and Treasurer shall serve out their terms as members of the Assembly."

Proposed Resolution

A Resolution Supporting Part-Time Study
Submitted by the Committee on The States of
Women in the Profession

The American Political Science Association recommends that academic institutions provide programs for part-time study; and that institutions and foundations provide support for part-time and full-time study with more flexible age and time provisions.

A statement in support of the resolution is contained in this issue of *PS* in The Report of The Committee on The States of Women.

APSA Council Minutes

The second Council meeting of the year was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 19 & 20, 1971.

Present:

Chadwick F. Alger, Edward C. Banfield, Phillip E. Converse, John A. Davis, Thomas R. Dye, Heinz Eulau, Fred I. Greenstein, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Donald R. Matthews, Joyce M. Mitchell, Nelson W. Polsby, Jewel L. Prestage, James W. Prothro, Austin Ranney, Dankwart A. Rustow, Victoria Schuck, Allan P. Sindler, Gordon Tullock, Sidney Verba, Ellis Waldron

Presiding:

Robert E. Lane, President

Approval of Minutes

The minutes of the previous meeting were

unanimously approved subject to such minor corrections that the Secretary may find necessary.

Administrative Committee Report on Revised Budget for 1970-71

Matthews reported for the Administrative Committee on revisions in the budget for the current fiscal year, 1970-71. Despite efforts by the Committee to cut costs, a budget deficit in excess of \$150,000 is expected for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971. Among other items, the Committee reduced appropriations for meetings of Association committees, including the Committee on Academic Freedom and the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession. It also recommended postponement of the new Biographical Directory. Lane pointed out that the estimated income of the Association for 1971-72 and 1972-73 would be considerably lower because 1) various outside-funded programs of the Association may not be renewed (Congressional Fellowships; State and Local Government Internships; Public Affairs Fellowships, State Legislative Service), and 2) the amount of income from dividends and interest would be lower as a result of Association capital being spent. Lane observed that new programs funded from outside sources are the only real possibility for increasing Association income.

In the discussion that followed, Tullock noted that at least one committee had already overspent its appropriation and asked about control procedures to prevent unauthorized expenditures. Kirkpatrick stated that hereafter quarterly statements would be sent to committees to help them stay within their appropriations. Rustow suggested that the Personnel Service levy a fee on successful job applicants as a percentage of their first year salary. Schuck asked about the possibility of categorizing institutional dues.

Sindler expressed concern about the fact that there was no money budgeted for additional meetings of the Academic Freedom Committee. He felt that even if the Association does not have the funds to support the activities of the Committee, the Committee should at least be afforded "a decent burial." Lane told the Council about a letter he had received from Philip Jacob, Chairman of the Committee on Academic Freedom, which expressed regret at the Association's inability to fund the Committee and asked that an announcement be placed in *PS* to the effect that the Committee was inoperative due to a lack of funds.

On a procedural point, Matthews moved that if more than one motion is made to alter the 1970-71 budget expenditures proposed by the Administrative Committee and endorsed by the Council via mail ballot, the following procedure will be followed:

(1) Each motion will be considered separately and approved or disapproved by a preliminary vote of the Council.

(2) All motions tentatively approved in this fashion will then be considered a single amendment to the budget. This omnibus amendment must be passed by roll call vote of the Council for alterations in the budget to take effect.

Eulau seconded the motion. Motion unanimously approved.

Davis stated that it was his understanding that the Administrative Committee had been asked to cut the budget rather than to make additions; he noted several increases made by the Committee and expressed his feeling that the Council should approve additions which were made to various categories of the budget. Waldron stated that one area of the budget that concerned him is the reduction of the Academic Freedom Committee; he would like to see this budget item restored.

Sindler moved that the Council instruct the Administrative Committee to re-assign sufficient funds from the contingency fund for one additional meeting of the Academic Freedom Committee this academic year with the understanding that this is a discretionary authorization to be acted on by the Academic Freedom Committee and that it may not be necessary for the Committee to meet. Kariel seconded.

Vote was:

For

Alger, Converse, Davis, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, Mitchell, Prothro, Ranney, Rustow, Schuck, Sindler, Waldron

Against

Banfield, Dye, Eulau, Huntington, Kessel, Matthews, Tullock

Lane and McClosky abstained from voting.

Vote

Motion carried—12 approved; 7 opposed.

Huntington stated that he thought it unwise for the Council to pass resolutions directing expenditure of funds after having referred this matter to the

Administrative Committee. Kessel stated that he had voted against the motion in order to support the Administrative Committee; he stated that when the Council votes on the individual merits of various committees, everything gets approved and serious budget deficits result. Prothro, as a member of the Administrative Committee and the Committee on Academic Freedom, stated that he did not view the original cut in the Academic Freedom Committee as any reflection on its importance to the Association.

Eulau suggested that the Administrative Committee prepare a balanced budget for 1971-72 to be presented to the next meeting of the Council.

Report of the Committee on Association By-Laws

Ranney presented the proposed Association By-Laws on behalf of the Committee on By-Laws. Dye moved an amendment to Item 12.3 of the proposed by-laws to read: No reimbursement shall be made to any member of the Association for travel to the Annual Business Meeting or to Council or Committee meetings held in conjunction with the Annual Business Meeting unless specific prior approval has been obtained from the Administrative Committee. He proposed this amendment because of his belief that attendance at the national meeting was a professional responsibility which should be funded by the individual or his institution; that a substantial amount of money is used by the Association to underwrite Council and committee attendance at national meetings; and that the confidence of the membership in the Council's "sense of self-sacrifice" would be improved if the Council obliged its members to pay their own way to the Annual Meeting.

Vote on the Dye amendment was:

For

Alger, Dye, Huntington, Tullock

Against

Banfield, Converse, Davis, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Mitchell, Prothro, Ranney, Rustow, Schuck, Sindler, Waldron
Eulau and Lane abstained from voting.

Vote

Motion defeated—15 opposed; 4 approved.

Waldron moved (1) to change Section 9.2 of the proposed by-laws to read that "The Secretary shall, through the National Office, deliver a copy of each Council meeting's minutes to all Council members at least 14 days prior to the next meeting," and (2) to amend Section 8.1 to add

"at least 14 days" between the words "shall be mailed" and "in advance to the Council members" (pertaining to the agenda).

Unanimously approved.

The adoption of the Association By-Laws, as amended, was unanimously approved.

Committee Appointments—Rules, Elections

Lane asked for Council consent on the following committee appointments:

Rules Committee:

John Kessel, Chairman

Allan Sindler

Chadwick Alger

Elections Committee:

Fred Greenstein, Chairman

Henry Kariel

Ellis Waldron

Above appointments were unanimously approved.

Committee of Department Chairmen

Kirkpatrick reported to the Council that the ad hoc Committee of Department Chairmen had met, as authorized at the last Council meeting, and had requested that the Committee become a permanent one. Rustow opposed any expenditure of Association funds for this Committee and said that he would not like to have communication channels of the Association go through the department chairmen. Kessel questioned whether such a committee would be able to raise the money to cover their own budget. Prestage asked whether the Council should assume that if a committee will cost no money it is automatically meritorious.

The Council agreed to postpone a vote on the establishment of a Committee of Department Chairmen until the following morning, at which time a formal motion, as required by the newly-adopted Association By-Laws, could be presented. Saturday morning, Tullock moved that the Association create a Committee of Department Chairmen of twelve members for a one-year term for the following purposes: (1) to explore ways of providing closer liaison between the Association and the members of the profession; (2) to advise the Association on how it may improve the information and policies available to departments on salary levels, departmental facilities; (3) to help the Association exchange information on educational developments and innovations; (4) to

help develop a scientific manpower information selection and placement system; and (5) to develop a program of departmental fees to pay the costs of Association services. Such meetings as the Committee decides upon will be financed on a self-sustaining basis.

Vote on the motion was:

For

Alger, Banfield, Converse, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Mitchell, Prothro, Ranney, Rustow, Schuck, Sindler, Tullock

Against

Kariel, Prestage

Lane and Verba abstained from voting.

Vote

Motion carried—18 approved; 2 opposed.

Council of Social Science Associations

The Executive Director distributed a brief memorandum on the Council of Social Science Associations (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes), and asked that the Council approve participation by the American Political Science Association for a three-year period. Participation requires no expenditure of funds and has been approved by most other social science associations. Tullock moved to approve the participation for a three-year period with no expenditure of funds authorized. Motion unanimously approved.

Proposal for a Conference on Research and Public Policy

Lane proposed having a conference on research and public policy to consider questions and problems of relating social science research to public policy. He cited a variety of scholarly reports which concluded that the research findings of political scientists and other social scientists were not readily accessible to decision-makers. He referred to a number of official scientific agencies which did not have political scientists on their staff. "The problem," he said, "is one of getting political scientists plugged into the Washington scientific establishment." Polsby pointed out the work which has already been done in this field by notable political scientists. Lane replied that "citing Henry Kissinger does not really deal with the whole problem of relating social science knowledge to public policy," and that opportunities should be opened for other political scientists to have some input into public policy. Lane argued that there were "6,000 research-oriented political scientists on the nation's campuses, and no systematic way

of feeding the results of their work into the policy formation process." Sindler suggested that the proposal be tabled without prejudice subject to resubmission of a specifically focused agenda for the conference. Lane wanted some preliminary indication about whether a well-formulated proposal for such a conference would be supported by the Council. Banfield stated that "a well-formulated proposal on this subject is a contradiction of terms." He said that this proposal raised very fundamental questions about the nature of political science and social science generally: what is useful knowledge from the perspective of policy formation is not really available in political science, and there is "real danger" in "ill-considered efforts" to thrust political science into the policy-making process. He felt that there is already too much effort to bring social science into government.

Huntington felt that we should try, at least, to find out to what extent political science research is available to government officials and what its relevance to policy-making is. He moved to authorize the President to explore the possibility of a conference on research and public policy.

Vote on the Huntington motion was:

For

Alger, Davis, Dye, Huntington, Kirkpatrick, Matthews, Mitchell, Prothro, Ranney, Schuck, Sindler

Against

Banfield, Kariel, Kessel, Prestage, Tullock, and Waldron

Eulau, Greenstein, Lane, McClosky and Rustow abstained from voting.

Vote

Motion carried—11 approved; 6 opposed.

Undergraduate Curricula Improvement Proposal

Lane presented the Council with a draft proposal on undergraduate curriculum to be submitted to the National Science Foundation (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes). Prestage asked for revision of the portion of the report concerning predominantly black colleges in view of the report of the Southern Conference. Lane read the Council a list of persons he proposed to be on the Commission; he proposed to appoint eight of the members for one year, eight for two years, and seven members for three years, to the 23-member Commission. Kessel moved to approve the proposal. Unanimously approved, except for Prestage.

Pre-Collegiate Education Proposal

Dye moved that the Council authorize the Pre-Collegiate Committee to prepare and submit, with the advice and consent of a committee of five members of the Council, a proposal to NSF for curriculum improvement, and that copies of the proposal be sent to all members of the Council for comment. Unanimously approved.

Publications Policy

The Council then discussed the Publications Policy for the American Political Science Association prepared by Lane (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes) and the requests from Polsby for additional funding for the *Review*. Polsby listed his priorities as follows:

1. Additional staff support: manuscript editor, additional pay for the Book Review Editor; ½ time secretary or equivalent. Approx. \$20,000.
2. \$5-\$6,000 for the Editorial Board to meet once a year.
3. Six issues of the *Review* per year. Approx. \$25,000 per issue.

A lengthy discussion of publications policy ensued. Ranney reminded the Council that scholarly communication was the purpose for which the Association was originally founded, and he urged support of Polsby's programs and requests for the *Review*. Lane suggested that the book review section be separated from the *Review* and published as a separate expanded journal. This would provide more space for *Review* articles, as well as expanded coverage of the literature reviewed, and it would be self-financing with a small \$5 to \$10 fee to members and institutions. Eulau suggested a small submission fee be charged contributors to the *Review* to defray editorial costs. Prestage did not agree that the *Review* was the highest priority activity of the Association.

Kessel moved to refer the requests of the *Review* Editor to the Administrative Committee and express the sense of the Council that the \$20,000 request for additional staff support be funded in 1971-72 and that the Administrative Committee consider plans to fund the other requests in due course. This motion is to be interpreted to include Administrative Committee consideration of cutting back on the size of the *Review*, cutting back other budget line items of the Association, and suggestions for increasing revenue from publications, with no priority expressed in these alternatives. Prestage amended the motion to add "with the

provision that any cuts in the specific line items be submitted to the Council in session." Kessel accepted the amendment. Unanimously approved, except for Prestage.

Statement of the Committee on the Status of Blacks Regarding a Committee on Disadvantaged Members of the Profession

Russell Adams spoke to the Council on behalf of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession concerning a proposal Lane had prepared to obtain funds for holding a meeting of a committee of disadvantaged groups. Adams reported that the Committee on the Status of Blacks did not want to participate in such a meeting at this time. He stated that the Committee is not opposed to getting more minority group representation into the profession, but did not like the assumption that the kinds of problems and priorities of the various minority groups were similar. He also stated that the Committee thought there should have been more consultation and discussion with potential beneficiaries before requesting funds for a meeting. He distributed to the Council copies of a memorandum, "Relationship of Committee on the Status of Blacks to the Association and Its Sub-divisions," from the Committee, and requested that the Council reaffirm its commitments to the Committee on the Status of Blacks.

Dye urged the Council to realize that its image with the Committee on the Status of Blacks is very poor, and that a great deal of the Committee's time and energy is being wasted on real or imagined conflicts with the Council. The Committee, he said, interpreted the Council's effort to develop a rational policy for all minority problems as an attempt to submerge the Committee on the Status of Blacks. Although a general policy for all disadvantaged groups in the profession (including a fellowship program open to all disadvantaged students) would have been a preferable course of action for the Association in the beginning, Dye said that the Council cannot now alter specific commitments to the Committee on the Status of Blacks.

Appointment of PS Editor

Lane, in keeping with the new By-Laws, moved to appoint Walter Beach as Editor of PS. Motion unanimously approved.

Abstracts of 1970 Annual Meeting

McClosky stated that at its meeting of June, 1970, the Council agreed to publish a bound volume of

abstracts of the 1970 Annual Meeting, for sale to interested members. A sum of up to \$5,000 was subsequently appropriated to cover costs of printing and distributing these volumes. It was, however, the implicit understanding of the Council that most or all of this allocation would be recovered through the sale of the abstracts. Considering, however, that to date, fewer than 500 copies of the volume have been ordered, at \$1.00 per copy, and that interest in purchasing the abstracts shows no sign of increasing and considering further that the Association faces urgent financial needs, McClosky moved that the Council hereby authorize the Executive Director to negotiate with the former Program Chairman in an effort to either cancel the publication of the abstracts, returning the purchase price to those who have placed advance orders, or, if this should prove unfeasible, to find a way to reproduce and distribute, in the most inexpensive form possible, only as many copies, unbound, as are necessary to fulfill the number of orders on hand at the time of publication, in an effort to drastically reduce the costs of publication and to keep total costs, if possible, to a sum of \$1,500 or less. Motion unanimously approved.

Proposal for a Scientific Manpower Program

Lane discussed with the Council his proposal for a Scientific Manpower Program (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes). Tullock moved that the Executive Director be authorized to seek funds from a variety of sources to finance the proposal. Furthermore, it is proposed that the President appoint a Committee on Scientific Manpower, whose members shall include departmental chairmen and persons informed on manpower studies and information retrieval systems, and that it be authorized to meet and guide the Association's manpower efforts when sufficient funds are made available. Motion unanimously approved.

Regional Journals

Kessel moved to authorize the President to explore with Editors of Regional Associations the possibility of specialization of journals. Unanimously approved.

Report of the Program Committee for the 1971 Annual Meeting

Verba reported for the Program Committee that the number of panels for the 1971 meeting was down from 180 (at the 1970 meeting) to 130, and that one-third of these are workshop type panels. He stated that there will be no speech by a major

political figure at the 1971 Annual Meeting.

Report of the Program Committee for the 1972 Annual Meeting

Marvick reported to the Council for the 1972 Program Committee. He stated that he would like to have the 1972 Program Committee composed of from 12 to 15 members. The Council unanimously approved this size for the Committee.

Ranney noted that many members of the Association appreciated the opportunity of hearing leading political figures in the nation speak at the Annual Meeting. Kessel also commented on the members' interest in hearing Presidential candidates in a campaign year. Eulau said, "We see politicians on TV every night. What we need is scholarly perspective on political life." Prothro urged the Program Committee not to underestimate the membership's desire to hear Presidential candidates, but Banfield urged that the Annual Meeting be devoted to scholarship.

Tullock moved that the rule limiting the number of times a person can appear at the Annual Meeting be repealed and that the Program Chairman select papers solely on terms of merit. Motion unanimously opposed, except for Tullock.

Conference on Disadvantaged Members of the Profession

Lane reported on a letter he had received from Charles Ornelas, who Lane had asked to serve as Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession, stating that Ornelas was willing to serve as Chairman if the Association can guarantee funds for holding a meeting. Lane asked the advice of the Council on revising his proposal for disadvantaged groups, perhaps making the proposal for Chicanos only or for Chicanos and American Indians. Kessel commented that it was within the prerogative of the President to try to get funding for such a meeting. Lane stated that he would like authority from the Council to proceed with his proposal. Kessel moved to authorize the President to negotiate with the Chicanos and with any Interested group to discover their preference, and, if they so advise him, to seek funds for a meeting. Motion unanimously approved.

Motion of Appreciation for the Services Rendered the Association by Austin Ranney

Polsby made the following motion: "Whereas Austin Ranney has for five years ably and creatively discharged the office of Managing Editor of *The American Political Science Review*

and member of this Council, and whereas during that five years the *Review* has grown in distinction and in the intellectual challenge it has provided to members of the discipline, and whereas the high distinction of the *Review* has in no small measure reflected Austin Ranney's own capacious mind, wide learning and inquiring spirit, now therefore be it resolved that his colleagues on the Council, and in behalf of a grateful profession, extend to Austin Ranney felicitations and thanks for a splendid job well done." Unanimously approved.

Polsby moved that a copy of the above resolution be sent to the President of the University of Wisconsin, the Chancellor of the Madison campus, and the Chairman of the Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Unanimously approved.

The Council agreed to hold their next meeting on June 7 and 8, 1971, in Washington, D.C.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

APSA Committees

The following is a list of Association Committees with members who have been appointed by Presidents of the Association. Members of the Association are invited to correspond with the Chairman of any Committee concerning subjects with which his or her Committee is dealing.

Constitutional Revision Committee

Victor G. Rosenblum, Acting Chairman,
Northwestern University
Sandra G. Bogner, *University of Florida*
Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *University of Rochester*
Alex Gottfried, *University of Washington*
Michael Haas, *Northwestern University*
Charles V. Hamilton, *Columbia University*
Robert E. Hawkinson, *University of Chicago*
Donald G. Herzberg, *Eagleton Institute of Politics*
Herbert Jacob, *University of Wisconsin*
Avery Leiserson, *Vanderbilt University*
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1971 Annual Meeting Child Care Service

The Association will offer a Child Care Service at the 1971 Annual Meeting in Chicago. The Service will be available from Tuesday, September 7 through Friday, September 10, from 9:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. to 4:30 as well as during the hours of the Business Meeting. On Saturday, September 11, the Service will be available from 9 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. The Service will be available to registered members at the Annual Meeting. Pre-registration with the National Office of the Association by September 1 is required.

AAUP Censure List

The American Association of University Professors censure list with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated in the *AAUP Bulletin* citation.

Alabama State University	Winter 1961, pp. 303-309	April 1962
South Dakota State University	Autumn 1961, pp. 247-255	April 1962
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Autumn 1962, pp. 248-252	April 1963
Grove City College	Spring 1963, pp. 15-24	April 1963
College of the Ozarks	Winter 1963, pp. 352-359	April 1964
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
Wayne State College (Nebraska)	Winter 1964, pp. 347-354	April 1965
Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Education of State Normal Schools of the State of Nebraska, and not on the institution's administrative officers.		
St. John's University (N.Y.)	Spring 1966, pp. 12-19	April 1966
Amarillo College	Autumn 1967, pp. 292-302	April 1968
Texas A & M University	Winter 1967, pp. 378-384	April 1968
Cheyney State College	Winter 1967, pp. 391-399	April 1968
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Spring 1968, pp. 14-24	April 1968
Wisconsin State University—Whitewater	Spring 1968, pp. 25-36	April 1968
Troy State University (Alabama)	Autumn 1968, pp. 298-305	May 1969
Northern State College (South Dakota)	Autumn 1968, pp. 306-313	May 1969
Northern State College, like South Dakota State University, is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota.		
Frank Phillips College (Texas)	Winter 1968, pp. 433-438	May 1969
Dutchess Community College (N.Y.)	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49	May 1969
Central State College (Oklahoma)	Spring 1969, pp. 66-70	May 1969
Broward Junior College (Florida)	Spring 1969, pp. 71-78	May 1969
Detroit Institute of Technology	Spring 1969, pp. 79-85	May 1969
Southeastern Louisiana College	Autumn 1969, pp. 369-373	April 1970
Indiana Institute of Technology	Winter 1969, pp. 463-468	April 1970
Indiana State University	Spring 1970, pp. 52-61	April 1970
Oklahoma State University	Spring 1970, pp. 62-72	April 1970
The University of Mississippi	Spring 1970, pp. 75-86	April 1970
The University of Florida	Winter 1970, pp. 405-422	
Grambling College	Spring 1971, pp. 50-52	
Laredo Junior College	Winter 1970, pp. 398-404	
Southern State College	Spring 1971, pp. 40-49	
Tennessee Wesleyan College	Spring 1971, pp. 53-57	

Reports of APSA Committees

Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science

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**Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education
Political Education in the Public Schools:
The Challenge for Political Science**

Part I

**The APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate
Education: Background, Membership, and
Responsibilities**

I. Background

Since its founding, the American Political Science Association has had an interest in improving instruction about politics and government at the pre-collegiate level of American education. Numerous committees and task forces have examined the discipline's relationship to elementary and secondary schools. The Association has been involved in the publication of several studies and reports on civic education. The annual meetings of the APSA as well as the meetings of the regional political science associations regularly include one or more programs focused upon the political education of pre-adults.

In recent years the involvement of the profession in pre-collegiate education has been rapidly expanding as an increasing number of political scientists have become engaged in various types of educational research, development, and service activities. An increasing number of political scientists are studying the political socialization of children and adolescents. There is a somewhat smaller, but also rapidly expanding number engaged in research on the politics of education. In the past decade, many political scientists have written or otherwise participated in the development of new curricula and instructional materials for use in elementary and secondary schools. Another large group has become involved in special teacher education programs such as summer institutes and workshops for experienced teachers and special courses for prospective teachers. In the past few years, the spreading discontent with the organization of educational systems has stimulated an interest in the social structure and culture of schools, and several political scientists are involved currently in various efforts to effect organizational change within schools and between schools and the communities they serve.

II. The Committee and the PSEP

The expanding involvement of the political science profession in educational research, development, and service at the pre-collegiate level led to the establishment in April of 1970 of the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The membership of the Committee is: Richard C. Snyder, Chairman, Ohio State University; Paul R. Abramson, Michigan State University; David Easton,

University of Chicago; Fred I. Greenstein, Wesleyan University; Robert E. Lane, Yale University and current President of the American Political Science Association; Howard D. Mehlinger, Indiana University; Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University.

Following the Committee's appointment, a grant was obtained from the U.S. Office of Education to create a special project called the APSA Political Science Education Project. This project was designed to support and facilitate the work of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The PSEP was operated out of Indiana University under the auspices of the Department of Political Science and the Indiana Social Studies Development Center during this past academic year. During this coming year it will be located at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. The PSEP is directed by Lee F. Anderson and Richard C. Remy. Staff assistance at Association headquarters has been provided by Evron M. Kirkpatrick and Earl M. Baker in 1969-70 and Thomas E. Mann in 1970-71.

III. The Responsibilities of the Committee

The APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education is charged with two primary responsibilities. First, the Committee is to provide the profession with a continuing assessment of the discipline's relationship with elementary and secondary education. Second, the Committee is to develop and to begin to implement a long range strategy through which the intellectual resources and talents of political science can be more effectively mobilized in support of improved political science education at the pre-collegiate level.

Part II

**The Interrelationship of Political Science
and Pre-Collegiate Education**

I. The Problem of Mutual Isolation

The Committee's first responsibility is to provide the political science profession with a continuing assessment of the discipline's interrelationship with elementary and secondary education. In many respects and at this point in time the task of describing this interrelationship is relatively simple. It is relatively simple because the interrelationship of political science and the world of pre-collegiate education continues to be tenuous despite the Association's tradition of interest in pre-collegiate education and the excellent work of a number of individual political scientists. To borrow an image from the literature on international relations, we might usefully look upon political science and pre-collegiate education as two socio-cultural

systems that largely co-exist in mutual isolation of one another.

This mutual isolation is manifest or evidenced in a number of ways. To begin with, it is found in the attitudes and perceptions which political scientists tend to develop toward teachers, school administrators, and personnel in professional schools of education and in the latter's attitudes toward political science. While a handful of political scientists have devoted a perceptible fraction of their professional lives to research and development work in the area of pre-collegiate education, much of the profession has remained uninterested, ill-informed and frequently contemptuous of what goes on in elementary and secondary schools. Sometimes when moved to take an interest in pre-collegiate education political scientists evidence a deep-seated ethnocentrism. They tend to see public education as a primitive and unhappy society to which they have the responsibility, not unlike the missionary, of bringing the benefits of a superior culture.

This mixture of apathy, ignorance, contempt and arrogance which tends to characterize the professions' modal orientation toward the world of pre-collegiate education has its reciprocal in the attitudes of many of the people who populate this world. Many professional educators dismiss political scientists as people of little relevance to them. They see in the discipline very little that is usable in coping with their own professional problems of training teachers, running schools, teaching children, developing curriculum and the like.

The volume, type, and consequences of the interactions that take place between political scientists and educators are further evidence of the mutual isolation of the two groups. The overall volume of interaction is low. Beyond the teachers of their children and education majors who happen to take their courses in political science, most political scientists know and communicate with few, if any individuals professionally involved in pre-collegiate education. The converse of this is also true. For example, very few of the nation's several thousand secondary teachers of government and civics know or talk with political scientists.

Furthermore, we suspect that many of the interactions that do take place between political scientists and the people who work in schools and in colleges of education are professionally

superficial encounters. They are superficial in the sense that the interactions have no durable impact upon the attitudes and actions of the participants themselves, and they have even less of a diffusion effect on the culture and social structure of the political science profession or the world of pre-collegiate education. Perhaps many of the interactions of political scientists and educators might be compared to exchanges of foreign visitors. For example, a political scientist may arrange a special institute or workshop for teachers. He may have little professional interest in the activity and his peers even less. On the other side of the coin, many of the participating teachers come because they wanted or were compelled to acquire graduate school credits, and the political science workshop happened to be a convenient and perhaps mildly pleasant opportunity. In such cases the political scientists temporarily steps into the world of pre-collegiate education as a brief visitor who has done very little to prepare himself in the language and culture of that world before embarking on his excursion. Similarly, the teacher's visit to the world of political science may consist of brief exposures to the discipline's major cities, many of which are very alien to their previously acquired image of what the world of political science is like. When the tour is over political scientist and teacher alike part company with their patriotic attachment to their respective "homelands" reinforced.

Still another indicator of the mutual isolation of pre-collegiate education and political science is an absence of shared membership in the same organizations. Relatively few political scientists and educators are members of the same professional association, and few are exposed to the same institutional celebrations, such as the annual meetings of the APSA or the NCSS. Moreover, few individuals occupy formal roles in both systems. Joint appointments between departments of political science and colleges of education are rare. Even rarer are institutional linkages between political science departments and school systems, even if we include the few political scientists who serve on local boards of education. It is also of note that in a time characterized by an unprecedented interchange of personnel between governments and universities, the traffic between the political science profession and educational bureaucracies is very light.

II. The Consequences of Mutual Isolation

The fact that political science and the world of pre-collegiate education tend to be isolated

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systems of human action is not an intrinsic evil of course. The harm derives from the consequences which mutual isolation has for both the schools and the discipline.

A. Consequences for the Schools

For the schools the most harmful consequences of their isolation from political science is the perpetuation of inadequate programs in pre-collegiate political science education. We use the phrase "political science education" to designate education about human governance and politics. Included is the acquisition of knowledge about the political life of mankind, the development of cognitive skills for processing information about political phenomena, and the cultivation of an understanding of the capacities individuals must possess in order to participate in the civic life of human societies.

Obviously political science education in this sense is a very important aspect of formal schooling. Historically, we have looked to the schools as major instruments in the cultivation of civic or political competence. It is hence no trivial matter to judge as inadequate the prevailing modes or patterns of pre-collegiate political science education.

What is wrong with this education? In what respects or way is instruction about politics and government in elementary and secondary schools inadequate or deficient? To answer this question in a systematic way one must answer two prior questions: (1) What purposes, ends, or objectives should be served by pre-collegiate education about government and politics? (2) How well are these purposes, objectives or ends served by the patterns of political science education that prevail at the pre-collegiate level?

1. Purposes of pre-collegiate education in political science

In May of 1970 the Committee convened a meeting of about 20 chairmen of political science departments for a two day discussion of the discipline's relation to pre-collegiate education. Much of this discussion centered on the question of what objectives should be served by political science education in elementary and secondary schools. The Committee has continued to consider this issue through the year, and Committee members together with the staff of the PSEP have reviewed a good deal of the extant

literature treating the objectives of political education.

Two conclusions have emerged from these efforts. In the first place, it is probably impossible to construct any single, detailed typology of objectives for pre-collegiate political science education which would command universal and uniform agreement within the discipline. On the other hand, there appears to be a good deal of agreement on a set of basic purposes that should be served by the schools in teaching children and young people about government and politics.

a. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Transmit to Students a Knowledge About the "Realities" of Political Life As Well As Exposing Them to the Cultural Ideals of American Democracy.

While schools should not be a birth place of cynicism or despair about the political life of the society, neither should they communicate to students highly unrealistic and romanticized images of human politics. The existence of conflict, the importance of self-interest, the failures of public policies and political institutions to achieve given objectives, and inequalities in the distribution of political power are examples of political realities which most students readily learn about from one source or another. Schools should provide a learning environment in which students can develop a cognitive understanding of the realities of political life.

b. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Transmit to Students A Knowledge About Political Behavior and Processes As Well As Knowledge About Formal Governmental Institutions and Legal Structures.

Formal governmental institutions and legal procedures and structures are but one facet of political systems. The behavior of individuals and the dynamics of social processes are equally important aspects of political life. The schools should communicate to students knowledge about the ways in which individuals participate in politics, opinions and information are communicated, decisions are made, leadership is exercised, conflicts are managed, attitudes are formed, etc., as well as knowledge about the formal organization and structure of governments.

c. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Transmit to Students

Knowledge About Political Systems Other Than The American System, and Particularly Knowledge About the International System.

There are two fundamental reasons why student's political education should not be confined to a study of American politics. The American political system can be best understood in comparative context. Moreover, the American system is but one political system impinging upon the lives of contemporary Americans. Increasingly, individuals are participants in a global or international system as well as citizens of their own respective national and sub-national societies. Hence, pre-collegiate instruction about politics and government should develop within students both a comparative understanding of American politics and a knowledge of the international or global system.

d. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Develop Within Students a Capacity to Think About Political Phenomena in Conceptually Sophisticated Ways.

By a capacity to think conceptually is meant an ability to view any given political phenomenon in two ways. A person can look upon any given event, institution, behavior, etc., as one member of a more general (abstract) class or population of analytically comparable phenomena. Second, a person is capable of distinguishing among the particular phenomenon falling into the general class. For example, a student who can think conceptually about a political event such as the American revolution can view this particular revolution as one member of a larger population or set of events called revolution. At even a more abstract level, the student can think of revolutions (including the American Revolution) as a sub-class of a more general set of phenomena called political change. At the same time the student can locate the American Revolution in a general class of events and these in turn in a still more general class, he can discriminate the American Revolution from the French Revolution, the Mexican Revolution, the Russian Revolution, etc., and distinguish revolutions from other forms or processes of political change.

The phrase "conceptual sophistication" is used to describe three particular kinds of capabilities associated with conceptual thinking that appear to be particularly important in thinking about politics. The first is an understanding or awareness that two or more phenomena are neither entirely alike nor entirely different. A student who has developed

an ability to think in a conceptually sophisticated way can perceive of two or more phenomena as being both alike and different at the same time. For example, such a student can think of the American Democratic political party as being like all political parties in some respects; like some but not all other political parties in still other respects; and unlike any other political party in still other respects.

Conceptual sophistication also implies a capacity to view most similarities and differences among analytically comparable political phenomena as matters of degree rather than kind. The conceptually sophisticated student is able to think in terms of continua and ranges as well as in dichotomies or other sets of mutually exclusive categories. For example, the conceptually sophisticated student does not think of political systems as being either democratic or non-democratic. Rather he thinks of "democracy" as a complex property which political systems can possess in varying degrees. He can perceive a set of political systems as arranged along a continuum from those that are highly democratic to those that are highly non-democratic.

Moreover, conceptual sophistication implies an awareness of the influence of sampling upon perception of differences and similarities. For example, the conceptually sophisticated student is aware of the fact that in a comparison of the American and Soviet political systems, differences between the two are likely to be accentuated; whereas if the sample of political systems being examined included many more systems, for example the systems of ancient Rome, of imperial China, or medieval Europe, the observer is likely to note relatively more similarities between the Soviet and American systems.

e. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Develop Within Students an Understanding of and Skill in the Process of Social Scientific Inquiry.

An understanding of the process of social scientific inquiry includes an understanding of:

- 1) the nature of analytical problems or questions in the social sciences;
- 2) the nature of and types of propositions and hypotheses found in the social sciences;
- 3) the nature of concepts and variables;
- 4) the logic and methodology of sampling;

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- 5) the logic of measurement and the methods of data collection in the social sciences;
- 6) the logic of evidence in social inquiry;
- 7) the nature and uses of theory in social inquiry.

The development of skills in social scientific inquiry implies the development of the following kinds of abilities.

- 1) An ability to distinguish statements expressing descriptive beliefs, explanatory beliefs, predictive beliefs, and normative beliefs.
- 2) An ability to identify and formulate in question form analytical problems inherent in a set of data, or in an argument about a given phenomenon, and to critically appraise these formulations.
- 3) An ability to identify alternative beliefs about a given phenomenon and to state these beliefs in the form of explicit propositions or hypotheses.
- 4) An ability to recognize and to explicate the logical implications of hypotheses.
- 5) An ability to identify the concepts that must be defined and the variables that must be "measured" in order to empirically test propositions or hypotheses.
- 6) An ability to conceptually define these concepts and to think of or "invent" ways in which variables might be measured.
- 7) An ability to critically examine conceptual definitions and operational measures.
- 8) An ability to identify the kind and form of information or data that a test of propositions calls for; that is, the kind and form of data implied by proposed operational measures of variables.
- 9) An ability to collect, organize, and to evaluate data in terms of their apparent validity and reliability.
- 10) An ability to evaluate hypotheses or propositions in light of data, and then accordingly reject them, modify them, or accept them.
- 11) An ability to relate two or more propositions together to form a "theory."
- 12) An ability to recognize or identify the logical implications of a theory.
- 13) An ability to judge or evaluate the merits of alternative theories.

f. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Develop Within Students a Capacity To Make Explicit and Analyzed Normative Judgments About Political Decisions and Policies.

Normative judgments about political decisions and policies are claims about the goodness or badness, the desirability or undesirability, the

appropriateness or inappropriateness of these decisions or policies. Normative judgments contain two major elements: value claims and performance claims. Value claims are assertions about the quality, characteristics, or properties in terms of which a given phenomenon is to be judged, appraised, or evaluated. Performance claims are assertions that the phenomenon in question has or does not have the desired qualities, characteristics, or properties. For example, the statement "Mary would not make a good wife because she cannot cook" is a normative judgment containing both a value and performance claim. The value claim consists of the implied assertion that women are to be judged as prospective wives in terms of the value "ability to cook." The performance claim consists of the assertion that Mary lacks this essential value, and therefore would not make a good wife.

By an ability to make explicit and analyzed normative judgments is meant a three fold ability: (1) an ability to identify and to distinguish the value and performance claims in normative judgments; (2) an ability to consider, ponder, or examine the validity of performance claims; and (3) an ability to consider, ponder, or examine the appropriateness of value claims. A student who had developed a capacity to make explicit and analyzed normative judgments when presented with the assertion, "Mankind must develop a world government because modern nations cannot provide people with security from violence under the conditions created by modern weapons technology," could do the following. (1) He could identify the value claim inherent in the assertion; namely, that forms of political organization are to be judged by their capacity to provide security from violence. (2) He could identify the performance claims inherent in the assertion; namely, (a) nation states are no longer capable of providing security and (b) a world government if created would have this capacity. (3) He could reflectively consider the validity of these two performance claims. (4) He could consider the appropriateness of the value claim, e.g. consider the importance of security relative to other values that would be affected by the disappearance of nation states and the development of world government.

g. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Develop Within Students an Understanding of the Social Psychological Sources and Historical-Cultural

Origins of Their Own Political Attitudes and Values, and a Capacity to Critically Analyze the Personal and Social Implications of Alternative Values.

By this is meant that pre-collegiate political science education should provide students with some understanding of processes of socialization, social learning, and attitude formation as well as some understanding of the concept of political culture. By a capacity to critically analyze values is meant an ability to see the concrete implications of given values in private action and in public policy. A student with such an ability, for example, could perceive the relationship between placing a high value on private automobile ownership and problems of traffic congestion and air pollution in urban areas.

h. Political Science Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools Should Develop Within Students an Understanding of the Capacities and Skills Needed to Participate Effectively and Democratically in the Life of the Society.

The development of socially effective and democratically oriented citizens has been a traditional objective of civic education. While it is difficult to specify all the component elements of a capacity to participate effectively and democratically in politics, they clearly seem to include: (a) an interest in public affairs and some sense of "public regardness," (b) an ability to tolerate conflict and divergent values and beliefs; (c) an ability to consider in particular situations the democratic basis, the feasibility, and the likely consequences of alternative courses of action; (d) an ability to look at the viewpoints and problems of others; (e) an ability to identify alternative courses of action and to assess the probability that the alternative selected will achieve the desired goals; (f) an ability to consider group factors and institutional implications of decisions; (g) an ability to consider relevant democratic principles and values involved in decisions.

2. An appraisal of prevailing patterns in pre-collegiate political science education.

How well are these purposes served by the generally prevailing modes of instruction about politics and government in elementary and secondary schools? In an effort to give a reasoned response to this question, several activities have been undertaken.

1. Committee members and the staff of the Political Science Education Project have examined curriculum materials widely used in elementary and secondary schools along with much of the extant commentary, analysis, and critiques of these materials.
2. A questionnaire distributed to the members of the profession solicited the judgments of political scientists as to what they believed to be the primary weaknesses of elementary and secondary social studies education.
3. Relevant educational and political socialization research has been consulted.
4. An extensive survey of the attitudes, beliefs, and analytical skills of a select national sample of high schools seniors is underway.
5. Committee members and the PSEP staff have consulted with a number of teachers, students, and curriculum specialists.

The outcome of these efforts are summarized in a set of generalizations depicting what the Committee perceives to be characteristic weaknesses in the generally prevailing modes of political science education in elementary and secondary schools.

a. Much Of Current Political Science Instruction In Elementary and Secondary Schools Transmits A Naive, Unrealistic and Romanticized Image of Political Life Which Confuses the Ideals of Democracy with the Realities of Politics.

Both elementary and secondary level materials exhibit this deficiency. The treatment of social class and race in elementary level texts is symptomatic of the lack of realism in these materials. Goldstein in a review of 15 elementary curriculum guides used in 15 different cities and 30 elementary level social studies textbooks found that 14 of the 15 guides showed "no awareness that some pupils and some Americans are poor (or even that people have different amounts of wealth) and that the poor are objects of serious prejudices apparently shaped during childhood."¹ Similarly, Goldstein found that virtually all of the 30 texts he examined displayed explicitly middle-class biases through the pictures and stories they contained, a criticism of elementary level materials noted by a number of commentators.² Joyce in a separate review of

¹ Robert J. Goldstein, "The Elementary School Curriculum and Political Socialization" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, undated), p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

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elementary materials summarized these biases by noting that elementary materials present a picture of an America where everyone cooperates and no one fails.³

Materials at both the lower (grades 1-3) and upper (grades 4-6) elementary level have not dealt with the question of racial discrimination or the civil rights movement with much accuracy or sophistication. While most of the current textbooks make some effort *pictorially* to depict Blacks as an integral part of American life they present virtually no *textual* materials dealing candidly with the issue of present racial discrimination and the current status of Blacks in American society.

At the explicitly governmental level, upper elementary materials present an image of American politics and government comprised principally of the Constitutional Convention, Presidents Washington and Lincoln, and the federal government as a sort of "benevolent Santa Claus providing helpful services such as building roads, dams and parks, conserving wildlife, providing for the national defense, and protecting consumers, farmers and workers."⁴ Few textbooks or other materials satisfactorily interpret American government and politics in terms of a realistic appraisal of governmental functions and processes and the relation of governmental leaders and the formulation of public policy to citizens, public opinion and interest groups.

This weakness is found in almost all the widely used secondary level textbooks in civics and government upon which teachers place strong, almost obsessive, reliance. Massialas in reviewing six of these texts found that they confuse what *is* with what *ought* to be.⁵ The following is representative of the way in which the concept of democracy is treated in such texts. "Democracy provides the individual with greater security and personal satisfaction. In a democracy the dignity and worth of the individual are recognized . . . All are equal before the law . . . and have the law's protection."⁶ Massialas further found that all the texts he reviewed assumed the American

political system actually operates on the principle of the consent of the governed. Thus, texts were filled with statements such as, "In our nation government has been organized to serve the people and to provide for the general welfare of all citizens. We will learn very shortly that all levels of government are responsive to the wishes of the people."⁷ While consent of the governed is a genuine American ideal, it is simplistic and misleading to assert as fact that it accounts for political and economic behavior in daily life.

In a review of twelve junior high school civics texts, Smith and Patrick found that in describing American politics these books either glossed over, misused, or totally ignored many important concepts necessary to a realistic understanding of political life.⁸ Social class, status, role, mores and institutions were not discussed at all in the texts.⁹ With two exceptions, the texts also presented an inaccurate and misleading picture of the civil rights movement and racial justice in America. For example, one book handles this topic by blandly stating, "Some of our citizens in certain parts of the country still do not enjoy an equal opportunity for liberty and the pursuit of happiness."¹⁰

Shaver, after reviewing 93 secondary level textbooks in the areas of American government, American problems and citizenship or civics, reached similar conclusions. He found that these materials presented a picture of the social-political world sufficiently unrealistic as to cause students to wonder about the gap between the image presented by their texts and that seen everyday in the newspapers and other mass media.¹¹ The fruits of such Pollyanish approaches to the study

* Institution was briefly defined in two books. Social class was discussed sketchily in one book and in detail in one book. However, the "detailed" discussion occupied one small section and was unrelated to the functions of government or political processes.

⁷ Massialas, "We Are the Greatest!," quoting Harry Barth, Willis D. Moreland and Thelma Cline, *Citizenship and Government in Modern America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), no page reference given.

⁸ Frederick R. Smith and John J. Patrick, "Relating Social Study to Social Reality," in *Social Studies in the United States*, ed. by C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), p. 111.

⁹ Smith and Patrick, "Social Study," quoting Fred B. Painter and Harold H. Bixler, *Citizenship in Action* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), no page reference given.

¹⁰ Russell F. Farnen and Robert M. Bjork, "The Teaching of Government," (mimeographed—no date given) citing James P. Shaver, "Reflective Thinking, Values, and Social Studies Textbooks," *School Review* 73 (Autumn, 1965), pp. 226-57.

³ Bruce R. Joyce, "A Review of Textbook Materials," in *Social Studies in the United States*, ed. by C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), pp. 21-22.

⁴ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 40.

⁵ Byron G. Massialas, "We Are the Greatest!," in *Social Studies in the United States*, ed. by C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), p. 178.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

of American politics are hinted at in a recent study by Patrick of 472 high school students from nine communities located in various parts of the country.* The study revealed that a large number of these students were unable to distinguish American ideals about political opportunity and recruitment to political office from political reality. For example, on a true-false test 41% of the sample indicated as true the statement that "Any person born in the United States has the same chance as any other person to become President of the United States some day." And 42% indicated as true the statement that "Non-white individuals have the same chance to become United States Senators as white individuals."¹¹ This romanticized and unrealistic view of American politics tends to be presented in an antiseptic context which ignores controversial issues and glosses over crucial matters of public policy such as protest and dissent, racial discrimination, hard-core poverty, corruption, laws governing drugs, birth control, pornography and the like. The textbook reviews by Shaver, Massialas, and Smith and Patrick found highly controversial issues completely excluded. When controversial issues were discussed, the great majority of authors failed to explicitly or implicitly provide students with models by which to analyze such issues.

b. On the Whole, Instruction About Civics and Government Places Undue Stress Upon Historical Events, Legal Structures and Formal Institutional Aspects of Government and Fails to Transmit Adequate Knowledge About Political Behaviors And Processes.

This is readily evident in textbooks and other course materials from the primary grades through senior high school. In the early elementary (grades 1-3) years there is a considerable amount of social studies materials of direct political relevance but little intellectual content.¹² These materials emphasize community services and

workers such as policemen, firemen, librarians, and the like, along with national symbols such as the flag and national holidays. Most of this type of material is designed to inculcate feelings of patriotism and loyalty. It fails to transmit either factual information about government or to organize and present information in a manner capable of developing rudimentary notions of socio-political processes.

At the upper elementary level (grades 4-6) these weaknesses are magnified. The discussion of the organization and operation of the government is skimpy and rigidly formal.¹³ Treatment of the less formal aspects of government and political behavior is practically non-existent. For example, Goldstein notes that "of the 25 or so texts and guides which discuss the U.S. government, only two discuss the role and importance of political parties."¹⁴

Most materials do not venture beyond statements such as the following found in a widely used fifth-grade text, "The Congress was to make laws. The President was to be the head of the nation and see that the laws were obeyed. The courts were to settle disputes and judge people."¹⁵ Completely absent from these materials is any conception of politics as involving power and influence, the allocation of values, social direction, the resolution of conflict, and the like. Also absent is any conception of government and politics as subject matter of scientific inquiry.

At the junior and senior high school level almost all of the widely used textbooks and other course materials fail to use basic concepts which form the "tools of the trade" for political scientists today. Instead, these materials tend to be characterized by,

*dreary descriptions of the powers and duties of departments, officials and levels of government, the step-by-step details of how a bill becomes a law (sometimes repeated three times—once each for local, state, and national governments), and interesting but frequently trivial descriptions of how the President or a congressman typically spends a busy day.*¹⁶

* The study focused on measuring the impact of an experimental 9th grade civics course, *American Political Behavior*, on students' political knowledge. The sample was divided into experimental groups (N=487) exposed to the course and control groups (N=472). The results reported here are for the control groups.

¹¹ John J. Patrick, "The Impact of An Experimental Course, *American Political Behavior*, On the Knowledge of Secondary School Students," (paper presented at the 66th meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, California, September 8-12, 1970), pp. 11-12.

¹² Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 36. Also Joyce, "A Review of Textbook Materials," p. 26-28.

¹³ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 39.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁵ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," quoting C. Ver Steeg, *The Story of Our Country* (Evanston: Harper and Row, 1955), p. 177.

¹⁶ Smith and Patrick, "Social Study," p. 177.

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The most widely used 12th grade civics and government textbook is illustrative of this approach. Approximately 40% of the book is taken up with very lengthy chapter by chapter descriptions of the statutory history, legal powers and formal organization of the various cabinet departments.¹⁷ In reviewing another widely used text, Massialas notes that although an entire chapter is devoted to voting the text ignores the findings of Angus Campbell *et. al.* in *The American Voter*, even though that book is recommended for the teacher.¹⁸ The principle ideas presented in the text's chapter on voting are that

... (1) 'voting is a process that makes possible peaceful change; (2) voting promotes citizen participation in government; (3) voting helps to promote equality; (4) voting promotes obedience to government; and (5) voting promotes the self-respect of every individual.'

In summary, the majority of civics and government curriculum materials currently in use at all grade levels either completely ignore or inadequately treat not only such traditionally important political science concepts as freedom, sovereignty, consensus, authority, class, compromise, and power but also newer concepts such as role, socialization, culture, system, decision-making, etc.

c. On The Whole, Instruction In Civics And Government Reflects An Ethnocentric Pre-Occupation With American Society And Fails To Transmit To Students An Adequate Knowledge About The Political Systems Of Other National Societies Or The International System.

Explicit reference to foreign nations and peoples in the majority of elementary materials begins about the fourth grade. In these materials similarity to the United States—primarily in terms of industrialization and democracy—is used to judge countries. Those nations conforming closely to the United States along these lines receive preferential treatment in terms of evaluative statements of cultural characteristics and general warmth of treatment. Goldstein found in his review of elementary materials that this results in a situation where, "those areas most similar to the U.S. in color and culture such as Northern

Europe, Canada and Australia receive the most favorable treatment, along with certain other democratic-industrialized states such as Japan, Uruguay and Israel."¹⁹ Correspondingly, in the majority of materials, third world nations are generally treated rather harshly and inaccurately. Of the 8 textbooks and 10 curriculum guides reviewed by Goldstein which dealt in detail with foreign nations, only one guide gave any indication of "a consistent attempt to present underdeveloped nations in a positive light."²⁰

For example, in one widely used 6th grade text considerable attention is paid to negative comparisons in such areas as education, transportation and life expectancy between what it designates as "primitive" and "backwards" nations relative to "modern" and "progressive" nations like the United States.²¹

Communist nations receive the harshest, most distorted and at times definitely hostile treatment. Much of the distortion in the treatment arises from omission rather than commission and makes it impossible for students to make balanced judgments regarding Communist and non-Communist political systems. Discussions of Russia, for example, usually fail to include even a trace of information on Russia before 1917. The bulk of materials on China, Cuba, and Vietnam are also seriously distorted and present an unbalanced, ethnocentric view of these political systems, their foreign policies, and their history.²²

The great majority of elementary materials display similar ethnocentric tendencies in their treatment of American foreign policy. Many of the upper elementary textbooks imply and a few state outright that America is responsible for the maintenance of freedom around the world and maintains friendly and benign relations with all non-communist countries. Typical is a popular 5th grade text which blandly states that, "Under the guidance of U.S. experts, many nations are making life better for their people."²³ Discussions of Latin American and Canadian relations are frequently biased and one-sided in many standard textbooks. In reviewing textbooks and curriculum guides discussing Latin America, Goldstein found only one which included a candid discussion of

¹⁷ Based on a count by the authors. The textbook is William A. McClenaghan, *Magruder's American Government*, (52nd ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969).

¹⁸ Massialas, "We Are the Greatest!," p. 182. The text reviewed by Massialas is Robert C. Ludlum, *et al.*, *American Government* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965).

¹⁹ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-34.

²³ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 41 quoting P. Cutright, *et al. Living As World Neighbors* (Teachers Edition), (New York: MacMillan, 1966).

recent tensions and difficulties in United States-Latin American relations.²⁴

At the junior and senior high school level textbooks and other course materials display an equally strong ethnocentric bias and lack of basic social science concepts with respect to international and comparative politics. In their review of junior high school textbooks, Smith and Patrick found that the content of civics and government textbooks at that level "may foster chauvinism and a misunderstanding of the practices of freedom around the world."²⁵ For example, once recent text flatly asserts that "No other people on earth enjoy as many rights and privileges as Americans."²⁶ Massialas summarizes his review of high school texts by stating that these materials give the following picture of America to students:

*... (1) the government operates on the principle of the consent of the governed; (2) America is the best country to live in; (3) American citizens are the most rational voters; (4) the American form of government is the best and most appropriate for all societies at any stage of development; and (5) since America is both the most powerful and most democratic state, it should be the world's keeper. In sum 'We are the greatest.'*²⁷

Massialas further notes that the ethnocentric preoccupation with the humanity, rationality and virtue of the American political system in high school civics texts makes "for particularly misleading and inadequate discussions when the United States and capitalism are compared with the Soviet Union and communism."²⁸ This is especially true when such textbooks fail to provide any social science based criteria and concepts for a systematic comparison of different political systems. End of the chapter questions from leading textbooks illustrate the tone which many of the discussions of communism and Russia take. For example, "Write a short research paper on agreements with other nations that the Soviet Union has broken," or "What are the five major fallacies or shortcomings of Communist doctrine."²⁹

The ethnocentric tendency of civics and government texts is also reflected in discussions of the American economic system. The *leading*, most widely used 12th grade civics and government text thus unabashedly states:

*One needs only to look at the great achievements and the standard of living of the American people to see the advantages of our economic system. We view the trends toward nationalization and socialism in other countries with grave misgivings. We believe that a well-regulated capitalistic system—one of free choice, individual incentive, private enterprise—is the best guarantee of the better life for all mankind.*³⁰

Moreover, high school texts provide only superficial treatment of international politics, the behavior of the United States as an actor in the international system and the sources and relationship of public opinion and American foreign policy. Most textbooks, if they treat the topic at all, limit themselves to one or two chapters setting forth the history and formal organization of the State Department and the United Nations.

Finally, virtually none of the standard, widely used, commercially available elementary or secondary level civics and government texts attempt to develop within students a functionally oriented understanding of major social processes within the international system such as inter-nation conflict and conflict resolution, inter-nation collaboration and integration, inter-nation communications or trade, processes of cultural diffusion and the like. Nor do these materials introduce any of the major concepts such as power, integration, systems, equilibrium, communication, decision-making, sovereignty, which international relations scholars use to analyze international politics. Moreover, the "comparisons" of the United States and other nations made in these materials are largely unsystematic and uninformed by any of the analytical schemes or conceptual frameworks developed by scholars of comparative politics.

³⁰ McClenaghan, *American Government*, p. 17. The text, however, excludes any discussion let alone analysis of the economic development and social well-being of people in England and Scandinavia. Further, the discussion of socialism is conveniently followed by a discomfiting picture of a child in a dentist chair as an illustration of socialized medicine. This, however, probably represents an improvement over the 51st edition where the same discussion was followed by a picture of English people standing in line in the rain waiting to be treated by the National Health Service! The message, of course, is clear—socialized medicine is undesirable and leads to certain hardships.

²⁴ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 41.

²⁵ Smith and Patrick, "Social Study," p. 113.

²⁶ Ralph W. Steen and Odie B. Faulk, *Government By the People* (Austin, Texas: Steeck Company, 1964), p. 68 quoted in Smith and Patrick, "Social Study," p. 113.

²⁷ Massialas, "We Are the Greatest," pp. 178-79.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

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d. On The Whole, Instruction About Civics And Government Fails To Develop Within Students A Capacity To Think About Political Phenomena In Conceptually Sophisticated Ways; An Understanding Of, And Skill In The Process Of Social Scientific Inquiry; Or A Capacity to Systematically Analyze Political Decisions And Values.

Traditional elementary level textbooks are not organized and do not present content in a way which encourages children to begin to develop rudimentary skills in inductive and deductive thinking, inquiry, the formulation and utilization of concepts and the like. In essence, these materials ignore any sort of Brunerian conception of the ability of young children to handle complex subject matter if it is presented fairly, simply, and honestly in terms of the child's level of abstraction.

The problem is compounded at the elementary level by the fact that the overall context of the elementary social studies curriculum militates against the practice of critical inquiry in at least two ways. Joyce notes that:

*In the view of many school administrators (and teachers) primary social studies are not intended to be intellectual. Textbooks in social studies and science are expected to reinforce the reading curriculum and not to interfere with the skill subject by introducing too many difficult ideas from the social sciences. Truly intellectual inquiry in social studies would actually be subversive to the purposes of the primary grades as seen by many school administrators. (Emphasis in original.)*³¹

Second, the elementary level curriculum and consequently the majority of commercially published, standard textbooks are presently locked into an "expanding horizons" approach to social studies. In this approach substantive content is presented in progressively distant steps from the immediate environment of the child. Since the topics selected are usually very familiar to the child, textual materials are redundant to the child's experience and are presented in merely descriptive fashion.³² Joyce notes that the child, "does not need a reader to give him data about a community; he lives in one. His text does not have to tell him about a family; he is surrounded by it."³³ Few elementary materials use these homely topics to lead children to more sophisti-

cated levels of understanding by employing inquiry methods and rudimentary social science concepts.

At the junior and senior high school level, civics and government textbooks fail almost without exception to be organized around a political science approach to the studies of politics. While lip service is paid to "inquiry," "critical thinking" and "analysis" in many of these textbooks and curriculum guides, no effort is made to engage students in abstract, complex mental operations. Virtually no civics and government textbooks are organized to enable students to learn how to cope with political abstraction, to reason from premises or to engage in hypothetico-deductive modes of analysis. These textbooks fail to take advantage of the cognitive capacities of adolescents and ignore their capacity to deal meaningfully with concepts such as political culture, political legitimacy, political role, political power and the like.³⁴

In reporting the results of their exploration of what is currently being done in the development of elementary and secondary civics and government materials, the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Curriculum Development in Political Science found that:

*The end-of-chapter questions and suggested activities that appear in civics and government textbooks emphasize the memorization of facts about government as the key to understanding political affairs. Students are asked to recall or to copy from the textbooks such information as the precise legal steps by which a bill becomes a law, the legal qualifications for becoming President, or the exact wording of the Preamble to the Constitution. Seldom are students confronted with issues, instructed in the methods of inquiry, or motivated to use facts effectively to substantiate or refute political beliefs.*³⁵

³⁴ This paragraph draws heavily from John J. Patrick, "Implications of Political Socialization Research for the Reform of Civic Education," *Social Education*, 33:1 (January, 1969), p. 20. We would like to thank Professor Patrick for his permission to extensively paraphrase and quote his writings in this area.

³⁵ Committee on Pre-Collegiate Curriculum Development in Political Science, Report of the Committee, "The Challenge of Pre-Collegiate Education," *PS* (Summer, 1969), pp. 339-40. This committee was appointed in the Spring of 1969 by then President of the Association Professor David Easton. The Committee was charged with studying efforts to improve pre-collegiate political science curriculum already underway, and to identify needs and priorities for future curriculum development. The Committee members were: Paul Abramson (Chairman), Lee F. Anderson, Charles O. Jones, Howard Mehlinger, Jewel Prestage, George E. Von der Muhl, and L. Harmon Zeigler.

³¹ Joyce, "A Review of Textbook Materials," p. 27.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 26. (Emphasis in the original)

While factual knowledge is important, Smith and Patrick note in their review of 12 widely used high school texts that authors and publishers appear to assume "that before pupils can think critically, they must absorb in an encyclopedic manner essential facts and a few pertinent precepts to ensure proper interpretation and application of these facts."³⁶ However, practically all of the textbooks reviewed by Smith and Patrick, Massialas, and Shaver—over a hundred books in all—precluded the possibility of students generating and ordering data about political behavior and political systems on the basis of "essential" facts by presenting only the "right" facts and prescribing the 'correct' values.³⁷

Finally, civics and government texts emphasize the prescription of "correct" political values and fail to equip students to make normative judgments based upon a critical appraisal of the sources of their values and an understanding of the implications of operationalizing these values. The textbooks are satiated with moralizing prescriptions about the superiority of democracy and the attitudes and values every citizen ought to have. This prescriptive approach along with rote-like end of chapter exercises preclude systematic, rational attempts on the part of students to clarify their own value positions and examine problems and dilemmas created by the clash of values in American politics and society.

e. On The Whole, Instruction In Civics And Government Fails To Develop Within Students An Understanding Of The Capacities And Skills Needed To Participate Effectively And Democratically In Politics.

At both the elementary and secondary level the failure of the schools to develop within students an understanding of the capacities and skills involved in effective and democratic political participation may be traced to two interrelated sources—formal instructional materials and the socio-political organization of the schools. Elementary level textbooks and other course materials, particularly those in grades 4 to 6, place considerable emphasis upon "citizenship training." Much of this material is hortatory in nature confusing prescription and description. In essence, the message conveyed is that the good citizen is one who "understands and appreciates the American 'way of life,' is proud of his country

and understands and tries to perpetuate democracy."³⁸ For example, a 5th grade textbook vaguely states that:

*The freedom and opportunities of the nation were won and protected by many men and women of the past. Americans have the responsibility to see that these efforts continue and that freedom and opportunity are shared by all citizens.*³⁹

Elementary curriculum materials, then, offer children slogans rather than meaningful information regarding effective political participation. Goldstein found no elementary texts which went beyond vague statements urging children to become well-informed, vote and support laws.⁴⁰ Hess and Torney in a study of 12,000 elementary school children and their teachers report that

*Compliance to rules and authorities is a major focus of civic education in elementary school. . . . Indeed, it seems likely that much of what is called citizenship training in the public schools does not teach the child about the city, state, or national government, but is an attempt to teach regard for the rules and standards of conduct of the school. . . . The school focuses on the obligation and right to vote but does not offer the child sufficient understanding of procedures open to individuals for legitimately influencing the government. Nor does it adequately explain and emphasize the importance of group action.*⁴¹

At the junior and senior high school level, instruction in civics and government fails to increase students' political interest, political tolerance and sense of political efficacy. It further fails to provide students with skills essential to making democratic decisions: the ability to look at decision situations from the viewpoints and problems of others; the ability to identify alternative courses of action and assess the probability that the alternative selected will achieve a desired goal; the ability to consider group factors and the institutional implications of a decision, and the ability to identify and consider the democratic principles or values involved in a decision.⁴²

³⁸ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 44.

³⁹ C. Ver Steeg, *Story of Our Country*, p. 370, quoted in Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 44.

⁴⁰ Goldstein, "Elementary Curriculum," p. 44.

⁴¹ Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes In Children* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1968), p. 248.

⁴² Allen Westin and Deann Murphy, "Civic Education in A Crisis Age: An Alternative to Revolution and Repression," (mimeographed, September, 1970), pp. 20-22.

³⁶ Smith and Patrick, "Social Study," p. 117.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

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These indictments rest upon a considerable body of empirical research. Langton and Jennings in a survey of a national sample of 1,669 high school seniors from 97 secondary schools compared students who had taken courses in civics and government with those who had not taken such courses. They concluded that students who had taken one or more courses in civics and/or government during their three years in high school (grades 10, 11, 12) did not show significantly more political interest, sense of political efficacy, civic tolerance and desire to participate in politics than those who had not taken such courses.⁴³ They summarize their work by stating that, "there is a lack of evidence that the civics curriculum has a significant effect on the political orientations of the great majority of American high school students."⁴⁴

Similarly, the results of the Purdue Opinion Panel surveys of high school students' political tolerance and acceptance of basic democratic ideals regarding free speech and participation are not encouraging. The Measurement and Research Center at Purdue has been conducting surveys of stratified samples of approximately 9,000 to 11,000 high school students regularly since 1941. Several of these surveys contained questions regarding students' attitudes toward applications of the Bill of Rights.* In summary, these studies have indicated that with respect to such areas as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, authority of police, and the constitutionally guaranteed rights of foreigners and minorities in general, significant numbers of American teenagers displayed an absence of commitment to democratic values.

Recent research has also shown a considerable lack of decision-making ability on the part of high school students. Westin and his colleagues at the Center for Research and Education in American

Liberties recently conducted a study of almost 7,000 junior and senior high school students in the greater New York City and Philadelphia areas. The study utilized an open-ended questionnaire to assess students' orientations towards their schools as institutions in a democratic society, the level of students' democratic expectations, and their perceptions of daily operational realities in the schools as they felt they had experienced them.⁴⁵

The data generated by this study indicated that the students surveyed lacked the ability to deal with democratic problems effectively. Thus, in respect to self-described conflict situations where the students had difficulty in deciding the "democratic thing to do," few students were able to perceive alternative courses of action, view the problems from the perspective of the other parties involved, appreciate the institutional or group implications of the problem, or abstract the problems above a personal level. For example, 80% of the students surveyed were "unwilling or unable" to state alternative courses of action for resolving conflict in which they found themselves.⁴⁷

High school civics and government textbooks display the same weaknesses as the elementary textbooks in their approach to developing within students an understanding of the capacities related to participation in politics. They emphasize voting as the way "that the typical citizen can most directly affect the course of public events" almost to the exclusion of other means of participation in the political life of society. To the extent that any of the "warts" of American society are even presented in these texts, voting is seen as the primary means through which the average citizen can resolve conflicts and solve the problems of American society. Thus, the 1969 edition of a leading 12th grade text exhorts students to, "Remember, unscrupulous political machines and incompetent officeholders exist only where the

* Specifically, surveys conducted in 1949, 1951, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1963, 1964, and 1966 have dealt with one or another aspect of students' orientations toward democratic principles and political tolerance. Different sets of questions have been repeated making possible comparisons over 10 year spans for some questions.⁴⁵

⁴³ Patrick, "Implications of Socialization Research," p. 16 citing Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum," *The American Political Science Review* (September, 1968).

⁴⁴ Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "The Formal Environment: The School," in *Political Socialization* by Kenneth P. Langton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 116.

⁴⁵ See page 31a of "People Problems: Population, Pollution, Prejudice, Poverty, Peace," Report of Poll No. 89 of the Purdue Opinion Panel (Measurement and Research Center, Purdue University, June, 1970) for a complete listing of the Purdue Opinion Panel Polls. See also, H. H. Remmers and Richard D. Franklin, "Sweet Land of Liberty," in *Anti-Democratic Attitudes in American Schools* ed., by H. H. Remmers (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963), pp. 61-73.

⁴⁶ Westin and Murphy, "Civic Education in A Crisis Age," p. 2.

⁴⁷ John De Cecco, "Curriculum for the Seventies: Social Science or Civic Education?" paper presented at the invitational conference, "Social Science Education: Lessons for the '70's," Phipps Conference Center, Denver University, Denver, Colorado, 1970, p. 6.

voters are not doing *their* work properly.”⁴⁸ None of the standard texts, for example, make any attempt to analytically consider individual and group participation in politics in terms of their relative potency in effecting the outcomes of public policy.

The formal curriculum, however, is but one aspect of school. A number of researchers have noted that the social climate, and political culture and organization of schools and individual classrooms—the “unstudied curriculum”—is importantly related to the development of student’s political orientations.⁴⁹ Patrick, for example, notes that schools “teach political beliefs and behavior both formally and informally, both directly and consciously through planned instruction and inadvertently through casual experiences or chance happenings.”⁵⁰ The school represents the first and for many years of young people’s lives,

the most salient form of external authority with which they have direct experience. The way in which teachers organize their classrooms, the extent to which students are allowed or encouraged to participate in decision-making about school rules, the quality and quantity of formal and informal group activities and committee work students engage in, and so on all influence the students’ acquisition of skills, norms, attitudes, and values regarding democratic participation.

A host of commentators have noted that in the majority of American schools the professed objectives of the schools concerning democratic ideals are inconsistent with the way the schools are actually organized and run. On the whole, American schools emphasize docility and conformity on the part of students rather than activity and critical thinking; strict adherence to authoritative pronouncements as opposed to student inquiry into pressing socio-political problems, and strict obedience to rules as opposed to the inquiry into the need for and purpose of rules.⁵¹

Hess and Torney found that the elementary teachers in their study reported that they stressed the importance of authority, obedience to law, and conformity to school regulations and ignored the importance of active democratic participation. Silberman in a recently completed study concluded;

*Far from helping students to develop into mature, self-reliant, self-motivated individuals, schools seem to do everything they can to keep youngsters in a state of chronic, almost infantile, dependency. The pervasive atmosphere of distrust, together with rules covering the most minute aspects of existence, teach students every day that they are not people of worth; and certainly not individuals capable of regulating their own behavior.*⁵²

Simpson, in a study reviewing almost 400 works related to the relationships of formal and informal curriculum and students’ democratic orientations, concluded

For some years now, it has been clear that the American educational system is not the bastion of democracy it is labeled in the national ideology. Values and the cultural myths of equality and

⁴⁸ McClenaghan, *American Government*, p. 126. (Emphasis in the original)

⁴⁹ See, for example, John J. Patrick, *Political Socialization of American Youth* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, Research Bulletin No. 3), pp. 27, 44. Howard D. Mehlinger, “The Study of American Political Behavior,” (Occasional paper from the High School Curriculum Center in Government, Indiana University, 1967, mimeographer). Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, *Political Socialization* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 155-175. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 352-363. Robert Havighurst and Bernice Neugarten, *Society and Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962), p. 185. Helen Sonnenburg, Lewis, “The Teen-age Joiner and his Orientation Toward Public Affairs: A Test of Two Multiple Group Membership Hypotheses (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, 1962). The broader literature on socialization also contains references to the relationship between the school and individual classroom culture and the formation of students’ political attitudes and beliefs. See, for example, John J. Patrick, “The Impact of Civics Instruction on Political Attitudes and Beliefs,” *The Challenge: Colorado Council for the Social Studies*, XXIII (Spring, 1970), 34-40.; John A. Clausen, “Perspectives On Childhood Socialization,” in *Socialization and Society*, ed., by John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), 130-82; Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Prather, M., Alter, R. D., and Hoffmeister, J. K., “Teachers Belief Systems and Preschool Atmospheres,” *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 57 (1966), 373-81; Lee H. Ehman, “An Analysis of the Relationship of Selected Educational Variables With the Political Socialization of High School Students,” *American Educational Research Journal*, (November, 1969), 559-580.; Ronald Lippit, “Improving the Socialization Process,” in *Socialization and Society*, ed., by John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), 321-375.; Eleanor E. Maccoby, “The Development of Moral Values and Behavior in Childhood,” in *Socialization and Society*, 227-70. Stanley E. Dimond, “Studies and Projects in Citizenship Education,” in Franklin Patterson, ed., *The Adolescent Citizen* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), p. 93. Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 439.

⁵⁰ John J. Patrick, *Political Socialization of American Youth*, (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, Research Bulletin No. 3, 1967), p. 27.

⁵¹ Patrick, “Implications of Socialization Research,” p. 19.

⁵² Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 134.

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opportunity are memorized, and the mundane problems of a representative system are analyzed. Elections and voting are even walked through. Everywhere the power of the flag and the President's picture shelter the school symbolically, and the stigmata of democracy are ritualistically displayed. Yet the political and social structure of our schools is not democratic, and many graduates of these socializing institutions are emerging class-conscious and difference-conscious, with an abiding lack of faith in the capability of their fellows to govern either themselves or the country.⁵³

The emphasis upon compliance and docility in American schools is a manifestation of their pre-occupation with efficiency, order and control and is operationalized in terms of seemingly petty regulations regarding dress, silence, movement and the like which have implications for civic education. Westin summarized the results of his study of almost 7,000 high school students in a statement worth quoting at length,

The principal findings of the survey are that a large majority of the students feel they are regularly subjected to undemocratic decisions. These are seen as unilateral actions by teachers and administrators that deny fundamental rights of persons to equality, dissent or due process, and of members of an institution to some meaningful share in its rule-making processes. Students feel that the results of the dilemma situations are bad, and report increased levels of dissatisfaction, tension, frustration and anger with school as a whole. The survey finds that a majority of these students perceive their schools to be essentially undemocratic institutions.⁵⁴

In conclusion, the socio-political organization of American schools in conjunction with the formal curriculum in civics and government combines to produce a situation where democratic theory has been so divorced from practice that students are skeptical of both and unable to develop an understanding of the skills necessary for meaningful participation in the political life of the society.

B. Consequences For The Discipline

The mutual isolation of political science and pre-collegiate education adversely affects the

discipline as well as the schools. First, and perhaps foremost, political science's isolation from the processes, institutions, and problems of elementary and secondary education has left the discipline's ancient interest in political education underdeveloped and unexploited. That is, it seems reasonable to assume that isolation has substantially reduced the capacity of the profession to produce new knowledge about one of the very significant dimensions of human political behavior.

Moreover, isolation from schools has reduced the opportunity for the discipline to use educational systems as laboratories or observatories in which to empirically examine many basic political processes and problems. For example, the cases of decaying political order and the emergence of new forms of order in many urban schools present political scientists with the opportunity to systematically and comparatively examine a phenomena of basic interest to the discipline.

The world of pre-collegiate education constitutes a valuable laboratory or observatory not only because it is rich in phenomena of interest to political scientists but also because it constitutes a world into which political scientists can enter with relative ease. Detailed analyses of the escalation of social conflict, of the place of violence in the maintenance of social order, of the erosion of compliance systems, of system transformation, etc. are all phenomena which can be only indirectly studied in whole societies or other large scale social systems. In the context of educational systems, such phenomena can be intimately examined even by a sole political scientist working with very meager resources.

Furthermore, isolation limits the production of new knowledge because it reduces the opportunity for political scientists to explore and "field test" new approaches to political analysis and styles of inquiry. Many political scientists are discontent with what they see to be the sterility and irrelevance of much contemporary social science and talk of the need to develop a post or neo-behavioral political science. They see such a political science to be characterized by an active concern with social values, a disciplined commitment to the building of a more humane society, a commitment to social action and change, and a set of research methodologies which accentuate the role of the political scientists as participant-observer in the phenomenon he studies.

⁵³ Elizabeth Leonie Simpson, *Democracy's Stepchildren* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971), p. 2.

⁵⁴ Westin and Murphy, "Civic Education in A Crisis Age," pp. 2-3.

Schools, perhaps far more than courts, legislatures, business firms, executive bureaucracies, etc., would seem to provide the kind of institutional matrix necessary to the development of this sort of political science. Access to schools, while not always easy, is relatively freer than to most major institutions in the society. There is greater flexibility in respect to social experimentation. Involvement through participant-observer roles is relatively easy to arrange. The growing crisis in the schools encourages a search for relatively radical alternatives to traditional institutions and inherited practices. And the intimate link between the process of education and the basic dynamics of human development encourages normatively oriented research and the construction of social theory cast in a broad humanistic frame.

Part III

A Strategy for Improving Pre-Collegiate Political Science Education

If the mutual isolation of political science and pre-collegiate education is harmful to both the schools and to the discipline, then it is in the interests of the profession to expand its involvement in research, development, and service activities related to political education in elementary and secondary schools. This points to a second responsibility of the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. This is to develop and to begin to implement a coherent, long-range strategy through which the human and intellectual resources of the discipline can be more effectively mobilized in support of educational research, development, and service activities at the pre-collegiate level.

The starting point in the development of such a strategy was an effort on the part of Committee members and PSEP staff to wrestle with a simple but basic question: What must the political science profession do in order for the discipline to make a substantial contribution to educational change during the next decade? From these efforts emerged three basic conclusions.

For the discipline to substantially effect change in political science education at the pre-collegiate level there must be developed within the profession institutional and cultural support for involvement in educational research, development and service activities.

For the discipline to substantially effect change in political science education at the pre-collegiate

level there must be developed a network of collaborative relations with other groups and institutions involved in educational reform.

For the discipline to substantially effect change in political science education at the pre-collegiate level there must be developed a set of coordinated research, development and service programs aimed at both elementary and secondary education and designed to effect change in curriculum, in teacher education, and in the social organization and culture of schools.

From these considerations combined with the assumptions on which they rest, a three prong strategy has been developed. One component consists of a set of actions intended to develop within the discipline a support system for the involvement of political scientists in pre-collegiate education. A second component consists of a set of actions intended to develop a network of collaborative relationships with other groups and organizations. The third component consists of ongoing and projected programs intended to affect change in schools.

I. The Development of a Support System

There is no easy, short run, or simple way of bringing about educational change. For the discipline to substantially contribute to improved political science education at the pre-collegiate level the profession must sustain a long term involvement in educational research, development, and service. Moreover, an increasing number of political scientists must interest themselves in pre-collegiate education, and they must do so in increasingly skilled and professional ways.

The development of a large scale, professionally oriented, and sustained commitment to the reform of pre-collegiate education requires the development of an institutional and cultural support system within the discipline. Much of what the Committee and the PSEP staff have done this year is directed toward the creation of this needed support system. The system envisaged consists of four principle elements.

- A. a national network of university based research, development, and service centers,
- B. a cluster of political science departments with a special interest and organizational commitment to teacher education,

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- C. a sub-culture or sub-discipline of political scientists professionally interested and involved in research, development, and service activities in the field of pre-collegiate education,
- D. national leadership and staff assistance.

A. Developing a Network of University Based Centers

While individual political scientists can undertake specific projects and departments can develop new programs in teacher education, there are important functions which neither individuals nor departments as such are well equipped to perform. The development and maintenance of up-to-date and specialized collections of instructional materials, the providing of experienced and skilled consultants, the monitoring and coordination of research, the creation and maintenance of long-term and comprehensive relationships with entire schools or school systems, and the development of interdisciplinary programs are a few of the activities that are best undertaken by university based centers which inter-link political science departments, colleges of education, and schools.

The Committee feels that the creation of a national network of university based research, development, and service centers with strong links to the political science discipline is a vital step in the development of a support system capable of maintaining a long-range involvement of the profession in efforts to improve political science education at the pre-collegiate level. The Committee has taken several steps toward the development of such a network.

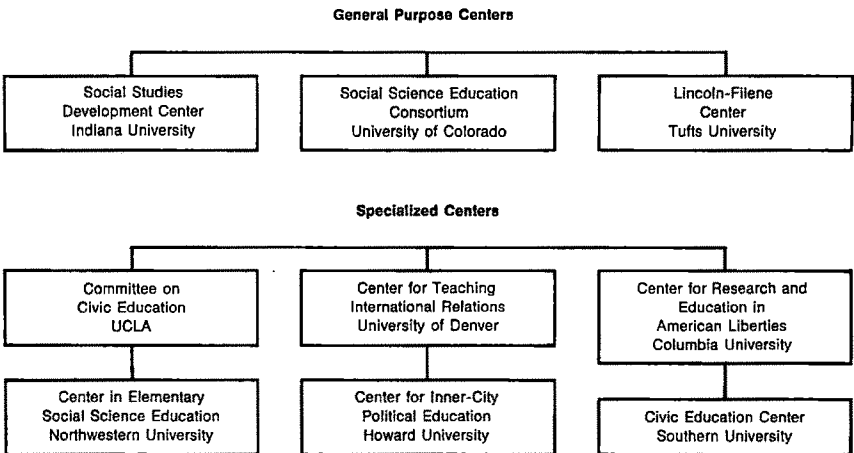
The creation of new centers—When the Commit-

tee came into existence, university-based centers with strong relations to political science were in existence at UCLA, the University of Colorado, the University of Denver, Indiana University, Columbia University and Tufts University. During this year, the Committee has supported the creation of three additional centers and hopes to establish a fourth by the end of the year. These new centers are at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Strengthening existing centers—The Committee has attempted to strengthen the institutional foundation and programs of existing centers. Committee members have been in communication with relevant university officials, and have been instrumental in obtaining small amounts of funding.

Facilitating communication and coordinated planning—The Committee has facilitated the growth of a communication network among the various university based centers. Staff members of several of the centers have been meeting regularly with members of the Committee and the staff of the PSEP.

At the conclusion of this year, the network of university based research, development, and service centers that the Committee is endeavoring to develop will consist of at least eight centers. These centers are of two kinds; centers with broad, comprehensive social studies education interests and centers with specialized interests. The emerging network of centers is diagrammatically represented below.



B. Developing a Cluster of Political Science Departments With a Special Interest and Commitment to Teacher Education in Political Science.

A second element of the support system which the Committee is developing consists of a cluster of political science departments with a special interest and commitment to improving teacher education in political science. Several activities have been undertaken in this regard:

- a. The Committee has coordinated six large scale special in-service teacher education programs in political science. These are at UCLA, the University of Colorado, the University of Denver, Indiana University, Columbia University, and Federal City College.
- b. The Committee has stimulated and supported the development of several new courses in political science designed especially for teachers.
- c. The staff of the PSEP is developing a list of political scientists who are currently involved in teacher education in special ways. These include political scientists who teach in schools of education, who supervise student teachers majoring in political science, who teach special courses or sections of courses designed specifically for teachers, and who direct or teach summer workshops and institutes for teachers.
- d. The staff of the PSEP is identifying and acquiring teacher training materials in political science. Included are outlines and syllabi of courses specially designed for teachers and specially designed instructional materials.
- e. The staff of the PSEP is identifying political science departments which currently operate one or more special programs in teacher education and departments whose chairmen are willing to see such programs instituted by their departments.

C. Developing Within the Discipline a Sub-Culture of Political Scientists Professionally Involved in Pre-Collegiate Education

A third element in the Committee's effort to create a support system within the discipline consists of developing a sub-culture of political scientists who are professionally interested and involved in pre-collegiate education. Currently, there exists a rather large and growing number of political scientists with various interests and involvements in educational research, development, or service. However, these political scientists are largely

an aggregation of individuals in the sense that they do not know or communicate with one another at more than chance frequency, and they have no sense of group identity or shared interest. The challenge is to transform this aggregation into a sub-culture in much the sense that one speaks of international relations scholars or specialists in comparative politics as constituting a sub-culture or sub-discipline within the profession.

The first step in building this sub-culture is to identify the political scientists with special interests in pre-collegiate education. This is being done through several means. Political scientists who have published in the area have been identified. Second, letters were sent to directors of TTT programs asking them to indicate the names of political scientists involved in their respective programs. Third, letters were sent to political scientists known to have been actively involved in pre-collegiate education in the past (e.g., directors of NDEA summer institutes in civics, government, and world affairs), asking them to report on their current activities and interests. Four, and most importantly, two questionnaires have been distributed to the profession. One has been sent to the chairmen of 924 political science departments and is designed to elicit information about their department's involvement in teacher education, e.g., the existence of joint appointments with schools of education, the existence of courses of special interest or relevance to teachers, and the presence of staff members with special interests in pre-collegiate education. A second questionnaire was distributed to 6,900 individual members of the political science profession. This questionnaire is designed to determine which political scientists are: (a) teaching courses in political socialization and/or the politics of education; (b) doing research on political socialization and/or the politics of education; (c) consulting with schools or school systems; (d) collaborating with or teaching in schools of education; (e) teaching courses in institutes and/or workshops specially designed for teachers; (f) developing curriculum materials; and (g) specially interested in one or more aspects of education research, development, or service.

The data obtained from these various sources are being used to construct two types of inventories. One is an inventory of political science departments which sponsor or administer one or more special programs in teacher education and/or are interested in developing special courses or programs for teachers. The second is an

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inventory of individual political scientists who are involved and/or interested in pre-collegiate education.

With respect to individual political scientists, the questionnaire has been designed to allow the creation of computerized lists. Thus, when the survey is completed, the PSEP staff will be able to produce name and address lists and/or mailing labels on the basis of selected characteristics of the political scientists who have responded. For example, it will be possible to produce a list of the names and addresses of political scientists who "have worked in curriculum development projects," or who "teach courses on political socialization" or who are "very much interested in applied research on schools" and so forth.

The identification and inventorying of political scientists interested and involved in pre-collegiate education is a first step in the creation of a sub-culture within the profession. The next step is to increase the rate of communication within and the sense of group identity among this collection of individuals. Three things are being done in this respect.

First, the Committee and the PSEP function as important centers of communication and identification. The mere existence of an Association committee and a special Association sponsored project in the field of pre-collegiate education serves to legitimate and encourage the interests and activities of political scientists working in the field of pre-collegiate education. Moreover, the Committee members and staff of the PSEP facilitate communication by referring political scientists with similar interests to one another.

Second, the Committee is sponsoring programs at each of the major professional meetings of political scientists. There was a Committee sponsored panel at the 1970 annual meeting of the Association and several Committee sponsored programs are scheduled for the 1971 meeting. Staff members of the PSEP have attended each of the conferences of the regional political science associations. At these meetings a written description of the Committee and the PSEP is distributed to everyone registering for the conference and the Committee's work and interests are described in the business meeting or at a special panel. Following this, staff members of the PSEP maintain an "open suite" and confer with interested political scientists individually and

in small groups. PSEP staff have talked with more than 150 political scientists in the course of five regional meetings this past year.

Third, the creation of a new journal in political education is being considered. This journal would provide an important channel of communication among the growing numbers of political scientists engaged in research, development, and service activities in the field of pre-collegiate education.

D. The Development of National Leadership and Staff Assistance

A fourth element of the support system the Committee is seeking to create consists of a mechanism for providing the political science profession with continuous national leadership in respect to its involvement in pre-collegiate education and this leadership in turn with the necessary staff assistance. Currently this leadership is provided by the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education with staff assistance from the Political Science Education Project.

The Committee structure appears to be working out very well and will continue into the future with the membership of the Committee changing over time. In respect to staff assistance, the PSEP will continue for an additional year. The long-range solution to the staff problem, of course, lies in the establishment of a permanent division of educational affairs within the American Political Science Association. Planning for this is now underway.

II. The Development of Collaborative Relationships with Other Groups, Organizations and Disciplines

A second component of the Committee's strategy consists of activities aimed at developing a network of collaborative, working relationships with other groups, organizations, and disciplines engaged in educational reform efforts.

The creation of such a network is important for several reasons. Political science is a numerically small discipline. It is but one interest among many that have a stake in children's political education, and only one source of the many talents and resources required to bring about improved instruction about politics and government. Moreover, political science shares with the other social science disciplines an interest and stake in the overall quality of social studies education, since the quality of instruction about politics and government is not independent of, or separate

from, the quality of instruction about other aspects of human behavior. Hence, a very important dimension of the Committee's work is that of furthering interdisciplinary collaboration. Several small steps have been taken this past year. It is hoped that substantially more progress in this regard can be reported at this time next year.

The following are representative of the actions taken this year to build collaborative relationships with other groups, organizations, and disciplines.

1. The APSA and the National Council for the Social Studies sponsored a joint panel at the 1970 meeting of the American Political Science Association.

2. The Political Science Education Project in cooperation with the Social Science Education Consortium sponsored a continuing display of new materials in pre-collegiate political science education at the 1970 meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies.

3. The Political Science Education Project has developed in cooperation with the Social Science Education Consortium and the ERIC Clearinghouse in Social Science/Social Studies Education a guide to new political science education materials. This guide has been published jointly by the three organizations.

4. Committee members and the staff of the PSEP have been working with a study group of the International Studies Association which is producing a three volume study of international education, one of which deals with international education in elementary and secondary schools.

5. Committee members and the staff of the PSEP have met extensively with representatives from the American Bar Association concerning collaborations between the two groups.

6. The Committee and the PSEP sponsored a meeting for members of the Council of State Social Studies Specialists and have subsequently conferred with several state supervisors.

7. The staff of the PSEP is in regular communication with staff members of the American Historical Association's History Education Project.

8. Committee members and PSEP staff have had extended conversations with sociologists, anthropologists, economists, and geographers

who are deeply involved in teacher education and curriculum development at the pre-collegiate level.

9. The staff of the PSEP has worked with the Afro-American Institute, the World Law Fund, the Center for War/Peace Studies and the Foreign Policy Association on joint projects.

10. The staff of the PSEP has met with small groups of teachers and students in extended discussions of their perceptions and attitudes toward political education in secondary schools.

11. Committee members and the PSEP staff are members of several other organizations and groups involved in pre-collegiate education including the Board of Directors of NCSS, the Social Science Education Consortium, and the National Advisory Committee of the ERIC Clearinghouse in Social Science/Social Studies Education.

III. The Development of Educational Programs

The development of an internal support system within the discipline and the cultivation of collaborative relationships between the political science profession and others involved in pre-collegiate education are two vital components of a strategy capable of effecting change in political science education in elementary and secondary schools. Together they constitute the necessary precondition of a third element. This is a set of activities and programs aimed at effecting change in the schools.

This component of the Committee's strategy encompasses four principal elements:

A. A definition of the discipline's interests in pre-collegiate education that points to the scope, foci and types of programmatic activities required to effect change in pre-collegiate political science education.

B. A set of images of the objectives or desired outcomes of the profession's involvement in pre-collegiate education.

C. A cluster of current, ongoing projects and activities which serve to both immediately further the discipline's interests and feed into long term programs.

D. A set of long term programs designed to further the discipline's interests and objectives in political science education at the pre-collegiate level.

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A. A Definition of the Disciplines' Interest in Pre-Collegiate Education

Should the discipline restrict its activities and attention to secondary schools or should it also concern itself with elementary education? What facets of pre-collegiate education should be of concern to political scientists? In what kinds of activities should the profession be engaged? These are illustrative of the set of issues that the Committee has considered in its effort to define the nature and scope of the discipline's interest in pre-collegiate education and hence the range of activities and programs in which the profession ought to be involved. Three conclusions have emerged from these deliberations.

1. Political science has an interest in elementary as well as in secondary education.

The world of secondary education is much more familiar terrain for most political scientists. A sizable fraction of the profession are former high school teachers. Existing secondary courses in civics, government, and problems of democracy have some kind of resemblance to political science as the discipline exists at the collegiate level. In their level of cognitive development most high school students resemble the college under-graduates whom most political scientists teach.

In contrast, the world of elementary schools is a much more alien environment. Social studies instruction occupies an uncertain and unstable position in most elementary classrooms. Traditionally, elementary social studies curriculum has been a blend of patriotic ritual, superficial studies of families, neighborhoods, and cities and an introduction to the study of geography and history. Political science as a discipline has not been represented in the elementary curriculum in the sense that it is represented in high school level courses in civics, government and problems of democracy. Moreover, elementary age children are a different "breed of human being" compared with the college students with whom political scientists are most familiar.

For these and other reasons there is some tendency and temptation to look upon secondary schools as the discipline's major sphere of interest and to define elementary education as falling outside that sphere. In the judgment of the Committee this is a mistake. If the discipline is to affect substantial change in pre-adult political education the profession must concern itself with social education in elementary schools as well as

in secondary schools. A good deal of political socialization research suggests that a considerable amount of political learning occurs before the time when most students are first exposed to formal courses about politics and government in junior or senior high schools.

2. Political science has an interest in schools as total institutions.

For a number of understandable reasons there is some tendency to think of an academic discipline's interest in pre-collegiate education as being largely confined to a concern with the formal curriculum related to that discipline. In the case of political science, the discipline clearly has a major interest in the quality of the formal instructional materials used by schools in instructing students about politics and government and must develop programs for increasing the supply of high quality materials available to schools. However, in the judgment of the Committee the interests of the discipline extend beyond a concern with formal curriculum. Political science has an interest in schools viewed as total institutions. The political science education of children and adolescents appears to take place within the overall institutional context of schools. This context includes the characteristics and behavior of teachers as well as the characteristics of formal instructional materials. In addition to curriculum materials and teachers, students' learning appears to be shaped by the social organization and culture of schools. Thus, the Committee believes that the political science profession should develop programs aimed at effecting change in each of three major areas: (1) curriculum; (2) teacher education; and (3) the social organization and culture of schools.

Needless to say, these are not mutually exclusive areas of concern. They are interdependent and partially overlap. A single program or activity can affect curriculum, teacher education and the social organization and culture of the schools.

3. Political science has an interest in educational research, development and service activities.

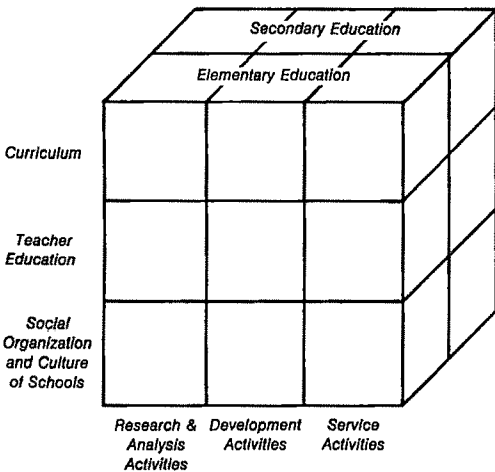
The discipline's growing interest in basic research in children's political learning and in the politics of education is a very important dimension of its relationship to pre-collegiate education. For the profession to make a significant long term contribution to improve political science education these basic research interests must be further developed and expanded to cover aspects of the process of education and the operation of schools

which are not adequately studied today. Moreover, the gap that separates the production of basic knowledge and the utilization or application of this knowledge to educational problems must be shortened.

While the best of available research knowledge must undergird all activities, the discipline's interests in pre-collegiate education are not confined to research as such. They also include a developmental interest in the production of new instructional materials, new modes of educating teachers, and new forms of school organization, culture, and governance. In addition, the profession has an interest in a variety of service activities including the dissemination or diffusion of new products, the provision of special programs for teachers, and the creation of consultative relationships with schools.

In summary, the Committee believes that the interest of the discipline in pre-collegiate education: (1) extends from kindergarten through senior high school; (2) incorporates a concern with teacher education, curriculum development, and the social organization and culture of the schools; and (3) encompasses an interest in research, development, and service activities. This definition of the scope of political science's interests is diagrammatically represented below:

Scope of Political Science's Interests in Pre-Collegiate Education



B. Long Range Objectives

The definition of the discipline's interest in pre-collegiate education indicates the range, types and foci of the programmatic activities and projects which the political science profession must undertake over the next several years. What should be the long-range objectives or goals of these activities? What should the profession try to accomplish in the course of the next five to ten years in each of the three major areas of its concern?

1. Curriculum Change

There are a variety of ways for an academic discipline seeking to affect curriculum change to define its long-range or ultimate objectives. It can set its goal as the development of a single, logically sequenced K-12 curriculum in that discipline. In the case of political science this is very likely an impossible as well as undesirable end for the profession to pursue.

In the judgment of the Committee there is no single K-12 political science curriculum which all schools should adopt and to which all students should be exposed. Differences in student experiences, abilities and needs, the wide variations in educational practice and philosophy from district to district, the disparate expectations of teachers and school administrators, and the tradition of local autonomy are a few of the factors which mitigate against the development of one single K-12 curriculum in political science.

Moreover, there is the critical matter of change. Both the world and the way in which political scientists study the world are rapidly changing. Even if it were possible to develop a single, fixed K-12 curriculum nicely tailored to fit the needs and interests of a majority of students and teachers in the early 1970's, it is very likely that much of this curriculum would be very dated if not obsolete a decade hence.

Another option open to a discipline is the development of one course, usually at the secondary level, which serves as the discipline's "official" representative in pre-collegiate curriculum. For example, in the case of political science, the discipline might develop a course in political science designed to be inserted into the slot which is now occupied in many schools by an eleventh or twelfth grade course in American government. In the judgment of the Committee this course of action is possible but not entirely desirable.

Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education
Political Education in the Public Schools:
The Challenge for Political Science

Unlike some of our sister disciplines in the social sciences political science does not face the task of establishing a beachhead in the schools or carving out for itself a new piece of curriculum real estate. Instruction about things political permeates the existing social studies curriculum. At the elementary level political education in various forms is intertwined with a variety of commonly studied topics and themes. At the secondary level, the discipline is represented in the traditional sequence of courses in civics, government, and problems of democracy. There is also a good deal of political education content in other traditional secondary social studies courses. For example, political history figures prominently in most American and World History courses.

Thus the problem confronting the political science discipline is not the task of gaining representation in the pre-collegiate curriculum. To the contrary the discipline's interest in the political education of children and adolescents is represented at many points and places throughout the K-12 curriculum. The problem lies in the fact that on the whole, the discipline's interest is poorly represented in the sense that there is not an adequate supply of high quality instructional materials for teaching about politics and government at either the elementary or secondary levels. The creation of a single new secondary "course in political science" would be a response to the problem but an inadequate response. The need is for high quality instructional materials at all levels of education which are usable in a variety of different contexts.

In the judgment of the Committee, the goal of curriculum development activities undertaken by the political science profession should be the creation over the next five to ten years of a constantly expanding pool of instructional materials of various types and forms usable in a variety of contexts and ways. On the whole this pool of teaching-learning resources should consist of a large number of relatively short and inexpensive "units" of varying format.

These "units" should be designed to be used in two primary ways. The units could be combined to form new courses of varying length (e.g., a six week course on war and peace, a semester course on political change, etc.) The units could also be used separately to supplement, enrich or replace a particular part of existing courses in civics, American government, problems of democracy and history.

2. Teacher Education

Just as in the case of curriculum development, there are a number of alternative goals the political science profession might seek to achieve over the next several years in respect to the education of teachers for elementary and secondary schools. Perhaps the most commonly expressed view is that teachers should acquire competencies in political science roughly equivalent to those of undergraduate political science majors. In the judgment of the Committee this is an inadequate formulation of the challenge the discipline faces in respect to teacher education. In most colleges and universities, the education of undergraduate political science majors is not adequate enough to constitute a good yard stick by which to judge the adequacy of teacher training in the discipline.

Moreover, there are several senses in which the education of teachers should be superior to the education of other groups of undergraduate and graduate students. The task of effectively communicating to young human being concepts and perspectives vital to a reasoned analysis of man's political life along with the task of cultivating in others the skills and habits of critical inquiry and considered action clearly equals in magnitude and difficulty many of the intellectual tasks associated with good research in political science. The training of individuals destined for careers creating new knowledge through research is not left to chance. If serious about the upgrading of political science education, the discipline cannot leave to chance the training of individuals bound for careers in communicating and organizing knowledge in elementary and secondary classrooms.

Unfortunately, this tends to be the case in too many colleges and universities. It is impossible for most students including prospective and experienced teachers to develop a coherent understanding of political science from a more or less random exposure to a scattered collection of disparate courses. Moreover, the very difficult task of linking their own social science education to relevant instructional materials and teaching strategies usable in elementary and secondary schools is pretty much left up to the ingenuity of the teachers.

There is obviously no easy way to provide teachers, prospective or experienced, simultaneously with a systematic study of social science, a knowledge of relevant instructional materials and teaching strategies, and some actual teaching experience,

but this is the challenge. To meet it requires that political scientists develop and teach in special programs designed for teachers and that they also develop instructional materials in political and social analysis especially designed to teach those whose job it is to teach others.

These needs point to the goals which the committee feels the profession should be seeking to achieve in respect to teacher education. By the end of this decade, a large number of political science departments should be offering special courses and other educational programs and experiences specifically tailored to meet the role needs of prospective and experienced teachers. Secondly, and intimately related to this, there should exist a rich array of specially designed instructional materials for use in teacher education programs.

3. The Social Organization and Culture of Schools

Schools are not simply places in the social environment where children interact with instructional materials and teachers. They are social institutions or systems occupying a given physical space and having a structure, culture, and pattern of governance. Since there appear to be many characteristics of schools as physical plants and more importantly as socio-cultural political systems which serve to either encourage or discourage desired social learning, the profession must interest itself in schools as institutions.

This dimension of the discipline's interest in pre-collegiate education is particularly important and salient at the present time because of the institutional changes that are beginning to occur within schools. The roles and authority relations among administrators, teachers and students are undergoing various changes. New kinds of support personnel in the form of special teachers, curriculum consultants, and para-professionals are being added to school systems. The organization of the curriculum is tending to shift away from the traditional pattern of 30 to 50 minute blocks dominated by a single teacher and a single textbook. The school's relationship with parents and various community based interest groups is also undergoing change. Moreover, "free schools" and other alternatives to the traditional public school systems are evolving in growing numbers.

What should be the relationship of the discipline of political science to all this? Since changes in

school social organization and culture are inherently political phenomenon the profession has an obligation to contribute its share of the intellectual resources that are needed if schools are to be transformed into more effective and humane systems for human learning.

In the judgment of the Committee, there are several interrelated goals at which the profession should aim. In collaboration with educators and other social scientists, the discipline should seek to develop a political sociology of educational change and of alternative modes of organizing and governing educational institutions. Such a field of inquiry would provide decision makers with alternative conceptual models of the social organization, culture and governance of schools along with empirically grounded data on the impact on human learning of different kinds of schools. This expanding fund of conceptual analysis and empirical research should be made available to school administrators, school board members, teachers and parents through a variety of media tailored to these audiences. Moreover, a large number of political scientists should acquire the skills and knowledge needed to effectively consult or otherwise assist schools which are seeking to change themselves.

C. Current Activities and On-Going Projects

The realization of these goals calls for a set of activities which blends the planning and development of long range and large scale programs with a cluster of current, on-going projects and activities that simultaneously translate the discipline's concerns into concrete, immediate action and feed into the planning and development of long term programs. During this year the Committee has coordinated, stimulated and supported a large number of such activities and projects. These are briefly described below.

1. Projects Related to the Development, Dissemination, and Utilization of New Curriculum Materials.

Michigan State University—Cleo Cherryholmes in cooperation with other political scientists is developing a series of papers dealing with political science theory and social studies curriculum.

University of Colorado with support from the Committee—Mary Jane Turner has completed a book entitled *Materials for Civics, Government, and Problems of Democracy: Political Science and*

Reports of APSA Committees

Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science

the New Social Studies. It is available from the Political Science Education Project and the Social Science Education Consortium.

University of Colorado—The above volume provides a guide to and a brief description of the political science relevant materials produced by some forty social studies curriculum development projects. Mrs. Turner is now developing a more detailed inventory and description of available instructional materials for civics, government, and problems of democracy.

University of Denver—The Center for Teaching International Relations is developing an inventory of instructional materials useful in teaching about international relations in junior and senior high schools.

Northwestern University—Roger Berg is developing an inventory of social science based elementary curriculum materials.

University of Wisconsin/New York University—Thomas Popkewitz, a professor of elementary education at the University of Wisconsin and William Flemming, a political scientist at New York University are completing a study of political science in elementary school curriculum.

Northwestern University/University of Illinois—David Minar, Richard Johnson, Anne Heinz, and Lee Anderson have been working closely with a Chicago elementary school which is attempting to utilize a large array of newly developed elementary social science materials.

Northwestern University/Southern University/University of Denver/Howard University—Four new curriculum materials resource centers are being established by political scientists. One is at Northwestern University in elementary social science, a second at Southern University in Black studies, a third at the University of Denver in international relations, and a fourth at Howard University in materials for inner-city schools.

2. Projects Related to Teacher Education

University of Denver—Maurice East and associates are conducting a series of workshops in international relations designed for secondary social studies teachers. A curriculum materials distribution service is also provided teachers and a special course in international relations for teachers is being taught.

University of Colorado—The Department of Political Science has cooperated with the SSEC in conducting a series of week long workshops for social studies supervisors. These are designed to facilitate the dissemination of new materials in political science education.

UCLA—Richard Longaker and his associates are conducting a series of teacher workshops in the western states focused upon new materials and strategies for teaching about democratic processes and procedures in upper elementary and secondary schools.

Federal City College—Maurice Woodard now of Howard University and associates are conducting a continuing series of workshops in political science for teachers in Washington, D.C. inner city schools.

University of Arizona—Peter Goudinoff is developing a special program in American politics for prospective social studies teachers.

Northwestern University—A new course entitled "Social Science and Elementary Schools" designed for prospective elementary teachers is being developed and the field experience component of the course was piloted in a Chicago elementary school.

Southern University—Jewel Prestage, Shelby Smith, and associates are developing new courses for teachers which deal with Black studies and children's political learning.

University of Illinois, Chicago Campus—Ann Heinz is developing a new course in urban education as well as conducting a seminar on political education for student teachers from the College of Education.

Indiana University—James Mueller has taught a course in social problems especially designed for social studies teachers.

3. Projects Related to the Social Organization And Culture of Schools

Columbia University—Alan Westin and associates conducted a series of workshops in New York schools which brought together teachers, administrators, students, and community representatives in efforts to design new patterns of school organization and governance which

provide for wider participation by students and the community in school decision-making.

Indiana University—A project is underway to train "field agents" for schools. Eleven experienced social studies teachers are spending a year in a special training program after which they will return to their school systems to conduct workshops and consult with teachers in the use of new social studies materials.

University of Illinois/Northwestern University—Four political scientists are working with a Chicago elementary school which is seeking to expand the involvement of parents and students in school decision-making.

D. Long Range Programs

The activities and projects just described are intrinsically important, but they also feed into a set of long range programs that the Committee is endeavoring to plan and develop. It is hoped that relatively large scale and long range programs can be gotten underway in each of four major areas: curriculum change, teacher education, the social organization and culture of schools, and basic research on children's political learning and on the political sociology of educational change. A proposal has been prepared for submission to the National Science Foundation in regard to the first of these areas. Planning activities are underway in the other areas.

Part IV

Summary

The APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education is charged with two general responsibilities. It is to provide an assessment of the discipline's interrelationship with elementary and secondary education, and it is to develop and begin to implement a long range strategy through which the resources of the discipline can be brought to bear more effectively upon the problem of reform in political science education at the pre-collegiate level. This report has sought to outline the work and activities of the Committee during this past year in regard to these responsibilities. It describes the current state of the Committee's continuing effort to assess political science's relationship with pre-collegiate education, and it outlines the principal components of a strategy for affecting change that has emerged from the Committee's deliberations.

This report covers the work of the Committee into

June 1971. The strategy described in the report continues to be further elaborated and developed. Subsequent reports will describe these new developments.

American Political Science Association
Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

Richard C. Snyder, Chairman
Ohio State

Paul R. Abramson
Michigan State

Robert E. Lane
Yale

David Easton
Chicago

Howard D. Mehlinger
Indiana

Fred I. Greenstein
Wesleyan

Jewel L. Prestage
Southern

Political Scientists Interested in Pre-Collegiate Education

Below is a form which the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education is using to identify political scientists who are interested in educational research, development, and service activities at the pre-collegiate level. Efforts have been made to distribute this form as widely as possible, but it is likely that many political scientists with an interest in pre-collegiate education have not been contacted. If you are one of these, the Committee would appreciate your cutting out the form, responding to the questions, and returning it to the:
APSA Political Science Education Project
1129 Atwater
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Please Print

(12-44) Your Name /
 (First) (Last)

(48-80) Mailing Address

(12-44)

(48-80) City..... State..... Zip.....
 * * *

(12) Sex:(1) Male(2) Female

(13-15) The school where you currently hold a full-time position: (*Please Print*)

(16-18)

(19) Age:

(20) Please indicate your graduate degree(s) and awarding school(s).

(21)

DEGREE	SCHOOL
.....
.....
.....

(22) Present position within your department:

- (1) instructor
- (2) assistant professor
- (3) associate professor
- (4) professor

(23) other and/or additional (please specify)

(24) How many full-time faculty members does your department have?

(25-26) Would you please indicate by *ranking* the three fields in political science which you consider your primary areas of activity and interest:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

(27) Are there any journals in professional education, such as *Harvard Educational Review* or *Social Education* which you try to read regularly?

Please specify:

(28) Have you taught or do you regularly teach any courses in the area of "politics and education"?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

(29) Have you taught any courses in the area of "political socialization"?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

Please list any publications, manuscripts, special reports, essays, etc., in the area of politics and education or political socialization which you have completed or have in progress.

(30)

(31) Have you ever collaborated in teaching or research with colleagues in a School or College of Education?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please describe briefly the nature of the collaboration.

(32) Do you have a joint appointment with a School or College of Education?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please describe briefly the nature of your appointment.

(33) Have you been or are you presently engaged in the development of curriculum materials for use in elementary or secondary schools?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please describe the nature of your work.

American Political Science Association

Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

(34) Have you ever done any consulting for school systems, curriculum projects, or the like?
..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please state briefly the type of activity you were (are) engaged in.

(35) Have you conducted or participated in any special programs in teacher education such as NDEA Summer Institutes or Triple T Projects?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please describe the nature of your activities.

(36) Have you been or are you currently engaged in research in the area of the politics of education?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please describe briefly the nature of your research.

(37) Have you been or are you currently engaged in research in the area of political socialization?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please describe briefly the nature of your research.

(38) Have you ever taught in an elementary or high school?

..... (1) Yes (2) No

If YES, please indicate:

(39) (a) the grade level and subject area(s) you taught:

(40) (b) how long you taught:

(41) On the basis of your professional judgement and experience, what do you feel are the most serious weaknesses of social studies education in elementary schools?

(42) in secondary schools?

(43) On the basis of your professional judgement and experience, what do you feel are the most serious weaknesses in the education and training of social studies teachers?

Listed below are seven areas related to pre-collegiate education in which political scientists are currently involved. If you would have an interest in undertaking professional activities in any of these areas, please indicate below.

	Very Much Interested	Somewhat Interested
(44) basic research on schools and political learning;
(45) applied research on schools and political learning;
(46) the development, dissemination and utilization of new curriculum materials;
(47) the education of teachers and administrators;
(48) change in the social organization and governance of schools;
(49) the clarification and explication of educational objectives;
(50) the development of socio-political support for educational change.

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Final Report and Recommendations

Introduction

The systematic study and teaching of politics and the pursuit of careers in public service arising from an education in political science are honorable endeavors, ones to which American citizens, regardless of race or sex, should be attracted. At the same time, it has become apparent to many that women, among other groups, find themselves disadvantaged in becoming political scientists and having careers in the public service commensurate with their abilities and aspirations. To the end of reversing this situation, the American Political Science Association created in 1969 a Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession to recommend ways of enhancing the professional position of women and of encouraging women to enter the profession. The Committee is preparing a report at a time when political science departments are conducting extensive reviews of program and career potentials for students of political science and professional colleagues. New programs now emerging in many departments lead to various career possibilities and appear to coincide with the Committee's efforts to encourage the establishment of a broad range of opportunities for women.

Several special studies undertaken by the Committee in 1969-1971 reveal the disadvantage of women in recruitment and professional activities. Victoria Schuck reviews the position of women in political science (PS, Fall 1969, pp. 642-643) and notes the higher ratio of women in lower untenured ranks and in small departments. In her second article, "Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and other Social Sciences" (PS, Summer 1970, pp. 357-361), she notes that growth rates are up for women in political science through the average number receiving Ph.D.'s is lowest in any of the social sciences except for Economics. The proportion of women to men is exceedingly small. Women are under represented in the professional activities of the Association, according to her third section, "Femina Studens Rei Publicae; Notes on Her Professional Achievements" (PS, Spring 1970, pp. 622-629),

whether in numbers of publications, offices held or program participation.

Committee Studies *

Substantial assistance to the Committee's work are the reports on recruitment procedures and biographical materials. Peter Bachrach gives a sub-committee's recruitment recommendation in "A Proposal to Extend and Strengthen the Personnel Service of APSA." A selected bibliography on the status of women in the profession is presented by Katherine M. Klotzburger.

In an analysis of the mail survey of women oriented to the political science profession, published in this issue of PS, (sent to 3,000 women and 400 men) Philip E. and Jean M. Converse indicate that women in political science are seldom selected for administrative positions and have in the past been slower to produce published works, and their findings indicate that better recruitment procedures are necessary at each entry point to the profession. Men perceive more discrimination, according to the Converse, because they are serving on the committees which consider appointments for graduate study and professional positions, offer awards for graduate study or research, and make decisions on promotions. In another analysis of the mail survey, Jewel Prestage and James Prothro set in order of priority some solutions to perceived problems [Notes on Solutions to Problems Faced by Women in Political Sciences (from male and female respondents)]. In "Non-Academic Professional Political Scientists," Irene Tinker reviews the survey given to 150 women in public administration. In a report on interviews with a panel of political science department chairmen, Susan Rudolph and Warren Ilchman indicate the need for improved recruitment practices. Joyce M. Mitchell and Rachel R. Starr, in "Aspirations, Achievement and Professional Advancement in Political Science:

* A number of Women's Committee studies as well as its reports are available in a document, "Women in Political Science: Studies and Reports of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, 1969-71." The document costs \$2.00 prepaid (include additional 15¢ for postage) and may be secured by writing the Association. Copies will also be available for purchase at the Annual Meeting for two dollars. Copies of studies not published in the document may be purchased from the national office at 10¢ a page.

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Final Report and Recommendations

The Prospect for Women in the West," examined recruitment and career patterns for women completing graduate school in the West. The national survey findings that men are more aware of discrimination against women than are women political scientists is confirmed. A distinct regional difference in the socio-economic circumstances for women political scientists is also revealed in the western analysis. These women have greater upward mobility than their national counterparts, more similar to men in the national samples.

In summary then, women in political science are similar to women in other professions. At the present time they are usually found among the lower ranks and salaries of members of the profession. Recruitment procedures at each threshold of the profession present stumbling blocks to women. After entering the profession, they more often are in small academic institutions with heavy teaching demands. Their location may help to explain their slow rate of publication.

Recommendations and Committee Activities, 1969-71

The Committee on the Status of Women did not confine its responsibilities to fact-finding. In addition the Committee and Council have already and will make herein several recommendations to the Association for correction and redress of the present situation.

Our resolutions and activities fall into three categories: Socialization and Recruitment, Professional Education, and Career Entry and Advancement. Below is a brief summary of our recommendations in each of these categories. A more detailed discussion of the Committee's activities follows this summary.

On recruitment and socialization we support: active recruitment of women into the profession until a reasonable parity exists, search for research funds and support of programs on women, provisions for child care at the Annual Meetings, appropriate advising systems and curricula for encouraging women to enter the profession, and provisions for the distribution of the Committee's report (1969-1971).

On professional education we support: the Association's disapproval of discrimination against women in admissions for study, awarding financial support, academic employment and consideration for promotion, search for funds by the Association from outside sources to establish

a Women's Graduate student fellowship program, appropriate advising systems and curricula for encouraging women to enter the profession, and part-time study and scholarship support.

On career entry and advancement, we support: active participation of women in affairs of the Association, abolition of nepotism rules, part-time employment on a profession basis, search for research funds and support of programs on women, search for funds by the Association to provide for legal counsel, increased number of women in decision-making and administrative positions, improvements in recruitment and placement practices, support of part-time study, and maintenance of a list of women and their resumé's for use in appointment.

Among specific recommendations relating directly to Association activities we support: active participation of women in the Association's affairs, provisions for members to organize on problems of women in the profession, search for funds to provide legal counsel, provisions for child care at the Annual Meetings, the continuation of a committee on the Status of Women and provisions for a staff member at the National Office to handle problems of discrimination and to implement suggested programs, a continuing associational relationship with regional associations to implement recommendations and to establish recruitment procedures to encourage women in the profession, maintenance of a list of women and their resumé's for appointments, and provision for distribution of the Committee's report (1969-1971).

This Report presents the final recommendations of the Committee in sequential order as adopted over the past two years. Throughout its term the Committee has submitted recommendations to the Council for Association action, and has reviewed proposed resolutions brought by the membership for suggested Council action. In addition the Committee has sought to implement all resolutions approved in the Annual Business Meetings.

In 1969 the Committee sponsored, with the Council's recommendation for approval, three resolutions (PS, Summer 1970, p. 354) which were adopted at the Business Meeting in New York:

1. Active recruitment of women into the profession especially in scholarship and fellowship programs

in which the Association participates.

The Committee has continued to bring this to the attention of the Presidents and Executive Director of the Association.

2. Active participation of women in the affairs of the Association through officeholding, committee membership, and program participation.

Each year the Committee has sent to officers and committees letters including a reminder of this resolution together with lists of women. The Committee makes suggestions in 1971 for a data bank on women members (see 1971, Item 4).

3. Continuation of programs to encourage women to enter the profession in order to achieve some reasonable parity between men and the women in the profession.

All actions of the Committee have been designed to contribute to the implementation of this resolution.

The Committee also sought to implement resolutions (PS, Summer 1970, p. 354) presented by the Women's Caucus and individual members, and adopted by the 1969 Annual Business Meeting:

4. Provisions for generous facilities allowing members to organize on problems of women political scientists.

Generous facilities was interpreted at the business meeting to mean room and services among other provisions for meeting at the Annual Meetings.

In January 1970, the Committee recognized the Women's Caucus as an organization sharing in the functions described in this section.

5. Disapproval by the Association of discrimination against women in admissions for study, in awards for financial support, in academic employment and promotion; approval of the publication of information about specific instances of such discrimination.

The Committee on several occasions invited members to furnish information about specific instances of discrimination to the Executive Director.

The Association made an agreement in Spring 1970 with AAUP to investigate and handle cases of alleged discrimination.

Information about employment practices in colleges and universities was obtained in a questionnaire in Spring 1969 and was analyzed in an article by V. Schuck (PS, Fall 1970, pp. 642-643). Also see the Converse's, Tinker's, and Mitchell and Starr's reports.

Other Sponsored Resolutions (PS, Summer 1970, p. 354)

6. Refusal by the Association to use the facilities of a hotel that discriminates against women.

The Executive Director is responsible for informing hotels of this resolution.

In 1970 the Committee and Council sponsored two resolutions (PS, Winter, 1971, p. 76) which were accepted at the Business Meeting at Los Angeles:

1. A recommendation to institutions employing political scientists to abolish anti-nepotism rules whether they apply departmentally or on a college, or university wide basis.

The Committee and Council acknowledged in their presentation of the resolution that universities and colleges may wish to formulate conflict of interests rules. They would serve the legitimate functions that nepotism rules have served to assure that no departmental or cross-divisional officer is in a position to act upon the appointment, promotion, or prerequisites of his/her spouse.

The resolution was passed with an amendment instructing the Committee and Council to find means for implementing a requirement that no department with such rules be allowed to use the placement service of the Association.

The Committee and the Executive Director discussed with the AAUP and the other social science professional associations joint efforts to assist in the implementation of this resolution. The Committee regards collaboration among several sections of an educational institution as a feasible approach towards elimination of these rules.

The Committee requested that PS (Winter 1971, p. 76) publicize the resolution, and that the Executive Director inform the Chairman of Departments.

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Final Report and Recommendations

The Committee through the National Office obtained from the American Association of University Women its survey and reports on institutions with nepotism rules.

The Committee's suggestions concerning the use of placement services follows in the 1971 section.

2. Provisions for part-time employment on a professional basis to enable women under existing societal customs, including family responsibilities, to undertake professional activities.

The Committee informed the membership of this resolution through *PS* (Winter 1971, p. 76) and requested the Executive Director to notify Department Chairmen.

The Committee attempted to implement other resolutions (*PS*, Winter 1971, pp. 63-66) presented by Women's Caucus and individual members and adopted by the 1970 Annual Business Meeting:

3. A search for research funds and for support of academic programs on women.

The Committee established in 1971 a sub-committee to continue its preliminary investigations of such funding in 1969, until the Successor Committee is established to carry those investigations forward.

The Executive Director with support of the President and the Committee has had preliminary discussions with the SSRC urging the establishment of a special interdisciplinary committee on the socialization of women. He has gained the support of the other social science professional associations for this proposal.

4. A search for funds by the Association from outside sources to establish a Women's Graduate Student Fellowship Program.

The Committee generally agrees with this proposal and has included this directive in its charge to its sub-committee on search for research funding. The Successor Committee should oversee this search.

5. A search for funds by the Association to provide for legal counsel for those members who wish to file charges of discrimination on the basis of sex with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375. The

Council is to determine the manner and amount of the outlay.

In 1970 the Committee requested members to send notification of specific instances in which such funds would be necessary so that recommendations could be made to the Council about the amount necessary for complying with this search for funds.

As of May 1971, no specific instances have been brought to the Committee for implementation, even though several personal inquiries about procedures have been received.

The Successor Committee should therefore forward this investigation to make recommendations to the Council about the amount of the outlay necessary so that the Council could then proceed with a search for funds.

At this time, specific funding may not be necessary, as the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the AAUP will investigate and bring charges, when appropriate.

Resolution (*PS*, Winter 1971, p. 66) referred by the 1970 Business Meeting to the Committee and Council:

6. Child care provisions at the Annual Meetings.

The Association at the suggestion of the Committee made a room available at the Annual Meeting in 1970 and the Women's Caucus agreed to provide supervisors for the children. There was little inquiry about the service, but no advance publicity was given about these arrangements. The Executive Director is authorized by the Council and the Administrative Committee to establish appropriate child care facilities at the 1971 Annual Meeting.

In 1970 the Committee recommended to the Council:

7. Provisions for recruitment and placement services as a major focus of the Committee's concern.

A recommendation was made to the newly established Committee on Recruitment and Placement regarding a clearing house arrangement. (See Bachrach Proposal)

8. Continuation of a Committee on the Status of

Women and provisions for a staff member at the National Office to handle problems of discrimination and to implement the programs suggested by the Committee and the Council.

The Council, in June 1970, approved in principle a successor committee of 3 to 5 members who would supervise the implementation of recommendations from the existing committee and handle any new matters relating to the encouragement of women in the profession.

Final Recommendations

In June 1971 the Committee recommended one resolution for the business meeting and nine implementation actions to the Council and the Association; the Council received the report, accepted it in spirit, and referred it to the Administrative Committee:

A. Resolution Proposed for Approval at the 1971 Annual Business Meeting:

The American Political Science Association recommends that academic institutions provide programs for part-time study; and that institutions and foundations provide support for part-time and full-time study with more flexible age and time provisions.

Provisions for part-time programs of study and support on the undergraduate and graduate level will afford women and for that matter men, the opportunity to enter the profession at various times during their lives. Existing styles of life for women—often including family responsibilities, and for men—often including armed services, act to deter their entering into professional careers, hence programs of study and support for the serious applicants of various ages are necessary. For women part-time programs of study and support are essential to encourage entrance into the field while they continue with family responsibilities.

Some examples of fellowship programs with age limitations are pre-doctoral Woodrow Wilson and Fulbright programs. Academic institutions also impose age and time limitations on their programs that operate to the disadvantage of women candidates having family commitments under existing social customs.

B. Recommendations for further Implementation of Existing Policies:

1. That the Association through its relevant committees urge academic institutions to provide programs for part-time study; and that institutions and foundations provide support for part-time and full-time study with more flexible age and time provisions.

The Committee has an outline of a booklet on career opportunities for women in political science. The successor committee should continue this project.

A person, realizing that a field provides opportunities of interest for the future is encouraged to pursue studies and perhaps a career in that discipline. All too often careers in political science have not been pointed out to girls in secondary schools and to young women in college. Distinct efforts to attract women to the field must begin in the first years of school and continue through graduate programs.

2. That the Association in cooperation with other professional associations encourages academic and governmental institutions to take appropriate action toward advancing qualified women to decision-making and administrative positions.

In all the Committee's study reports evidence appeared to indicate that only a few women were presently serving in administrative capacities and in top decision-making capacities. Able women should be selected, trained and encouraged to take on roles of responsible leadership in academic and administrative affairs.

The Association should get in touch with other professional groups which administer training programs and suggest qualified personnel for administrative positions about the implementation of this recommendation.

3. That the Association continue to support improvements in recruitment procedures and their evaluation both in the national and in the regional associations with additional efforts to find ways of placing women in the employment market. (See Converse and Bachrach)

The Committee in 1971 recommends that:

- a. Better evaluation be undertaken of the effect of open listing on the placement of women.
- b. Additional improvements of the placement service be provided for efficient data retrieval in

**Committee on the Status of
Women in the Profession**

Final Report and Recommendations

terms of fields of applicants, by positions, experience, degrees, and geographic location.

c. Coordination with regional associations be enhanced by providing information about applications for positions and employment opportunities.

4. That the Association continue to consider restrictive use of its placement service by institutions with anti-nepotism rules. (See 1970, Item 1)

The Committee recommends in 1971 that a grace period be allowed for the implementation of this part of the resolution and that departments in institutions having nepotism rules be served notice of our policy. These departments could then indicate their efforts to abolish the rules and seek assistance, through the National Office, from other professional associations in these efforts. The Committee and the Executive Director should consult about the details of implementing the resolution in relation to the placement service. Several warning actions, such as listing offending institutions, could be taken before final severance from the service.

5. That the Association, in view of its present financial straits establish in June 1971 a Successor Committee:

a. To consist of three to five members with no fewer than two members from the Washington area and one from a nearby metropolitan community. This "successor" committee would be able to supervise the implementation of the report with assistance from the Washington office with little or no committee expense.

(In the appointment the President should consider all the groups in the Association including the Women's Caucus.)

Half the Successor Committee should be appointed for one year and the other half for two years.

b. To work with a liaison member from each of the regional associations. The work of the greater APSA committee would be conducted mainly by telephone between Annual Meetings. (The study committee recommended one meeting in Washington in its recent budget proposal to the Administrative Committee.)

c. To carry on the following functions:

To supervise the implementation of the present Committee's report;

To continue compilation of information about women in the Association and in the profession;

To seek sources for funding research on women in political affairs and society;

To consider appropriate Association action regarding problems faced by women professionals, such as governmental restrictions on certain income tax deductions;

And to initiate other activities to encourage women to enter the profession. Such activities could include representations to congressional members and administrative officials about support of programs to train and/or retrain women for professional careers.

6. That the Association provide child care arrangements at the Annual Meetings.

7. That the Association maintain a list of women with their resumé in the National Office for use in professional and the Association's appointments. The collection of such information was begun in the spring by the Director's office.

8. That the Association's officers and staff assist the Regional Associations and their committees with programs encouraging women to enter the profession and improving recruitment procedures to this purpose.

The Committee studies confirm the operation of location constraints which describes the limited mobility of some women to a certain geographic location. The same constraints also apply as well to some men. Placement services must also extend to the regional and local levels to encourage women in our profession.

9. That the Committee's (1969-1971) Reports and supporting documents be prepared for distribution at a nominal price.

Committee on the Status of Women in the
Profession
Josephine F. Milburn, Chairman, University of
Rhode Island
Peter Bachrach, Temple University
Philip E. Converse, University of Michigan

Committee on Rules

Report of the Committee on Rules

Warren F. Ilchman, University of California,
Berkeley
Marian D. Irish, American University
Katherine M. Klotzburger, New York University
Joyce M. Mitchell, University of Oregon
Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University
Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, University of Chicago
Victoria Schuck, Mt. Holyoke College
Irene Tinker, Federal City College

Women's Committee Meeting

A roundtable on the Women's Committee Report will be conducted by The Women's Committee at The Annual Meeting on Wednesday, September 8 at 11:30 a.m. in Room 522 of the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

On June 8, 1971, the Association's Council approved the following rules proposed by the Rules Committee to govern the conduct of the Association's 1971 Annual Business Meeting. The changes from the 1970 rules arise from the need to consider the proposed new Constitution, and the mail ballot requirement for constitutional amendments and resolutions.

All 1971 changes in or additions to the rules are italicized.

Rules of Procedure

1. Annual Business Meeting: Attendance and Participation

The right "to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association" is constitutionally accorded "all members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve." (Art. III, sec. 7)

- 1.1 Attendance at the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee and to registered representatives of the Press. Participation in the Annual Business Meeting shall be restricted to members of the Association who have paid the approved registration fee.
- 1.2 Members upon registration shall be issued nontransferable badges readily distinguishable from badges issued nonmember registrants and representatives of the Press.
- 1.3 The Registration Desk shall be open (in addition to the normal registration hours) at least during the first hour of the Annual Business Meeting or, if the Meeting is held in separate time periods, during the first hour of each such

2. Conduct of the Annual Business Meeting.

- 2.1 The agenda of each Annual Business Meeting shall include proposed constitutional amendments, nomination and election of officers, resolutions, and other business.
- 2.2 The Council shall prepare and publish a full agenda for each Annual Business Meeting, including the texts of all proposed amendments and resolutions, with statements of the Council's recommendation on each, such full agenda to be made available to members at the beginning of the Annual Business Meeting.
- 2.3 On any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution, the first signer of a proposed

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- amendment or resolution (or his designee) shall be recognized as the first speaker on that amendment of resolution and shall be allotted a maximum of five minutes. *The only exception to this will be the initial presentation of the draft constitution which shall be governed according to a special rule in Section 4.2.*
- 2.4 In accordance with the Council's constitutional authority to make recommendations on all proposed amendments and resolutions (Art. VIII; Art. IX, sec. 1), the second speaker on any proposed constitutional amendment or resolution not sponsored by the Council shall be a member designated by the Council to present its views. That member shall also be allotted a maximum of five minutes.
- 2.5 Each speaker after the first two speakers specified in Rules 2.3 and 2.4 shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the proposed amendment or resolution being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.
- 2.6 The proposer of any amendment offered from the floor to a proposed amendment or resolution shall be recognized as the first speaker on that floor amendment, and shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. Each subsequent speaker on that floor amendment shall be allotted a maximum of three minutes. The President shall recognize alternately proponents and opponents of the floor amendment being considered, so long as members of each group seek recognition, subject to the previous question being ordered.
- 2.7 Debate on any proposed amendment or resolution or amendment from the floor shall close and a vote be taken when a member moves the previous question and a majority supports the motion.
- 2.8 *Any amendment that fails to gain support of 40% of those members present and voting shall be defeated; any amendment supported by at least 40% of those members present and voting shall be referred to the full membership by mail ballot. (Art. IX, Sec. 2) Any resolution that fails to gain the support of one-third of those members present and voting shall be defeated; any resolution supported by more than one-third but less than two-thirds of those members present and voting shall be referred to the full membership by mail ballot; any resolution supported by at least two-thirds of those members present and voting shall be passed. (Art. VIII)*
- 2.9 *In accordance with the mail ballot requirements specified in Sec. 2.8, a motion to table, postpone, or defer an amendment must be supported by at least 60% of the members present and voting to pass. A motion to table, postpone, or defer a resolution must be supported by at least two-thirds of the members present and voting to pass. If an amendment has been tabled, it may be lifted from the table if at least 40% of the members present and voting cast votes to do so. If a resolution has been tabled, it may be lifted from the table if at least one-third of the members present and voting cast votes to do so.*
- 2.10 In order that the members may have the materials available for study prior to the Annual Meeting, reports of officers and committees of the Association shall be published and distributed to members prior to the Annual Meeting. Copy for such reports shall be received by the Executive Director no later than June 15.
- 2.11 Normally no oral reports of officers and committees of the Association shall be presented at the Annual Business Meeting, save for the report of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee and the Budget summary to be presented by the Treasurer. However, an opportunity for members to question and discuss the written reports shall be provided.
- 2.12 *Except as otherwise provided in the Constitution, By-Laws, and these Rules of Procedure, the Annual Business Meeting shall be governed by the rules set forth in the most recent edition of Sarah Corbin Robert (ed.), Robert's Rules of Order (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co.)*
3. Proposal of Resolutions and Constitutional Amendments.
- The present Constitution provides, "Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council shall transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council." (Art. IX, sec. 1)
- "The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of that Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the pro-

posed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment will be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise." (Art. IX, sec. 2)

A resolution may be proposed by the Council under its general responsibilities and the constitutional mandate to "give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting." (Art. VII, sec. 2) The Constitution contemplates the initiation of resolutions by others than the Council but is silent upon the specifics of such initiation. (Art. VIII) Accordingly, a resolution may be proposed by a single member of the Association. In practice, member-initiated constitutional amendments and resolutions sometimes record the names of sponsors in excess of the number constitutionally required.

The Constitution requires that every resolution and proposed constitutional amendment (unless initiated by the Council itself) shall be referred to the Council for consideration and recommendation before submission to the Association at its Annual Business Meeting, and that every thus-referred resolution and proposed amendment, regardless of Council recommendation on it, shall be submitted by the Council to the Association for action at its Annual Business Meeting. (Arts. VIII and IX)

To implement these Constitutional requirements, we propose the following rules:

- 3.1 No resolution or proposed constitutional amendment shall be considered by the Council or transmitted to the Annual Business Meeting unless it bears the personal signatures of the fifty proposers in the case of a constitutional amendment or at least one proposer in the case of a resolution, except that in the former case any of the proposers may authorize their identification as proposers by a signed communication to the Executive Director specifically indicating the proposed amendment they support.
- 3.2 The Council shall delete all listed names of supporters beyond those constitutionally necessary for a resolution or proposed amend-

ment with the exception of names personally signed by such supporters or names of listed supporters who authorize such use through individual, signed communications separately received by the Executive Director, specifically identifying the resolution or proposed amendment supported.

- 3.3 The Constitution stipulates that "the Council shall have any proposed [constitutional] amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting." (Art. IX, sec. 2) To implement this requirement, all proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be published in the Summer issue of *P.S.* The texts and the signatures or authorizations of the sponsors of any such amendment shall therefore be received by the Executive Director no later than June 1.
- 3.4 The Constitution stipulates that "all resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission of the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting." (Art. VIII) *The By-laws require that all material to be considered by the Council must be in the hands of Council members fourteen days prior to the Council meeting.* To implement these provisions, all resolutions (except those proposed by the Council) shall be received by the Executive Director no later than August 2. However, to encourage full discussion and consideration by the membership as well as the Council, proposers of resolutions are urged to deliver them to the Executive Director by June 15 so that they may be published in the Summer issue of *P.S.*

4. Adoption and Ratification of a New Constitution.

As a result of the unusually large number of constitutional amendments proposed during 1968-69, the Council on February 16, 1969 established a Constitution Revision Committee to examine the constitutional structure of the Association. The Committee has drafted a proposed new constitution which will be considered by the Council and submitted by it to the Annual Business Meeting in September. The present Constitution makes no specific provision for the adoption of a new constitution, though the adoption of constitutional amendments is a closely related activity. The Constitution provides that "the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting (at the Annual Business Meeting) to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot . . . A proposed

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amendment shall be ratified if approved [in the mail ballot] by a majority of those voting." (Art. IX, sec. 2)

The Council anticipates the possibility of disagreement with respect to the nature of the proposed new Constitution. This conceivably may take several forms varying from a preference for the existing Constitution i.e. total rejection, through a desire for the amendment of one or more of the articles of the proposed new Constitution to total acceptance of the new document. The Council is desirous of providing the greatest degree of freedom possible for the expression of all these viewpoints yet is also sensitive to its constitutional responsibility to "give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting (Article VII, Section 2)."

The only total and carefully integrated draft of a new Constitution to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting for its initial consideration and action is that prepared *in* the course of a year and a *half's work* by its Constitutional Revision Committee chaired by Professor Wildavsky. (During the past year, Professor Rosenblum has served as acting chairman of the Committee.) The fact that this draft may be amended by floor action at the Annual Meeting creates, of course, a consequent possibility of the introduction of serious inconsistencies or even incompatibilities in the text that emerges from this meeting for presentation to the entire membership by mail ballot. Such potentially inconsistent floor amendments could have the further effect of denying to the membership at large an opportunity to choose freely among the existing constitution, the product of the Constitutional Revision Committee, or some variant thereon.

In order to deal as effectively and fairly as possible with this complex situation, the Council proposes the following provisions with respect to the adoption and ratification of this new Constitution:

The rules of procedure governing the disposition of constitutional amendments shall apply to the disposition of the new constitution except as provided below:

- 4.1 The first order of business at the session devoted to consideration of the proposed new constitution shall be the discussion of the constitutional draft prepared by the Association's Constitutional Revision Committee. This procedure will first require tentative adoption or rejection of the draft in toto without

possibility of amendments.

- 4.2 *In the initial formal presentation of the new constitution, fifteen minutes shall be allotted to proponents of the new constitution (members of the drafting committee) followed by fifteen minutes to be divided equally among principal opponents of the new constitution. Thereafter, discussion will be governed by the three minute rule outlined in Sec. 2.5.*
- 4.3 *In view of the time and effort that went into the drafting of this new constitution, and the year that has been devoted to its discussion by the membership, the new constitution shall have a privilege status; motions to table, postpone or delay the full draft of the new Constitution shall not be admitted. If the new constitution receives the support of at least 40% of those present and voting, its provisions will subsequently be presented to the membership at large on a mail ballot. If it does not receive support at the 40% level, it will be defeated.*
- 4.4 If the Constitutional Revision Committee draft is approved by 40% of those present and voting, this draft shall be opened for article-by-article consideration and amendment from the floor. For the purpose of debate and voting each article or the constitution shall be treated as one constitutional amendment. Any proposed changes in that draft commanding the support of 40% or more of those present and voting at the session shall also be presented to the membership at large on a mail ballot.

5. Nominations and Elections of Officers.

To implement the procedures for making nominations for elected officers and for conducting contested elections by mail ballot of the entire membership (Art. V), the following rules shall be followed:

- 5.1 Each notification to the Secretary of proposed additional nominations (whether for a slate of nominees for all offices, for a set of nominees for certain offices, or for a nominee for one office) shall be valid only if it carries the personal signatures of at least ten members, or if listed members who have not signed the original document certify their co-sponsorship by signed individual communications to the Secretary or his designee indicating specifically the nominations sponsored.
- 5.2 The Secretary or his designee shall receive at the Association's Washington offices, or after September 4, 1971 at the Association's

- Annual Meeting office in the headquarters hotel all nominations and any individual certifications by members of authority for the inclusion of their names on an original nominating document. In accordance with Article V, section 2 of the Constitution, all such nominations and certifications must be received at least 24 hours before the session of the Annual Business Meeting at which the nomination and election of officers is scheduled to take place.
- 5.3 Well in advance of the Annual Business Meeting the President shall appoint three members of the Council to serve as the Committee on Elections, and shall designate one member as Chairman. The Committee on Elections shall implement the Constitution's requirements and the Council's rules in the preparation and mailing of the ballots and the information supplements to be mailed with the ballots both for elections of officers, and for referenda on proposed amendments to the Constitution, or resolutions.
 - 5.4 No person who requests withdrawal of his name shall be considered a nominee. If any nominee withdraws his name, the group which nominated him may replace him with another candidate by notifying the Chairman of the Committee on Elections at any time up to a deadline to be fixed by the Committee on Elections.
 - 5.5 If two or more persons are nominated for any Association office and a mail ballot is thereby necessitated, the Committee on Elections shall set a maximum number of words for use by the nominees or their representatives for the description of the nominees' professional careers and accomplishments, and shall set another maximum number of words for the nominees or their representatives to use for a statement of views. The Committee on Elections shall inform each nominee and his or her sponsors of the availability of this opportunity and the deadlines for the receipt of materials.
 - 5.6 In preparing the ballots, the Committee on Elections shall make sure that:
 - (1) Each office or set of offices is listed on the ballot separately, in an "office-group" ballot form.
 - (2) The candidates in each office group are listed in alphabetical order of their surnames.
 - (3) Under each candidate's name appears:
 - (a) His current institutional affiliation; and
 - (b) The names of the persons, group, or groups nominating him.
 - 5.7 The Committee on Elections shall, within the time limits stipulated by the Constitution (Art. V, sec. 1), fix the date on which the ballots will be mailed out and the date by which they must be returned.
 - 5.8 The ballots will be mailed to all members of the Association in good standing as of the close of business on the last working day prior to the mailing date.
 - 5.9 The Committee on Elections shall also implement the Council's rules in preparing the mail ballot on the proposed new constitution and any proposed amendments thereto. Two situations are conceivable:
 - (1) If the Constitutional Revision Committee draft receives a forty per cent level of support at the Annual Business Meeting and no proposed amendments thereto receive this level of support, the Committee draft shall be presented to the membership for adoption or rejection by a majority vote conducted by mail ballot.
 - (2) If the Committee draft receives support at the forty per cent level and proposed amendments thereto also qualify at this level, a two-stage balloting procedure will be necessary. The first stage will involve submission for mail balloting of all proposed amendments to the Committee draft together with the text of the Committee draft and explanatory comments and statements. Any amendments supported by a majority of those voting shall be incorporated into the Committee draft by a drafting group appointed by the Council. To assure internal consistency, this draft Committee will also edit and clarify the document's text. The resulting amended draft will then be submitted to the membership for a second round of mail balloting. If approved by a majority of those voting it will be the new constitution. *If not approved by a majority of those voting, it will be defeated.*
- (This two-stage procedure is necessary so that the membership will have as clear an understanding as possible of the precise nature of the provisions they are being asked to approve. In the absence of a first-round clarification of views with respect to

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controverted amendments, it would be necessary to ask the membership to vote simultaneously on the document as a whole and controverted amendments thereto without prior knowledge of which of the latter were to be incorporated into the final document).

5.10 In preparing the referendum ballots, in accordance with procedures specified in Section 5.9, the Committee on Elections shall make sure that:

- (1) The referendum ballot contains; or *is accompanied by*
 - (a) The complete text of the amendments or constitution, as the case may be, on which the membership is being asked to vote by mail ballot;
 - (b) An appropriate procedure for voting for or against the proposed new constitution in its entirety;
 - (c) An appropriate procedure for voting for or against each amendment to the proposed new constitution if a two stage balloting procedure becomes necessary; and
 - (d) *The complete text of any resolution on which the membership is being asked to vote by mail ballot.*
- (2) The referendum ballot makes clear exactly which portion(s) of the proposed new constitution would be altered by each proposed amendment and in what way.
- (3) The referendum ballot or ballots is accompanied by a statement of views, including:
 - (a) *A statement giving the position of the Council on each proposed amendment or resolution;*
 - (b) A statement supporting each proposed amendment or resolution by the principal proposer or his designee; and
 - (c) *In those cases where there is manifest opposition to an amendment or resolution, a critical statement by a leading opponent or his designee.*
- (4) The Committee on Elections shall set maximum word limits for the statements mentioned in Rules 5.10 (3).

6. Council Meetings; Observers.

6.1 Meetings of the Council shall be open to attendance by members of the Association.

6.2 Members attending Council meetings under Rule 6.1 are entitled to observe, but not participate in, the Council's discussions.

7. Calendar of Deadlines

Tuesday, June 1, 5:00 p.m.

All proposed constitutional amendments together with the required fifty signatures shall be in the hands of the Executive Director.

Monday, August 2, 5:00 p.m.

All proposed resolutions must be in the hands of the Executive Director.

Tuesday, September 7, 4:00 p.m.

All nominations together with the required ten signatures shall be in the hands of the Secretary or his designee.

Schedule for the 1971 Annual Business Meeting

Tuesday, September 7

4:00 p.m. Afternoon Business Meeting

- I. Budget Summary
- II. Amendments to Existing Constitution
- III. Initial Formal Presentation of New Constitution

8:00-9:30 p.m. Evening Business Meeting

- I. Resolutions

9:30 p.m. Open Forum

Discussion of New Constitution

Wednesday, September 8

4:00-11:00 p.m. Afternoon-Evening Business Meeting (to be adjourned for dinner at order of the Chair)

- I. Nomination of officers
- II. Continuation of discussion of the new Constitution in toto until a vote is taken
- III. (If new Constitution is supported by 40% of the members attending the Business Meeting) Amendments to the new Constitution

At the conclusion of above business, discussion of written reports of officers and committees.

Committee on Recruitment and Placement

Fragmentary Data from a Survey of the Academic Marketplace in Political Science in 1971: A Preliminary Report

During the past fifteen months, several uncoordinated surveys of the academic marketplace in political science were conducted and published,¹ in response to expressions of concern about a seemingly growing imbalance between the supply of new market entrants (i.e., new Ph.D.s and ABDs) and the demand for their services. While these studies have added appreciably to the level of knowledge about the setting and shape of the academic job market, their principal collective consequence has been to highlight the massive lacunae that remain: there is virtually no systematically gathered and analyzed information about alternative (to higher education) career lines that are or could become available to professionally trained political scientists; there are insufficient foundations for intelligently counselling present or prospective graduate students regarding their post-degree opportunities; and adequate bases for re-orienting curricula and/or admission policies to cope with the current market situation are clearly lacking. Through a variety of means, the American Political Science Association has begun to gather the basic data that must be available before effective corrective measures can be taken. There has developed a broad perspective regarding the job market for political scientists. To date, three out of every four political scientists have entered careers in higher education. Given the present job market in that sector, and expectations for the future, that pattern will have to be altered. Unless the output of doctoral departments is curtailed by 50% or more immediately—a highly unlikely prospect—other kinds of career lines must be developed; and, equally crucial, graduate education must be related to alternative foci of application.²

The Survey

Viewed in the light of these features of the present situation, the aims of this report are very modest indeed. It is a preliminary report of the findings

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of a truncated survey of recruitment needs in the traditional institutions: four-year and graduate institutions of higher education. A one-page questionnaire (a copy follows this report; see appendix A) was appended to a much lengthier survey instrument that was mailed to 1,338 schools by the Association's Committee of Department Chairmen in late April.³ The principal foci of the questionnaire—mailed under the auspices of the Association's Advisory Committee on Recruitment and Placement—were (1) recruitment for new and replacement positions during the period 1969-71; (2) recruitment expectations for 1972-73 (i.e., the number of new positions projected for the coming academic year); (3) continuation of the long-range projections of new positions (to 1980)—to discern the mood prevailing among chairmen regarding the expansion of their faculty; (4) ascertaining recruitment priorities by fields of specialization; and (5) determining the extent of recruitment priorities for members of minority groups and for women.

There are several important differences between this survey and the 1970 sounding, and some of these make direct comparisons either difficult or altogether inadvisable. First, the bases differ: (1) approximately one-third of the institutions to which the questionnaire was mailed—namely, those schools which have no separate political science department—were not surveyed in 1970; and (2) the response rates this year were very much lower for the graduate and undergraduate schools. Second, exact numbers rather than ranges of numbers were elicited this year. This means was used to correct one of the basic design flaws in the 1970 survey—the impossibility of distinguishing between no growth and slight-to-moderate growth. While the data generated are, thus, hopefully more reliable and useful, direct comparison with the 1970 figures is problematic.

3 The Advisory Committee on Recruitment and Placement (Heisler, chairman) had intended to send out much more detailed questionnaires this Spring, with different versions designed for graduate departments, undergraduate departments and schools in which political science is subsumed under a broader rubric. Due to the problem of the saturation of respondents (i.e., chairmen) with separate but substantively overlapping questionnaires, the abbreviated version was drafted on short notice. (In some ways, it is, thus, still characteristic of the "studies of the academic marketplace in political science [that] suffer from necessarily hasty preparation, inadequate samples and response rates and incomplete research design" [Lane, "A Scientific Manpower Program," 26]). During the coming months it is expected that the more detailed data elicited by the Chairmen's Committee study can be systematically interrelated with the data generated by this survey—particularly in such sectors as Ph.D. production and graduate admissions. In the early Fall, the Committee on Recruitment and Placement will carry out a more extensive study. The Association is projecting manpower studies outside higher education, as well.

1 See, for example, *The Political Science Job Market*, Institute of Government Research, The University of Arizona, Tucson, 1970; Earl M. Baker, "A Survey of the Graduate Academic Marketplace in Political Science," *PS*, III, 3 (1970), 267-71; Martin O. Heisler, "The Academic Marketplace in Political Science for the Next Decade: A Preliminary Report on a Survey," *Ibid.*, 272-81; and Heisler, "The Shape of the Academic Marketplace in Political Science: The Next Decade," paper delivered at the Sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association; Los Angeles, Calif., September 8-12, 1970.

2 The case for broader perspectives is adumbrated in, among other places, Robert E. Lane, "A Scientific Manpower Program," (Xeroxed) The American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1971; and Heisler, "The Shape of the Academic Marketplace in Political Science."

Committee on Recruitment and Placement

Fragmentary Data from a Survey of the Academic Marketplace in Political Science in 1971: A Preliminary Report

(Some systematic comparisons are, nevertheless, possible; and these will be found below.) Third, data on recruitment for the period 1969-72 were elicited in two categories: new positions and replacements. While this distinction yields a much more accurate picture of the job market, it also makes the sketching of a simple overview impossible. For, it is conceivable that *some, all or none* of the vacancies opened up are being filled from the ranks of people already employed. That is, while new positions may be treated as net increments to the jobs available, replacement positions represent such an increment only if the person being replaced is leaving the market. Fourth, and finally, largely as a consequence of lessons learned from last year's study, the break-down of specializations into fields was changed somewhat—again making direct comparisons between the 1970 and 1971 studies difficult.

The Findings⁴

Two of our more interesting findings are that (1) *there has been no appreciable shrinkage of jobs among our respondents during the past three years; but* (2) *long-term expectations are much more pessimistic in 1971 than they were in 1970.* Table 1 shows new positions filled, by academic year, during 1969-70—1971-72, as well as projections for new positions for the 1972-73 academic year. While there was a slight downturn in vacancies from 1969 to 1971, no drastic cut-backs are evident from the data. The short-term (and in many instances already budgeted) projection of new positions—for which recruitment will shortly begin—is closer to the 1969-70 figures than to those of 1971-72.

To test rumors that departments were experiencing outright losses of positions (especially in the form of freezes on replacing vacancies), responding chairmen were given the opportunity to indicate past and present losses, as well as expected losses in the future. It seems noteworthy that only *five or six positions* were lost for the total of 436 responding departments in any given year; and especially that, of 430 departments responding to the question, only six expect to lose any positions between 1973 and 1980. (Three of these indicate an expectation of losing one position each, one marked two positions and two project a loss of three.)

Table 1 New Positions, by Academic Year

	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73*
0	263	264	295	275
1	119	115	88	122
2	34	20	24	31
3	10	7	5	4
4+	7	6**	**	1
	N=433	N=412**	N=412**	N=433

Table 2 Replacement Positions, by Academic Year

	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
0	226	250	246
1	128	97	99
2	38	46	40
3	11	10	9
4+	5*	4*	6*
	N=408*	N=407*	N=400*

This year's survey gives reasons for expecting the continuation of a trend discerned last year: medium-sized departments (i.e., those with a current faculty of 11-20) are and expect to continue recruiting more candidates than either smaller or larger departments. This observation is based on the number of new and replacement positions reported for the period 1969-72, as well as on the projections given for 1972-73 and for the 1973-80 period by our respondents. (It should be noted that departments with 6-10 members at present also show a higher propensity to recruit in the future than the smallest and largest departments. Tables 3 and 6 below should be consulted. As Table 4 indicates, this is also the class of departments that is to be found in institutions expecting the largest increases in enrollments during the decade of the 1970's.

* Projections, rather than actual positions filled.

** A problem in coding made it impossible to distinguish between some of these responses and the code for missing data. In instances in which departments of five members or less recorded as recruiting five or more persons in a single year, the response was eliminated—on the assumption that it was an artifact of coding.

4. Coding and key-punching were done by Christine Hill and Rona Hitlin of the APSA staff. Machine tabulations were carried out by M. W. McKinney, using the facilities of the University of Maryland Computer Science Center.

Table 3 Faculty Size by Replacement Positions Filled for 1971-1972: Numbers of Departments

Positions Filled for 1971-1972

No. of Depart- ments	Faculty Size							Totals
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41+	
None	170	39	22	5	7	2	1	246
1	50	25	13	4	4	0	0	96
2	5	12	6	4	9	4	0	40
3	0	1	1	2	4	1	0	9
4	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	4
4+	*	*	2*	1*	1	0	0	4*

* See note ** to Table 1, above.

Table 4 Enrollment Expectations for 1971-1980, by Size of Department

Expectations Regarding Enrollment

Department Size	Increase by 30% or more	Increase Slightly	Remain Stable	Decrease	Don't Know
1-10 (N=328)	21.3%	43.9%	27.4%	4.6%	2.8%
11-20 (N=61)	41.0	41.0	13.1	1.6	3.3
21+ (N=41)	17.1	43.9	34.1	4.9	0

Table 5 Enrollment Expectations for 1971-1980, by Type of Department

Type of Department

Enrollment Outlook	Ph.D. granting	M.A. granting	Separate Department	Not Separate Department
Increase by 30% or more	21.7%	26.9%	22.7%	24.6%
Increase Slightly	45.0	47.8	40.7	44.0
Remain Stable	25.0	20.9	31.4	21.6
Decrease	6.7	1.5	2.9	6.7
Don't Know	1.7	3.0	2.3	3.0
	n=60	n=67	n=172	n=134

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Respondents were asked to indicate whether they expected overall enrollment in their institutions to increase greatly, increase slightly, remain stable or decrease during the decade of the 1970's. It was hypothesized that positive correlations would be found between enrollment outlook and faculty recruitment. Overall, the following expectations were indicated:

Increase greatly (by 30% or more)		Increase slightly	
23.7%		43.5%	
(N=102)		(N=187)	
Remain Stable	Decrease	Don't Know	
26.0%	4.2%	2.6%	
(N=112)	(N=18)	(N=11)	

Table 4 shows enrollment projections by size of department, while Table 5 provides enrollment outlook figures by type of department.

We found that, as expected, enrollment outlook and recruitment do co-vary. Department size, however, provides as strong an indicator of recruitment expectations, while department type is a less powerful predictor.

Projections to 1980

Department chairmen and deans rarely have reliable information about the number of vacancies they will seek to fill more than one year ahead. Planning and the drafting of budget requests rarely require the serious consideration of future recruitment needs for more than two or three years. Nevertheless, both this year's survey and that of 1970 sought to elicit from chairmen a long-range projection—a guess regarding the number of new positions they expect to have between 1973 and 1980. The purpose here is not to forecast the market in terms of actual positions three or five or ten years hence. Rather, this is a

means to gain some insight into the mood or state-of-mind prevailing among recruitment officers with regard to the foreseeable future. A comparison of the 1970 and 1971 projections shown in Table 6 below indicates a very sharp downturn in those expectations. As in 1970, so too in 1971, medium-sized departments are more bullish than smaller or larger departments. The type of department has little direct impact upon indications of projected needs. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of each type of department reflected the need for some additional personnel between 1973 and 1980. The graduate degree granting departments indicated a slightly larger percentage of multiple requirements (i.e., departments projecting a need for more than 1 additional faculty member), although this was to be expected since such departments are generally larger than non-graduate degree granting departments.

Recruitment Needs by Fields of Specialization

In general, the rankings of recruitment needs by area of specialization differ but little from the 1971 study. The addition of the "Empirical Theory and/or Methodology" category and the splitting of "Urban Government and Politics" from the state and local government category of last year's effort, provides a somewhat clearer picture of specialized needs. Table 7 outlines projected recruitment needs for both 1973 and 1980.

Table 6 Projections of Department Growth by 1980: Comparisons of the Moods of 1970 and 1971
Present Size of Political Science Faculty

Expected Increase 1973-1980	1-5		6-10		11-15		16-20		21-30		31-40		41+	
	1970	1971	1970	1971	1970	1971	1970	1971	1970	1971	1970	1971	1970	1971
0-3	72.8%	93.5%	32.7%	73.8%	14.6%	50.0%	15.8%	52.9%	6.9%	57.7%	7.1%	66.7%	16.7%	100.0%
4-6	24.6	5.6	40.7	22.6	33.3	38.6	21.1	41.2	37.9	23.1	42.9	33.3	16.7	0
7+	2.7	0.8	26.6	3.6	52.1	11.4	63.1	5.9	55.1	19.2	49.9	0	66.7	0
	n=338	n=247	n=113	n=84	n=48	n=44	n=19	n=17	n=29	n=26	n=14	n=9	n=6	n=1

Table 7 Rankings of Recruitment Needs by Field

Field	First	Second	Third	Other Mark ¹
1973				
American Government and Politics	105	36	21	14
Comparative Politics/Area Studies	36	40	24	16
International Relations	17	25	29	10
Public Administration	58	28	14	11
Urban Government and Politics	28	35	29	8
State and Local Government	6	18	25	5
Empirical Theory and/or Methodology	21	25	34	10
History of Political Thought	14	16	13	4
Public Law/Judicial Behavior	15	15	20	5
Other	10	6	6	3
	310	244	215	76
1980				
American Government and Politics	86	29	22	12
Comparative Politics/Area Studies	43	34	40	10
International Relations	31	24	18	11
Public Administration	43	23	24	12
Urban Government and Politics	34	30	25	11
State and Local Government	11	32	16	4
Empirical Theory and/or Methodology	32	28	28	6
History of Political Thought	17	15	8	3
Public Law/Judicial Behavior	12	13	22	7
Other	6	5	4	2
	315	233	207	78

¹ This column reflects additional rankings over the first three or instances where the respondent placed a mark on the questionnaire rather than rank ordering the items.

Priorities for Recruiting Members of Minority Groups

It is a widely shared belief that many departments are seeking to fill vacancies with women, Blacks, Chicanos and/or members of other groups (e.g., Orientals, Puerto Ricans, American Indians). The 1971 recruitment needs questionnaire sought to ascertain the extent of these preferences and to relate them to the type and size of the recruiting department.

Overall, the following portion of responding institutions indicated such recruitment priorities:

Blacks	31.4%
Women	18.2
Chicanos	6.2
Orientals	2.1
Others	3.0

N=433

There is a direct relationship between the size of the recruiting department and its interest in adding one or more Blacks, women or Chicanos to its faculty (see Table 8.) Departments that offer the Ph.D. exhibit the highest demand for women, Blacks and Chicanos; while those institutions in which political science is not a separate department show the lowest rates (see Table 9 below). In sum, Ph.D. producing departments of 21-40 members are most likely to have priorities for recruiting Blacks, women and Chicanos.

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Table 8 Priorities for Recruiting Members of Minority Groups: by Size of Recruiting Department

Group	Department Size						
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41 +
Blacks	22.7%	36.9%	40.9%	41.2%	53.8%	77.8%	100.0%
Women	11.7	25.0	25.0	23.5	42.3	33.3	0.0
Chicanos	3.2	7.1	9.1	11.8	19.2	11.1	100.0
Orientals	2.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0
Others	3.2	2.4	2.3	0.0	3.8	11.1	0.0
	N=247	N=84	N=44	N=17	N=26	N=9	N=1

Table 9 Priorities for Recruiting Members of Minority Groups: by Type of Institution

Group	Institution Type			
	Ph.D.-granting Department	M.A.-granting Department	Separate Department	Not Separate Department
Blacks	55.0%	28.3%	30.0%	23.5%
Women	35.0	11.9	19.1	12.5
Chicanos	16.7	7.5	4.0	3.7

Conclusions

No startling findings were generated by this modest survey. It would appear that no dramatic shifts in the number of new positions have occurred in the last three years—contrary to popular belief. That is, either the market has not yet experienced a massive downturn or it began on such a course prior to 1969. To be sure, the mood in the discipline is very pessimistic—and it has been depressed far below last year's already low level, as the ten-year projection indicates.

Medium-sized graduate departments tend to have, again, the most bullish prospects. In terms of fields of specialization, American Government specialists are still most in demand, while Public Law and State and Local Government people will have the greatest difficulties.

Nearly one-third of all departments have priorities for hiring one or more Black political scientists, and about one in five have a special interest in adding women to their staff. Again, the top of the demand curves are reached in medium-sized, graduate departments.

Finally, the tentative and preliminary nature of this report cannot be stressed enough: (1) the data generated by the questionnaire of the Committee of Department Chairmen will be interrelated with the responses elicited by this survey, to give more

meaningful interpretations of the latter; and (2) a major sounding for the Advisory Committee on Recruitment and Placement has been planned and drafted, and it will be implemented in the Fall. The low response rate in this survey makes such endeavors especially vital. Some of the implications of the findings presented here will be elaborated at the 1971 Annual APSA Meeting in Chicago, at the round-table that will be conducted under the auspices of the Advisory Committee on Recruitment and Placement. It is tentatively entitled "Intellectual and Economic Aspects of the Academic Marketplace."

Committee on Recruitment and Placement

Appendix A
Questionnaire—Survey of the Academic
Marketplace 1971

Projections of Recruitment Needs for the 1970's

1. Name of your college/university
2. Do you expect overall enrollment in your institution during the period 1971-1980 to
 - (a) increase greatly (by 30% or more)
 - (b) increase slightly
 - (c) remain at about its present level
 - (d) decrease
 - (e) not possible to project
3. Please indicate the number of members of your political science faculty (in terms of full-time position equivalents)
4. Please indicate the number of *new* positions (full-time or joint appointment) you added in political science in the 1969-70 academic year (if your department experienced a net loss of positions, please so indicate.)
5. How many *replacement* positions did you fill in 1969-70?
6. How many *new* positions did you add (or lose) for the 1970-71 academic year?
7. How many *replacement* positions did you fill in 1970-71?
8. How many *new* positions did you add (or lose) for the 1971-72 academic year?
9. How many *replacement* positions did you fill for 1971-72?
10. Please estimate the number of positions you expect to gain or lose for the 1972-73 academic year (indicate gain or loss)
11. Please project the number of positions you expect to gain or lose between 1973 and 1980 (indicate gain or loss)
12. Please indicate your recruitment priorities by fields of specialization. Rank your department's *first three* priorities (1-2-3) for 1971-73 and for 1973-80 opposite the fields listed below:

	to 1973	1973-80
(a) American Government and Politics
(b) Comparative Politics and/or Area Studies
(c) International Relations
(d) Public Administration
(e) Urban Government and Politics
(f) State and Local Government
(g) Empirical Theory and/or Methodology
(h) History of Political Thought
(i) Public Law/Judicial Behavior
(j) Other (please specify field)
13. Does your department have, at present, priorities for recruiting faculty from one or more of the following groups:
 - (a) Women
 - (b) Blacks
 - (c) Chicanos
 - (d) Orientals
 - (e) Other groups (please specify)

Professional Notes

Center for the Study of

American Pluralism

Under a grant from the Ford Foundation, The National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago has established the Center for the Study of American Pluralism. The Director of the Center is Andrew M. Greeley, and according to him the Center will initially engage in secondary analyses on existing data, collect literature on American Ethnic groups, and engage in the planning and designing of research projects.

Hampton Institute Department of Political Science

Hampton Institute has established a separate Department of Political Science; it was formerly joined with the History Department. The Acting Chairman of the department is Sang-Seek Park. Chi Kao Wang and Nicolas Yannacoureas are also members of the new Department.

Center for the Study of

Federalism

Established in 1968, the Center for the Study of Federalism at Temple University is continuing to expand its activities. Activities of the Center include: publication of a series through Basic Books, "Studies in Federalism"; publication of a new bi-annual journal, *Publius*; development of a course in the American federal system for use in in-service training programs available to educational systems; initiation of a series of occasional position papers on various issues of the day, analyzing their impact or potential impact on the federal system and the organization of a conference for Federal Studies designed to bring together interested individuals concerned with problems of federalism and intergovernmental relations to explore matters of common interest. For further information on the Center and its work, write to Daniel J. Elazar, Director, Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

Government Careers and the

Community College Report

Government Careers and the Community College, a report of the American Association of Junior Colleges by Andrew S. Korim has recently been published. The report, which indicates that about 20,000 persons completed two-year programs in public service education this academic year, calls

upon community and junior colleges to respond to community needs for more trained mid-level or intermediate careers in government by expanding their curricular offerings in public service education. Copies of the report are available for \$3.00 a copy from the Publications Division of the American Association of Junior Colleges, One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Health Politics Bulletin

The Committee on Health Politics, the successor group to the Steering Committee of Political Scientists Interested in the Field of Health, has published the first issue of its *Quarterly Bulletin on Health Politics*.

The *Bulletin's* purposes are: To build a constituency of political scientists and allied social scientists in the field of health; to play a clearinghouse role for such a group; to encourage political and other social scientists, professionals, and graduate students to expand their intellectual, teaching, and research interest to this field; and to collect specific data on political science research and research related to health from other professionals.

Chairman of the Committee on Health Politics and Editor of the Bulletin is Ralph A. Straetz. Co-Editors are Peter E. Beitchmans and Arthur Webb; Editorial Assistant is Barbara Brass. For further information write to Ralph A. Straetz, Chairman, Committee on Health Politics, 547 La Guardia Place, New York, New York 10003.

Ukrainian

Student Political Science Association

A Ukrainian Student Political Science Association has been established. The purpose of the Association is to attract students who are seeking to extend their academic interest in the field of political science, and international relations and to promulgate the Ukrainian political struggle and ideals. Further information may be obtained from Peter Diachenko, Co-Chairman of the Ukrainian Student Political Science Association, P.O. Box 11009, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19141.

Newsletters for

Election Officials

Election News, a publication designed to provide election officials and interested scholars with a

wide variety of information on legal, legislative and public activities that affect the conduct of elections has published its first issue. The newsletter, published monthly by the American University, Institute of Election Administration, Washington, D.C. 20016, has a subscription rate of \$50.00 a year and is edited by Richard G. Smolka. Associate Editors are Emmet V. Mittlebeeler and William C. Louhan.

Research Project on **Communism, Revisionism and Revolution**

The Research Project on Communism, Revisionism and Revolution of the Center of International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is establishing a documentation center on all Soviet *samizdat* material. The documentation will include the complete *samizdat* files of Radio Liberty in Munich, as well as translations by Amnesty and all other materials available. The material will be open to use by all scholars, who can also obtain xerox copies of materials at cost.

Social Science Information

Social Science Information has initiated a new section in its journal on the sociology of the social sciences and welcomes articles dealing with the organization of social science research and teaching activities in the U.S. or elsewhere, careers of social scientists, normative aspects of social science research activities, professional association, etc. Priority is given to contributions applying social scientific perspective to the problems studied and using empirical data.

Articles for other sections, computers and data processing, data sources, comparative research and research on development are also welcome. Material should be submitted to the Editor, Social Science Information, 1 Rue Miollis, Paris, XVE, France.

Denver Journal of International Law and Policy

The Denver Journal of International Law and Policy is now in the process of being published by the students of the University of Denver College of Law.

The first issue, to be published middle of

September, 1971, is dedicated to Professor Myres S. McDougal, of Yale, and contains tributes from Judge H. C. Dillard, International Court of Justice; Richard A. Falk, Princeton University; Harold Lasswell, President, American Society of International Law; and Oscar Schachter, Deputy Director, United Nations Institute for Training and Research. In addition, there are various articles on current international affairs.

Publications will appear twice yearly, spring and fall, and will include articles on all aspects of international affairs.

Subscription rate: First issue—\$3.00; two issues 1972—\$5.00. For further information write: The Denver Journal of International Law and Policy, University of Denver College of Law, 200 West 14th Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80204.

Coordination for Government-Supported Foreign Affairs Research

A new interagency Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs Research has been established to be responsible for coordination of federal government social science research in the field of national security affairs and foreign policy. The new mechanism, chaired by Ray S. Cline, Director of the State Department's Office of External Research in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, will be responsible to the National Security Council's Under Secretaries Committee. The new research Subcommittee replaces the Foreign Area Research Coordination Group (FAR), which has encouraged cooperative effort at the working level on a voluntary basis since 1964.

President Nixon acted to establish the new Subcommittee after considering the report of a special study group which made a comprehensive review of coordination procedures for social science research in the field of national security affairs and foreign policy. The study group, which was chaired by Mr. Cline, urged the need for more emphasis on long-range research planning, better ordering of priorities, and improved allocation of resources and responsibilities among agencies. Further, the group advocated more complete information exchange among agencies about research activities and more systematic sharing of information about research results.

Research & Training Support

Announcement of Awards

American Society of International Law Book Award

Rosalyn Higgins of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, has been awarded the Certificate of Merit of the American Society of International Law for the best book on international law published in 1969-70. The award was for his first two volumes, *United Nations Peacekeeping 1946-67; Documents and Commentary*.

For the first time since the awards were initiated in 1952 a second book was honored. The Committee, composed of Myres S. McDougal, Yale Law School; Brunson MacChesney, Northeastern Law School; and L.F.E. Goldie, Rutgers Law School, unanimously awarded an honorable mention to *INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES* by Wesley L. Gould, Professor of Political Science at Wayne State University, and Michael Barkum, Associate Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University. Their book, the first to be honored that was not authored by lawyers or a law school graduate, was cited by the Committee on Annual Awards as "a bold, pioneering, and innovative book, of highest excellence in both composition and exposition, which could contribute greatly toward bringing the findings and procedures of the social and behavioral sciences to bear upon a much needed transformation of international legal studies."

Ford Foundation Grants

The Ford Foundation has announced grants to political scientists for advanced study awards and doctoral fellowships for members of minority groups; dissertation fellowships in ethnic studies; funds for research by a Kennedy School faculty seminar and funds for foreign political scientists doing research in the United States.

Advanced Study Awards and Doctoral Fellowships for Minority Group Members and Dissertation Fellowships in Ethnic Studies

The Foundation has granted awards to nineteen political scientists to advanced study and doctoral fellowships for minority group members and dissertation fellowships in ethnic studies. The award winners are:

Tyronne R. Baines, University of Maryland;
Advanced Study Award

Carlton B. Cummings, University of Wisconsin;
Advanced Study Award

Philip R. Davis, Reed College; Doctoral Fellowship

Lorn S. Foster, University of Illinois; Advanced Study Award

Eddy Gouraige, Hofstra University; Doctoral Fellowship

James Jennings, Hunter College; Doctoral Fellowship

Edmund Keller, Jr., University of Wisconsin;
Advanced Study Awards

Arthur D. Martinez, University of California,
Riverside; Advanced Study Award

William McCurine, Dartmouth College;
Doctoral Fellowship

Lorenzo Morris, University of Chicago;
Dissertation Fellowship

Gary R. Orren, Harvard University;
Dissertation Fellowship

Isidro D. Ortiz, Texas A&I University;
Advanced Study Awards

Carmin J. Owens, Spelman College;
Doctoral Fellowship

Charles R. Rivera, University of Denver—Colorado
Seminary, Advances Study Award

Jose L. Rodriguez, Herbert H. Lehman College;
Advanced Study Award

David C. Ruffin III, Hiram College;
Doctoral Fellowship

Pamela M. Shakong, Herbert M. Lehman College;
Doctoral Fellowship

Shirley M. Washington, Howard University,
Doctoral Fellowship

Gregory L. Wilkins, Morehouse College;
Doctoral Fellowship

Kennedy School Faculty Seminar

A grant of \$125,000 has been made to the Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University for research by a faculty seminar on the effect of bureaucratic-political factors on governmental

policy formation. Richard E. Neustadt will be director of the new research activity.

Study and Travel Grants

Two political scientists were recently named to receive Ford study and travel grants. They are:

Besudev Chandra Mall, Professor of Political Science, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal, for five months in the United States for research on the role of the United Nations in the development of Nepal.

Adnan Iskandar, Associate Professor, Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, American University of Beirut, Lebanon for fifteen months of Lebanon and the United States for research on development plan implementation on Lebanon.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences NSF Grant

The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto, California, has received a grant of one and a half million dollars from the National Science Foundation to study the Social consequences of the technological dependence of modern society in the context of systematic projection of future alternatives.

Eleven-Senior fellowships will be provided at the Center to Study such topics as social mechanism guiding the reception and growth of a new technology; the relative emphasis of quality of life and economic factors in assessment procedures; means for rationalizing and systematizing value measures; and the synthesis of the foregoing into schemes of technology assessment. Planned for early investigation in the evaluation of the existing system of technology assessment in health research.

The output of the investigations will take the form of technical reports and monographs, conferences for government and business leaders, and the recruitment of such leaders to the Center for short-term participation in the research work. The project is under the direction of O. Meredith Wilson, Director of the Center.

Committee of Research on Korea

The International Liaison Committee for Research on Korea has received \$125,000 from the Agency for International Development to

support a two-year program of social science collaborative research on Korea.

The program focuses on contemporary problems in urbanization, the rural-urban gap, industrialization, political sociology, and economic development. Grants will be made to support summer collaborative research with Korean scholars, or to supplement such research in Korea for a semester, term, or a full academic year. Collaborative research is defined as joint research by scholars based in Korea and North America, on a problem of mutual concern related to the ILCORK research program.

Summer support may cover a research stipend equivalent in amount to up to two-ninths of the nine-month salary of Korean and American professors, travel to Korea by Americans, per diem for the American participant, per diem in the field for the Korean participant, and some stipend money for Korean graduate research assistants. Applicants are encouraged to obtain partial support from other sources, especially from their own institutions. Applications for support beginning in the summer of 1972 are due at the address below on or before January 15, 1972. Applicants will be notified on or before March 31, 1972.

Applications should include: statement of purpose, indication of work already accomplished, description of the nature of the collaboration, endorsement by applicant's collaborator (or other evidence that collaboration will be achieved), evidence of good health, indication of other possible research support, and a budget in dollars and Won.

Further information and applications should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, AC-ILCORK Research corporation, room 402, 1110 University Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii 96814.

Hoover Institution Fellows

The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and peace at Stanford University has announced the charter group of National Fellows and Peace Fellows who will spend the 1970-72 academic year in research based on the Institution's library holdings.

The Program, which was announced at the Institution's 50th anniversary dinner in November 1969 by Director W. Glenn Campbell, is designed

Research & Training Support

to expand the Institution's studies of public and foreign policy as a means of maintaining peace and promoting peaceful change in modern society and is open to scholars in the fields of modern history, political science, international relations, economics and sociology. Political Scientists receiving awards for 1970-72 include:

Dennis L. Bark, Ph.D. from the Free University of Berlin, Topic: "Concepts of Democracy."

Brian R. Fry, Ph.D. candidate and acting assistant professor of political science, Stanford. Topic: "The Politics to Redistribution."

Robert Heussler, Ph.D., Princeton, now a visiting fellow at the Center of International Studies, Princeton. Topic: "British Administration in the African Colonies."

D. Bruce Marshall, Ph.D., Yale, now assistant professor and director of graduate studies, Department of International Studies, University of South Carolina. Topic: "New Directions in French Foreign Policy."

Alvin Rabushka, Ph.D., Washington University, St. Louis, now assistant professor of political science, University of Rochester. Topic: "Race and Politics in Malaya: A Theory of Plural Society."

William E. Ratliff, Ph.D. candidate, University of Washington, now a staff member of the Hoover Institution's Yearbook on International Communist Affairs. Topic: "Communism in Latin America in the 1960's."

James M. Rhodes, Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, now assistant professor of political science, Marquette University. Topic: "A Philosophical Study of the Theory of the German National Socialist Movement."

Ralph H. Magnus, Ph.D. candidate, University of California (Berkeley). Topic: "The Evolution of the Northern Tier Alliance: Model for Detente and Development."

Antony C. Sutton, author of the three-volume study, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development*. Topic: "Collectivism and War."

ALCS Grants

The American Council of Learned Societies has announced grants for three of its programs, post-

doctoral awards to scholars for advanced research related to South Asia; for post-doctoral research in the humanities and related social sciences; and for post-doctoral fellowships for young scholars to enlarge their range of knowledge by study in field's outside their present areas of specialization. Political Scientists receiving awards are:

Howard Erdman, Dartmouth College, "A Study of Private Sector Industry and Public Life in India."

Norman D. Palmer, University of Pennsylvania, "A Study of Elections and Political Developments in India and Pakistan."

David C. Rapport, University of California, Los Angeles, "Assassination and Terrorism."

Marvin L. Rogers, University of Missouri, "Study of Southeast Asian History."

ACLS-SSRC Grants

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council have announced grants for joint programs for advanced research in the humanities and social sciences dealing with East Asia and for study of East European Languages. Political Scientists receiving grants are:

William E. Steslicke, Bryn Mawr College, *Social Welfare Politics in Contemporary Japan*."

David A. Titus, Wesleyan University, "Political Leadership and Political Change in Prewar Japan."

James W. White, University of North Carolina, "Political Implications of Cityward Migration in Japan."

David W. Paul, Princeton University, for study of Czech.

Alexander Dallin, Columbia University, "Soviet Perception of non-ruling Communist parties."

Charles Gati, Union College, "Restraints on East European Foreign Policies."

Joseph Rathchild, Columbia University, "Political and Socio-economic Analysis of Inter-war East Central Europe."

M. George Zaninovich, University of Oregon, Travel grant to the II Congress of Self-Managers of

Yugoslavia, Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, May 5 to 8, 1971.

Adam Bromke, Carleton University, Ottawa, Travel grant to the meeting of the official delegates Study Center for Central and East Central European Cultures, Vienna, Austria, fall 1971.

NSF Division of Social Science Grants

Recent grants from the National Science Foundation Division of Social Sciences have been awarded to;

Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, University of Michigan, for research on Longitudinal Detroit Community study

Jeremy Byman, University of Chicago, for doctoral dissertation research

Aage R. Clausen, University of Wisconsin, for research on Statistical Analysis of Influences on Voting Data

Lewis J. Edinger, Columbia University, for research on Collaborative Research on Comparative Socialization

Elliott J. Feldman, M.I.T., for doctoral dissertation research

John Francis, University of Michigan, for doctoral dissertation research

Dan R. Fritz, American University, for doctoral dissertation research

Russell W. Getter, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, doctoral dissertation research

Etinor Ostrom, University of Indiana for research on Institutional Arrangements and the Police

G. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester, for research on Testing of Theories of Political Fragmentation

Donald D. Searing, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, for research on Collaborative Research on Comparative Socialization

Allen M. Shinn, and C. S. Davies, University of Texas, for research on Measuring the Utility of Housing and Transportation

Robert O. Tilman, Yale University, for research on Ethnic Schools and Political Culture in Philippines

Citizen's Conference on State Legislatures NSF Grant

The National Science Foundation has awarded a \$40,000 planning grant to the Citizen's Conference on State Legislatures to provide professional staff assistance to selected legislative committees as a step toward strengthening the role of States in science and technology.

The Project will be called the model Committee Staff Project and will be under the direction of Larry Margolis, the Executive Director of the Citizen's Conference, the non-partisan organization in Kansas City, Missouri which is concerned with strengthening the fifty state legislatures.

An Advisory Committee for the Project will aid in the planning, development, and operations stages of the project. It will be composed of representatives from various legislators organizations, members of the academic community, congressional personnel active in congressional reform, and a business or civic leader active in governmental affairs.

Among its responsibilities will be participation in the selection of candidates for the model committee staffs, and participation in the selection of State legislatures that will participate in the program and in the selection of fields to be considered in consultation with the legislative leaders in States which desire to take part in the project. The choice of subject areas will involve consultation with Federal agencies having jurisdictions comparable to those of participating State legislative committees.

Support Available

The Office of Education Basic Research Program

During Fiscal Year 1972 the United States Office of Education's National Center for Educational Research and Development (NCERD) is supporting a basic research program. Research that has a strong theoretical orientation and shows promise of strengthening scientific knowledge is encouraged. Studies of an applied nature are *not* eligible for support in this program. December 11, 1972 is the postmark deadline for research proposal submission. It is anticipated that about 20 grants will be awarded. The standard NCERD guidelines for the submission of proposals may be obtained at the following address: Research Analysis and Allocation Staff, National Center for Educational Research and Development, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. 20202

Professional Conferences

Past

Northern California Political Science Association

The Northern California Political Science Association held its twenty-third annual meeting at the University of San Francisco on May 1, 1971.

Separate panels discussed comparative bureaucracy and pluralist theory. Hon. Houston I. Flournoy, Controller, State of California, gave a luncheon address entitled "Higher Education in California: Politics, Economics and Future Prospects." Officers elected for 1971-1972 were: President, William W. Young, Sonoma State College; Vice President, Timothy McDonnell, S.J., University of San Francisco; Secretary-Treasurer, John M. Selig, City College of San Francisco. The following were elected to the council: Alba M. Gillespie, Humboldt State College; Karl Lamb, University of California (Santa Cruz); Gerald McDaniel, Sacramento State College; William K. Muir, University of California, (Berkeley); Gordon T. Randall, Chabot College; Paul Sniderman, Stanford University; Karl A. Svenson, Fresno State College; and Richard von Pagenhardt, Naval Post-Graduate School.

Maxwell School Dinner

The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University held a very successful series of panels and an alumni dinner in Washington, D.C. on April 26. Over two hundred alumni and friends attended the event. Panel sessions included:

Activism and Unionism in the Public Services:
Seymore Strongin, Robert W. Iversen, Keven A. McKenna, Dale R. Collins, Dewitt C. Drohat, Ron D. White;

Reordering Priorities: The New Federalism, Revenue Sharing and Reorganization of the Executive Branch:

Norman Beckman, Guthrie S. Birkhead, William A. Morrill, Patrick Healy Jr, Bernard E. Hillenbrand, Edward H. Brown;

A Public Service Career: Satisfaction, Disappointments and Prospects:

Roscoe C. Martin, Cynthia Brown, Manlio F. DeAngelis, Jerome A. Miles, Harold Herman, Peter Rumsey;

Reducing America's International Commitments: Consequences for International Relations and Foreign Areas:

William D. Coplin, Andrew E. Rice, Lyle M.

Hansen, Ronald H. McDonald, Marshall H. Segall, Robert I. Crane, Irving Swerdlow;

New Development in Public Administration:
Dwight Waldo, Frank Marini

At the dinner meeting, the featured speaker was Robert C. Wood, a former Maxwell School faculty member and now President of the University of Massachusetts. He spoke on "Who Changes Government, Politicians? Intellectuals? Administrators?" Others who spoke at the dinner were Edward F. Preston, Chairman of the Alumni Committee; Melvin A. Eggers, Acting Chancellor, Syracuse University and Alan K. Campbell, Dean of the Maxwell School. A highlight of the evening was the presentation of the Syracuse University Centennial Medal to Spencer D. Parratt.

D.C. Political Science Association

The D.C. Political Science Association held two seminars this Spring on the organization and operation of the United States Congress. The first session was held on April 6, 1971. Senators John Tunney of California and Bill Brock of Tennessee were the guest speakers. As newly elected Senators who had served several terms in the House of Representatives, they were uniquely qualified to compare and contrast the decision-making processes of both Houses. A discussion was held on such matters as seniority, information retrieval systems, and the role of Congressional staffs.

In a follow-up to this discussion, a second seminar was held on May 8, 1971, in the Cannon House Office Building to discuss the impact of the Reorganization Act of 1971 on the responsiveness of the House of Representatives. Speakers were Congressmen Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota and Richard Bolling of Missouri. Among the panelists were Miss Pauline Neville-Jones First Secretary of the British Embassy, and Dr. Donald Robinson, Administrative Assistant to Congressman Henry Reuss and George Washington University Professor.

An election of officers for the Association was held for the academic year of 1971-72 and Warren Cikins, Executive Director of Former Members of Congress Organizations was reelected President; Morris Levitt of Howard University was elected First Vice President, and Walter E. Beach of the American Political Science Association was elected Second Vice President. Robert O. Sailer remains Secretary-Treasurer.

Symposium on Social Change in Sierra Leone

The University of Western Ontario, London, hosted a symposium May 7-9, 1971, for 17 participants and 10 observers representing several social science disciplines. It focused on the relationship between different aspects of social change in Sierra Leone.

The symposium, supported by the Canada Council and the Canadian International Development Agency, discussed papers prepared by participants on those aspects of their current work on Sierra Leone having broad theoretical relevance. Among the themes recurring most persistently in the discussion were the fluidity of so-called "tribal" identities, the adaptability of local political and social institutions in the face of exogenous change, and the constraints which limited the asymmetry of power relations between central and local institutions.

The symposium, organized by a steering committee consisting of John Cartwright, (University of Western Ontario), Milton Harvey, (Kent State University), Robert Jordan, (SUNY, Binghamton), and Kenneth Rothman, (Chatham College), provided a forum in which scholars are familiar with the same substantive material could bring their different perspectives to bear on each other's conceptualizations.

Political scientists participating in the symposium were Walter Barrows, Yale University; John Cartwright, University of Western Ontario; Robert Jordan, State University of New York, Binghamton; James Kingsland, Penn State University; and Mary Skinner, University of California, Berkeley. Observers were Douglas Anglin, Carleton University; André Lux, Université de Laval; and David Morrison, Trent University.

SUNY Conference on Comparative Politics

On April 2, the Center for Comparative Political Research of the State University of New York at Binghamton hosted an informal, day-long conference on Comparative Politics attended by political scientists from six SUNY institutions. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss ways in which greater coordination might be achieved with regard to both teaching and research in the field of comparative politics within the SUNY system. Among the topics discussed were: 1) opportunities for graduate students to avail themselves of courses and specialized training at institutions other than those in which

they are enrolled for degrees; 2) activities of the various research centers in the SUNY system, such as Binghamton's Center for Comparative Political Research, Buffalo's Survey Research Center, and Stony Brook's proposed European Studies Center; and 3) means of promoting SUNY-wide cooperation with regard to both undergraduate and graduate comparative studies abroad, focusing on Western Europe.

The Department of Political Science at SUNY-Binghamton provided a luncheon for the conference. Participants included: Buffalo—Vaughan Blankenship and Lester Milbrath; Stony Brook—Pertti Pesonen, Martin Travis, John Wahlke, and Rudolph Wildenmann; Brockport—William Andrews; Geneseo—Richard Farkas; Cortland—Henry Steck; Binghamton—Arthur Banks, Walter Filley, Robert Jordan, Sondra Koff, Edwin Rutkowski, Arthur Smith, and Otto Ulc. Also participating were Joseph Firestone, who will be joining the Binghamton faculty in the fall in a joint appointment with the Center for Comparative Political Research and the Department of Political Science; and David Carr, Ralph Nickell, and Ronald Sarner, who are graduate students in Political Science at Binghamton.

Kansas Political Science Association

The Spring meeting of the Kansas Association of Political Science was hosted by Kansas State University in Manhattan on April 16, 17, 1971. H. Pierre Secher, Kansas State University, served as Program Chairman.

The opening address was delivered by Professor Henry S. Kariel, University of Hawaii and was entitled, "The Caucus, the APSA and the Discipline."

The Saturday morning session consisted of a panel discussion on the "1971 Kansas Legislative Session." The panel members were: State Senator Richard Rogers, James Drury, head of the Legislative Research Council in Topeka, and John Ivan, Assistant to Governor Docking of Kansas. This panel was followed by an informal meeting with Congressman William Roy Democrat, 2nd Congressional District, Kansas, who was introduced by Louis H. Douglas. Approximately 65 political scientists from private colleges and state universities attended both sessions.

The Fall meeting will take place again as usual at the University of Kansas at Lawrence.

Conference on Urban Simulation Modeling

A Conference and Workshop on Urban Simulation Modeling was held on May 22 at Temple University. Approximately 50 people attended the Workshop, directed by Marshall H. Whithed and sponsored by the Department of Political Science, the Center for the Study of Federalism, and the Center for Community Studies at Temple.

The morning session was devoted to a consideration of a number of educational, teaching-oriented urban political simulation models now being used at Temple and elsewhere. Participants were able to get a "hands-on" feel through making entries through the computer terminal. Several of the simulations discussed can be operated in either manual or computer-assisted modes.

During the afternoon, several applied planning simulations were discussed, including the PROMUS (Provincial Municipal Simulator) system being developed for Toronto, Canada by Decision Sciences Corporation and FAP (Family Assistance Plan) simulation model developed by Auerbach Corporation. A group from the Regional Science Department at the University of Pennsylvania discussed their simulation work, which is oriented towards community participation and planning.

An URBAN SIMULATION MODELING HANDBOOK was prepared for the Workshop participants, and copies, while the supply lasts, are available through The Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, 1947 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19122. The cost is \$2.00 per copy.

It is anticipated that a more comprehensive compendium will be published through the Center within the next year. The person to contact for further details on the political and urban simulation projects at Temple University, as well as for details on possible future related conferences in the Philadelphia area, is Marshall H. Whithed, Director, Behavioral Simulation and Gaming Group, Department of Political Science, 1949 North Broad St., Temple University, Philadelphia, Penna. 19122

CAG-CUNY Colloquia on the Comparative Study of Urban Politics

During the Spring 1971 semester, four monthly colloquia were held at the Graduate Center of The City University of New York to discuss the comparative study of urban politics in four world regions. The series was organized and chaired by William John Hanna of CUNY; it was sponsored

jointly by the Comparative Administration Group of the American Society for Public Administration, and the Ph.D. Program in Political Science of The City University of New York.

The February 26 colloquium was devoted to a discussion of the comparative study of urban politics in the United States and featured a paper by Terry Clark of the University of Chicago and a counterpaper by Robert Alford of Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin. The March 19 colloquium, on Latin America, featured a paper by Clifford Kaufman of the University of Pennsylvania and a counterpaper by Joan Nelson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. The April 16 colloquium, on the Soviet Union and China, featured a paper by Michael B. Frolic of York University and a counterpaper by Jerry Hough of the University of Toronto. And the May 14 colloquium, on Western Europe, featured a paper by Michael Aiken of the University of Wisconsin and Mark Kesselman of Columbia University.

Forthcoming

Northeastern Political Science Association

The 1971 meeting of the North Eastern Political Science Association will be held at the Gideon Putnam Hotel, Saratoga Spring, New York, November 4-6, 1971.

Chairman of the Program Committee is Walter Filley, Department of Political Science, SUNY, Binghamton, Binghamton, New York 13901.

The Preliminary Program for the Meeting includes:

Friday, November 5, 1971—10 a.m. to 12 noon

Panel 1: American Politics

Nathan Hakman, SUNY—Binghamton
"Political Trail: A Challenges of Systematic Political Inquiry into Politics in the Legal Order."

Panel 2: Comparative Politics

Donald Kelley, Monmouth Colleges
"Interest Group Activity in the Soviet Union."

Panel 3: International Politics

Michael Glantz, Lafayette College
"Foreign Involvement in Violet Political Revolutions."

Friday, November 5, 1971—2 p.m. to 4 p.m.

Panel 4: American Politics

Edgar Litt, University of Connecticut
"The Political Effects of Schools and Schooling."

Panel 5: Comparative Politics

K. B. Sayeed, Queens University
"Policy-Making in Pakistan."

William Klecka, Northwestern University
"Rational Voting Behavior: Great Britain, U.S., Canada and Australia."

Panel 6: International Politics

John Herz, City College—CUNY
West Germany Ostpolitik, "Antecedents, Problems, Prospects."

Panel 7: Francis Canava, S. J., Fordham University
"A Philosophical Consideration of Due Process."

Friday, November 5, 1971

4:15-5:15 p.m. Business Meeting

7:00 p.m. Dinner

Address of Heinz Eulau, Stanford University,
President, American Political Science Association, 1971-72

"Technology and the Fear of Politics."

Saturday, November 6, 1971—10 a.m. to 12 noon

Panel 8: American Politics

John J. Harrigan, Hamline University
"Militancy as an Analytic Criterion of Black Leadership."

Panel 9: Comparative Politics

Sandra Shaber, University of Pennsylvania
"Protest in France."

William Keim, University of Pennsylvania
"Political Ferment: The Philippines."

Panel 10: International Politics

Walker Connor, SUNY—Brockport
"Nation Building or Nation Destroying."

Panel 11: Political Theory

Ira L. Strauber, Brown University
"Paradigms: Behaviorism, Phenomenology and the Philosophy of Political Science."

Third Conference on Baltic Studies

The third conference on Baltic Studies will be held at the University of Toronto, Canada from May 11 to 14, 1972. The conference, co-sponsored by the University of Toronto and the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies follows two earlier conferences of the Baltic Studies group in 1968 and 1970.

Baltic Studies scholars and others who wish to participate in the 1972 conference should submit abstracts of their proposed papers depending on the area to William L. Winter, Department of History, Central Connecticut State College, New Britain, Connecticut 06050 (History) or to Rein Taagepera, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, California 92664 (Social Sciences, including political science and economics). The Program Chairman for the meeting is Mardi Valgemae, Department of English, Herbert H. Lehman College, City University of New York, Bronx, New York, 10468.

Dissent in the Soviet Union Conference

McMaster University's Interdepartmental Committee on Communist and East European Affairs will sponsor a conference on October 22 and 23, 1971 at McMaster University on Dissent in the Soviet Union. Speakers will include: Frederick C.

Barghoorn, Yale, Bohdan Bociurkiw, Carleton, Antonin Liehm, CUNY Roman Szporluk, Michigan, Basil Thompson, Toronto and Wolfgang Leonhard, Yale. For further information contact R. H. Johnston, Program Chairman, Department of History, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

New England Political Science Association

The New England Political Science Association will meet April 21-22, 1972 at the University of Rhode Island. Individuals wishing to participate in the Program should contact the Association's President, Josephine F. Milburn, Department of Political Science, University of Rhode Island, Kingston, Rhode Island, 02881. An outline of the Program includes: Communist Systems: Donald Carlisle, Boston College; New England Politics—Presidential Primaries: George Goodwin, Massachusetts, Boston; Data Retrieval: George Little, Vermont; Public Law and Reform: Clem Vose, Wesleyan; State Politics: Samuel Beer, Harvard; Trends in Theory: Lowell Field, Connecticut; German Politics: George Romoser, New Hampshire; and Peter Breit, Hartford; Placement Services; Marvin D. Rintala, Boston College.

Gaming Council Symposium

A Decade of Gaming-Simulation will be the theme of the tenth annual symposium of the National Gaming Council to be held at the University of Michigan on October 7, 8 and 9.

The program will include panel representations on current gaming-simulation programs, new developments in the field, and proposed applications of simulation techniques to problems in a variety of areas. Open seminars will be held on topics of such as evaluation of gaming-simulation, simulation as an approach to social science research, and simulation as a classroom laboratory. Demonstrations of gaming—simulation instruments will also be featured. For further information write to Richard D. Dake, Director of the Environmental Simulation Laboratory, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48104.

Research Communication

To the Editor:

Since 1964, the Institute of Governmental Studies has undertaken studies of Ombudsman offices and other related grievance machinery. The Ombudsman Activities Project is currently supported by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Principal investigator of the project is Stanley Anderson, of the Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara. Professor Anderson has studied Ombudsman offices and proposals in Scandinavia, the Commonwealth countries, and the United States.

Other faculty members from the Santa Barbara campus are also engaged in the project. Professor Dean Mann is studying the Governor's Branch Offices in Pennsylvania. Professor Alan Wyner has begun a study of four grievance mechanisms in the Chicago area: the Governor's Branch Offices, the Ombudsman function of the Lt. Governor, the Chicago office of Inquiry and Information, and the Chicago Registrar of Citizens' Complaints. He will also study the OEO-supported Citizens' Aide appointed by the Governor of Iowa.

Professor John Moore is completing a monograph on the first American State Ombudsman office in Hawaii. He will also study two new Ombudsman offices in Nebraska and Seattle/King County, both supported initially by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Professor Philip Hannon of Skidmore College is investigating the Ombudsman activities of the Nassau County, Long Island, Commissioner of Accounts, and Mr. Douglas Capps has interned in the office of the Executive Ombudsman appointed by the Governor of Oregon.

Tentatively, the Ombudsman Activities Project has verified that an independent, impartial and expert Ombudsman is compatible with American political systems, and that this office can contribute to both the resolution of grievances and the improvement of government administration. Further analysis of the nature and extent of that contribution should demonstrate which grievance mechanisms or combinations of mechanisms are most appropriate for differing governmental and semi-governmental functions. The Project will also attempt to ascertain how public attitudes toward government responsiveness are affected by different complaint handling procedures.

Scholars who have conducted or are conducting related research are invited to communicate with the Institute through the Ombudsman Activities

Project coordinator, Assistant Director Stanley Scott, or with Professor Anderson.

Eugene C. Lee

Director

Institute of Governmental Studies
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

Communications

To the Editor:

I write this to take sharp exception to some of the conclusions reached by Ladd and Lipset in *The Politics of American Political Scientists* which betrays the typical "in house" bias and faulty perceptive apparatus of "clubby" political scientists. I refer to their attempt to correlate "career in academe" as an independent variable with the dependent variable conservative and liberal bias on both national-international issues and campus activism.

They correctly describe the factors that make intellectuals critical of the status quo. But *then* they associate "scholarship" with intellectuality and criticism of the status quo! In their words, "academics the most involved in creative scholarship—and thus the most engaged in the work of the intellectual" are "the most liberal politically" (my italics). Correspondingly, they hypothesize that those most successful in research and publication should be the most resistant to change within the campus. In a neat, perhaps unintended way, liberalism nationally is okay because the "haves" support it, but campus activism is suspect because the "academic proletariat," the privates of the profession, have impure motives!

Then, of course, the authors rather snidely and subtly inject the dagger.

All this gives loose support, then, to the conclusion that scholarly members of the profession are pushed by their intellectuality to a more critical position in national controversies; but as more successful academic men have a greater stake in the university status quo and hence in campus politics are less 'liberal.'

Nonsense, gentlemen. The problem with all survey data is that it seldom explains itself. While not arguing the point that their data may "prove" that "successful" academics are more "liberal" I doubt if any data can prove that this is due to any greater "intellectuality," which is something that is highly subjective, except perhaps to Messrs. Lipset and Ladd. Publication is a matter of fads, trends, fortune, hard work, etc. "Workmanship" often counts more than "intellectuality," especially in journals which worship at the bier of technique and I find it surprising that two political scientists are unaware of this.

As for the greater liberalism the authors found, I have a few "homelier" and less "supportive"

observations I could use to explain this. Academics at big schools are in a mutually reinforcing community, immune to a greater extent from the more conservative community outside the campus than their less "insulated" brethren. Also, greater deviance in opinion from the outside "norm" is tolerated because of the impersonality and anonymity of large universities as much as anything else. The same could be said of cities like New York. New York cab drivers, as anyone knows who cares to talk to them, are no more liberal than rustic types; it's just that in large metropolitan centers to a great extent anonymity protects eccentricity. The authors conveniently forget the extent to which political or social opinions depend greatly on social support and sustenance. This is available in large universities which are a microcosm of urban America (often drawing in disproportionately large numbers of urban "types") and inject part of this urban culture into an often hostile "hinterland."

I suspect that there may be other reasons for "liberalism" on national issues, but certainly these are more complex than the absurdly misleading research and creative scholarship—intellectuality—liberalism. As for campus activism, it is of course "self-evident" that those who benefit from a present reward system locally are less willing to change it, and I don't find *that* particularly startling though I do feel that this "conventional wisdom" is terribly short sighted.

Roger Hamburg

Indiana University at South Bend

To The Editor:

On January 22nd, Evron Kirkpatrick, APSA Executive Director, sent out a two-page letter to all department heads, calling their attention to the wording of the Association's anti-nepotism and part-time professional employment resolutions. It noted that the members of the Association had also passed a resolution calling upon the Association to "seek legal funds for members who wish to file sex discrimination charges with the OFCC under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375." Dr. Kirkpatrick's letter closes by asking the department heads "to forward information they may have on cases of discrimination on the basis of sex."

Although this request for data on alleged cases of sex discrimination is for the purpose of seeking foundation funds to help women, I must question

the effectiveness of this procedure for implementing resolutions on the status of women in the profession. Isn't the Association, in fact, asking the persons most likely to be responsible for, or condoning, discriminatory practices to publically confess, stating how many times they have sinned? Isn't it somewhat absurd to believe that by such a disclosure these offenders will magically mend their ways? Tell us, Dr. Kirkpatrick, how many responses have you gotten?

How then to proceed? The APSA needs a staff person totally devoted to encouraging minorities in the profession that, among other things, can proceed with discretion to instigate for example, suits with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of HEW when charges against a department (or university) are lodged. In other words, the Association should work to lessen the constraints upon a complainee who fears that starting a procedure against a department is tantamount to throwing a career away. Yet this procedure will not work as long as the APSA appears to be an "establishment" organization, which operates for the benefit of those against whom charges would most likely be brought. Although the Women's Caucus knows of several cases of discrimination, none of these have been brought to the attention of the APSA for the Caucus cannot find a complainee who will trust the Association to protect her anonymity, let alone to act in her behalf.

The APSA can take the first steps toward changing its image in the eyes of many members of the profession by reassessing its priorities. Presently faced with a severe financial crisis, the Association rips whole programs from its ledger book by following the traditional guideline, "last hired, first fired." Long-standing programs stay, while the discipline's new range of activities suffers. This approach is justified by a majority on the Executive Council who assert that the APSA is a general membership organization that misuses its funds when it supports activities benefiting small, special groups. It is to be noted, however, that those so arguing are the elite who dominate the profession, and who benefit most from the traditional allocation of funds—by the Association as well as foundations. In this sense, the majority faction is as much a special interest as any other minority group with the profession. The question, then, is not who speaks for the general membership, but which special interests are to be fed? Can the Association afford to sacrifice further work on advancing the status of minorities in the profession, while continuing to operate, for

example, the Study of Congress project under a Carnegie Corporation grant, which to date has contributed 15 studies, by a homogeneous group of males, and has plans for another 11 studies by these same persons?

The "politics of exclusion" which denies new interests in the profession the opportunity to participate in the Association and benefit from it thwarts the very mandate under which the Association operates: to encourage minorities into the profession. Moreover, it garners their mistrust, and fails to take advantage of an opportunity to increase our discipline's knowledge. At stake is the very nature of the Association. A professional association should sensitize its members to new aspects of the discipline; and it should initiate these new inputs, not merely respond after they have come into being. Are only self-supporting groups going to be allowed into the profession? Are disadvantaged groups, which are often non-self-supporting, going to be denied into the Association for that reason? In short, who is going to determine what is an essential activity of the profession?

Katherine M. Klotzburger

National Chairwoman,
Women's Caucus for Political Science

To The Editor:

A letter in *PS* last winter seeking to find political scientist interested in American Indians brought a number of replies. Two newsletters incorporating information from these replies have been sent to interested persons, and will be sent to anyone writing the undersigned, at the Department of Political Science, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada 89507. We would particularly like to hear from American Indians who are or might become political scientists.

Elmer R. Rusco

University of Nevada

To The Editor:

At the last Council meeting, it seemed refreshing to hear the proposed 1972 convention program presented as a return to a conventional pattern. A shameless exercise in banality appeared to have its uses. Still, I don't think I am alone in being troubled by the Council's failure to ponder the arrangements being made. I don't see why the

Council or one of its committees might not *discuss* ways of changing the pattern of the annual convention so that we might gradually begin to respond to widely made criticisms.

To start moving away from what has become an unwieldy, disaffecting, if not monstrous affair, we could perhaps attempt two things at once: (1) encourage the meeting of specialized groups within the profession in conjunction with the Convention and (2) confine the Convention itself to activities concerned with professional interests generally.

The national office might facilitate the simultaneous meeting of the growing number of disparate specialized groups such as the Association for Asian Studies, the Conference for the Study of Political Thought, the Communist Studies Group, the Committee on Comparative Politics, the Society for International Law, and the society for Legal and Political Theory. Supporting these groups, each of which would be responsible for its own program, would mean arranging for space in various hotels in the convention city, printing a common program, reserving time for such central convention affairs as the business meeting, and offering whatever services might be required by the individual groups.

At the center, the convention itself would provide the occasion for meetings, workshops, and panels restricted to subjects which touch on the *shared* concerns of the entire Association membership—*common* problems of methodology, teaching, professional ethics, research support, and APSA business.

What I am urging should allow us to disprove the notion that everything must get worse before it gets better. It should allow us to proceed piecemeal, to begin in 1972 to encourage and facilitate the coordinated meetings of specialized groups.

Henry S. Kariel
University of Hawaii

To The Editor:

The note by Gerald Benjamin "On Making Teaching 'U' " in *PS*, IV, No. 1 is important and valuable for the future of Political Science as an academic discipline. Benjamin makes several suggestions to give teaching more recognition within the profession (pp. 46-47).

Given the state of the Political Science profession and the academic world in general in 1971 perhaps the most fruitful of his suggestions for immediate action would be that concerning student evaluation. The lack of recognition for teaching in existing professional norms makes it unlikely the graduate schools could be persuaded to add courses on teaching to already crowded programs or that graduate students would take such courses, if added, with the seriousness they deserve. Colleague evaluation would probably be too expensive in terms of the tension and anxiety that it would produce to be immediately useful. But the idea may be fruitful in the long run. The use of external examination to measure the impact of specific courses (or teachers?) would be administratively difficult. Perhaps the Undergraduate Record Exam in Political Science published by ETS could be used as a start in this direction to provide, in conjunction with their aptitude tests, a means of ranking departments.

In any event, it seems important not to overlook one thing. However we are to recognize teaching effectiveness or ability it would have to be done on a nation-wide basis for only then could it be used as a supplement to the already existing "publish or perish" norms. Evaluation which allows only for local comparison within a given department or school can hardly help to persuade those Political Scientists with more "cosmopolitan" outlooks to concentrate on their teaching.

We are entering an era when teaching is finally to be given more recognition and it would behoove the Council of the Association and the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction to begin to make meaningful and concrete suggestions in these areas. Perhaps the first would be an attempt to develop an instrument for student evaluation. Would they be able to do so by September of this year or by September of 1972 so that it could be discussed and approved at the annual meeting? And if such an instrument was developed, would the Association begin to put its money where its mouth is by rewarding those who rank high on its instrument?

William D. Muller
New York State University College, Fredonia

News and Notes

Activities

Marvin Alisky, Arizona State University will be on sabbatical leave for the first semester of 1971-72 in Lima working on a book on Peruvian politics. He was a visiting professor of political science at the University of California, Irvine, during the 1971 summer session.

Robert H. Bates, California Institute of Technology, is returning this year to the Institute for Social Research of the University of Zambia to conduct a study of the effects of urban migration on rural development. He received an award from the National Institute of Health.

Joel S. Berke, Syracuse University, has been awarded a study and travel grant from the Ford Foundation to support research into the financial and political factors bearing on the achievement of equal educational opportunity. The grant will last from September 1971 until May 1972. During that time, he will be a visiting scholar at the Center for Advanced Studies at Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. and the School of Education of Stanford University in Palo Alto, California.

James Brown, Southern Methodist University was awarded a Faculty Fellowship for the fall of 1971 to continue his research in Greece on the concept of professionalism of the Greek officer corps.

Charles E. Butterworth, University of Maryland, has been awarded a Fulbright-Hayes Lectureship to France. He will spend one semester in Bordeaux and one semester in Grenoble as a lecturer in political philosophy. He has also received a three-month research grant from the American Research Center in Egypt which will permit him to spend time in Cairo preparing a book he is writing on the political teaching of Averroes.

W. R. Campbell, Miami University (Ohio), has been awarded a grant to begin a detailed investigation into the nature of politics and of the political experience.

James D. Carroll, Ohio State University, has been appointed a member of the Grants Task Force of the United States Commission on Government Procurement. He also has been serving as a consultant to the Research and Development Study Group of the Commission.

James B. Christoph, Indiana University, will be on research leave in Great Britain during the 1971-72 academic year.

Frank T. Colon, Lehigh University, directed the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government at Lehigh from June 21 to July 23. He will be on sabbatical leave during the Fall 1971 semester as a postdoctoral fellow at the Federal Executive Institute at the University of Virginia.

Frank C. Darling, DePauw University, will be on special leave during the 1971-72 year to serve on the civilian faculty at the National War College in Washington, D.C.

Robert E. Eagle, Ohio University, will be teaching at the University of Montana, Missoula, during 1971-72. For the past three summers he has been a staff member of the NSF Institute in Mass Political Communication at Ohio University.

Roland Ebel, Tulane University, will be on sabbatical leave during fall 1971.

Zillah Ruth Eisenstein, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, has been awarded a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship for 1971-72. Her dissertation topic is "Women and Work Life: Political and Social Consciousness."

Robert Fagaly, Jr., University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, has been appointed by HEW Secretary Elliott L. Richardson, to the technical Committee on Planning of the White House Conference on Aging.

Richard A. Falk, was elected one of the vice presidents on the American Society of International Law at its Annual Meeting May 1.

Peter J. Fliess, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, will be director of the University of Massachusetts program at Freiburg University and also serve as Guest Professor, 1971-72.

Charles Gati, Union College, received the outstanding faculty member of 1971 award. During the 1971-72 year he will serve as Senior Fellow at Columbia University's Research Institute on Communist Affairs; his research is co-sponsored by the Institute and by the American Council on Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

John S. Gillespie, Tulane University, will be on sabbatical leave during spring 1972.

Sheldon Goldman, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, will be on sabbatical leave during the fall semester 1971. He will be conducting research on the politics and policy-making of the U.S. Courts of Appeals.

Darrell P. Hammer, Indiana University, will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester 1971-72.

Iliya F. Harik, Indiana University, will be on sabbatical leave during the 1971-72 academic year. He has also been awarded a Fulbright-Hayes grant to engage in research in North Africa and the Middle East.

Caryl P. Haskins, Carnegie Institution of Washington, was elected to the Board of Review and Development of the American Society of International Law.

John Herz, The City College of the City University of New York, was on sabbatical leave during the 1970-71 fall semester.

William I. Jones, Oberlin College, has been named an International Affairs fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations for 1971-72. While on leave, he will study local social and economic effects of the introduction of high-yielding grain varieties in Mexico, Kenya, the Philippines.

Thomas C. Karis, The City College of the City University of New York, was on sabbatical leave during the spring semester of 1971.

Evron M. Kirkpatrick, American Political Science Association, presented an address, "The Political Scientist and Public Policy," at the installation dinner for new members of the American University Beta Psi Chapter of Phi Sigma Alpha.

Sondra Koff, SUNY, Binghamton, will be on leave the 1971-72 academic year. She has been awarded a Fulbright Faculty Research Fellowship to study at the University of Rome, Italy.

Harold D. Lasswell, Yale Law School and John Jay College of Criminal Justice, was re-elected President of the American Society of International Law at its Annual Meeting May 1.

John P. Lovell, Indiana University, will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester, 1971-72.

Hamid Mowlana, American University, was awarded a National Science Foundation summer research grant for working on interpersonal perception and the decision-making process.

Vincent Ostrom, Indiana University, will be on sabbatical leave during the 1971-72 academic year.

Pertti Pesonen, SUNY, Stony Brook, and the University of Tampere (Finland), organized and chaired the panel, "Problems and Methodology of Social Research in Scandinavia," for the first Scandinavian Social Science Symposium at the University of Kentucky, May 7-8, 1971.

Jack Plano, Western Michigan University has been awarded a visiting fellowship for the 1971-72 academic year at the University of Sussex in England. He will conduct a research project aimed at studying the political implications of the role of international organizations in developing and implementing policies and programs to protect the ocean environment.

Richard C. Remy, Associate Director of the APSA Political Science Education Project, has been awarded a grant from the Spencer Foundation Northwestern University program for Interdisciplinary Research in Education for research on "The Development of Children's Orientations Towards Multiple Levels of Political Systems."

Mariou Righini, was re-elected May 1 as Editor of INTERNATIONAL LEGAL MATERIALS, a publication of the American Society of International Law.

Karl W. Ryavec, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, was selected as a Research Fellow, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1970-71.

Guenther Schaefer, SUNY, Binghamton, has been on leave the 1970-71 academic year as a visiting professor at the University of Konstanz, Germany. While abroad, he lectured at the University of Mannheim and conducted research on aspects of urban politics in Western Europe.

Zdenek J. Slouka, Columbia University, has been appointed visiting associate research political

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Activities

scientist at the Center for Marine Affairs, Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California, La Jolla, summer 1971.

Charles L. Taylor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, will be on leave during 1971-72 to accept a Fulbright lectureship at the University of Strathclyde, Scotland.

Oto Uic, SUNY, Binghamton, will be on leave the fall semester 1971 to engage in a comparative study of the Communist international politics of Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia.

Ellis Waldron, University of Montana, is a gubernatorial appointee to the Montana Constitutional Convention Commission and chairman of its research committee. The Commission is preparing for a constitutional convention to be elected in November, 1971.

York Willbern, Indiana University, will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester, 1971-72.

Warren Weinstein, State University College, Oswego received a New York State faculty Research Fellowship for the summer 1971 to do research on political protest in Central Africa.

Francis D. Wormuth, University of Utah, received a Distinguished Research Professorship for 1971-72.

Staff Changes

New Appointments

Chadwick F. Alger, professor, Ohio State University; formerly of Northwestern University.

Edward Azar, associate professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; formerly of Michigan State University.

Enrique Baloyra, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, formerly of the University of Florida.

Carolyn K. Ban, assistant professor, Ohio State University.

Walter L. Barrows, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Robert M. Bigler, associate professor, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

James W. Clarke, associate professor, University of Arizona; formerly of Florida State University.

Aage R. Clausen, associate professor, Ohio State University; formerly of the University of Wisconsin.

Wayne A. Cornelius, Jr., assistant professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and research associate, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University; formerly of Stanford University.

Frederick Damaske, associate professor, Saint Louis University.

Patrick L. Eagan, assistant professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; formerly of California State College at San Bernardino.

Murray Edelman, George Herbert Mead Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Norman J. Fogel, assistant professor, University of Dayton; formerly of Ohio State University.

Carl J. Friedrich, Avalon Professor of Political Science, Colby College; formerly of Harvard University.

Norman S. Furniss, lecturer, Indiana University.

George Gant, professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Stuart Graham, program associate, New York Legislative Commission on Expenditure Review.

Joseph Haberer, associate professor, Purdue University; formerly of Rutgers University.

Willis D. Hawley, assistant professor, Yale University.

W. Kenneth Howard, assistant professor, University of Dayton; formerly of the University of Arizona.

Arnold Kanter, assistant professor, Ohio State University.

Harvey F. Kline, assistant professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Susan J. Koch, assistant professor, University of Connecticut.

John W. Lederle, Joseph B. Ely Professor of Government, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; formerly president of the University of Massachusetts.

Naomi B. Lynn, Kansas State University; formerly of Central Missouri State College.

Alvin Magid, associate professor, the City University of New York, Lehman College.

Louis Malsel II, instructor, Colby College; formerly of Barnard College.

Arthur H. Miller, assistant professor, Ohio State University.

Richard O. Miller, assistant professor, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Frank Munger, professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; formerly of the University of Florida.

William T. Murphy, Jr., assistant professor, Brown University; formerly of Princeton University.

G. Wayne Peak, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Warren R. Phillips, associate professor, Ohio State University; formerly of the University of Hawaii.

Steven Puro, assistant professor, Saint Louis University.

George Rabinowitz, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; formerly of the University of Michigan.

Donald L. Reinken, senior lecturer, Victoria University; formerly of the University of Chicago.

Patrick Riley, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Alan Ritter, associate professor, Indiana University; formerly of the University of Virginia.

Paul Roazen, associate professor, York University, Ontario; formerly of Harvard University.

Sydney Rosen, assistant professor, Colby College; formerly of San Diego State College.

Paul M. Sacks, instructor, Colby College; formerly of UCLA.

Richard D. Shingles, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Stephen Staub, assistant professor, University of Alabama; formerly of Indiana University.

Jurg Steiner, professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; formerly of the University of Mannheim and Geneva.

William Stevenson, instructor, Wisconsin State University, Whitewater.

Marianna P. Sullivan, assistant professor, Trenton State College.

Bert Swanson, professor, University of Florida; formerly of Sarah Lawrence College.

A. Robert Thoeny, associate professor, Memphis State University; formerly of the United States Air Force Academy.

Stuart J. Thorson, assistant professor, Ohio State University.

Karl O. Vezner, instructor, University of Toledo.

Thomas Volgy, assistant professor, University of Arizona.

Mary B. Welfling, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

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Staff Changes

Thomas Wolanin, assistant professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Visiting and Temporary Appointments

Joel M. Fisher, California State College, Fullerton; visiting professor, 1971 summer semester, Georgetown University.

Theodore Lowi, University of Chicago; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, fall 1971.

Duncan MacRae, University of Chicago; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, joint appointment in political science and sociology, 1971-72.

James Nathan, lecturer, Indiana University, 1971-72.

Amir Rafat, acting head, DePauw University, 1971-72.

York Willbern, Indiana University; professor, University of Texas, fall semester, 1971-72.

George V. Wolfe, visiting professor, Millsaps College, 1971-72.

Administrative Appointments

Millicent D. Abell, Assistant director of libraries, University of Washington.

Dean Alfange, Jr., dean, Faculty of Behavioral and Social Sciences, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Randolph Braham, chairman, The City College of the City University of New York.

Paul H. DeForest, acting chairman, Illinois Institute of Technology.

Alfred Diamant, director, West European Studies, Indiana University.

Robert V. Edington, associate professor and chairman of international relations, James Madison College, Michigan State University; formerly of the University of Waterloo, Canada.

Daryl R. Fair, chairman, Trenton State College.

Alan Fieillin, associate dean, the City College of the City University of New York.

John V. Gillespie, director of graduate studies, Indiana University.

Ralph M. Goldman, chairman, San Francisco State College.

Glen Gordon, chairman, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Charles J. Graham, president, St. Cloud State College, Minnesota; formerly acting chairman, Wisconsin State University, Whitewater.

H. Gaylon Greenhill, vice president and dean of faculties, Wisconsin State University, Whitewater; formerly acting dean, College of Letters and Sciences.

William John Hanna, chairman, Lehman College of CUNY; chairman, Committee on Research Policy, Graduate Division of CUNY.

Claude E. Hawley, vice president, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York.

Virginia Kemp, assistant vice-president for Academic Affairs, State University College of New York, Geneseo.

Robert E. Keohane, dean, Shimer College.

Louis Loeb, chairman, Luther College; formerly of American University.

Tom Mongar, chairman and associate professor, University of North Florida, Jacksonville; formerly of University of Montana.

John Kie-chiang Oh, chairman, Marquette University.

David J. Olson, director of undergraduate studies, Indiana University.

Charles J. Parrish, chairman, Wayne State University; formerly of the University of Texas at Austin.

James R. Roach, vice-provost for arts and sciences and dean of interdisciplinary programs, University of Texas, Austin.

Robert Sharlet, director, Program in Comparative Communist Studies, Union College.

Promotions

Lyndon E. Abbott, University of Dayton: associate professor.

Edward W. Arian, Drexel University: associate professor.

Harriet F. Berger, Drexel University: associate professor.

Hilman Bishop, The City College of the City University of New York: professor.

Larry W. Bowman, University of Connecticut: assistant professor.

Randolph Braham, The City College of the City University of New York: professor.

Philip M. Burgess, Ohio State University: professor.

John R. Champlin, Ohio State University: associate professor.

George F. Cole, University of Connecticut: associate professor.

William E. Connolly, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: associate professor.

Jack Dennis, University of Wisconsin, Madison: professor.

Marion E. Doro, Connecticut College: professor.

Dennis Dresang, University of Wisconsin, Madison: assistant professor.

John V. Gillespie, Indiana University: associate professor.

Donald R. Hall, University of Arizona: associate professor.

Philip J. Hannon, Skidmore College: associate professor.

James E. Harf, Ohio State University: assistant professor.

Robert C. Jacobs, Central Washington State College: associate professor.

Bernard K. Johnpoll, State University of New York, Albany: professor.

Ray E. Johnston, Wayne State University: associate professor.

A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point: associate professor.

Kay L. Lawson, San Francisco State College: associate professor.

John Lin, State University College of New York, New Paltz: professor.

James W. Lindeen, University of Toledo: associate professor.

John P. Lovell, Indiana University: professor.

Lewis C. Mainzer, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: professor.

Theodore W. Meckstroth, Ohio State University: assistant professor.

Jerome M. Mileur, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: assistant professor.

Hamid Mowlana, American University: professor.

Carlos Munoz, Jr., University of California, Irvine: assistant professor.

William E. Nelson, Jr., Ohio State University: assistant professor.

John Kie-chiang Oh, Marquette University: professor.

David J. Olson, Indiana University: assistant professor.

Raymond D. Pomerleau, San Francisco State College: associate professor.

John E. Schwarz, University of Arizona: associate professor.

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Staff Changes

Donald Searing, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: associate professor.

Robert Shanley, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: associate professor.

Ira Sharkansky, University of Wisconsin, Madison: professor.

Robert Sharlet, Union College: associate professor.

Matthew F. Stolz, San Francisco State College: associate professor.

Max B. Thatcher, University of Connecticut: professor.

Edwin Van Bruggen, DePauw University: assistant professor.

Eugene D. Weinstein, San Francisco State College: associate professor.

Theodore P. Wright, State University of New York, Albany: professor.

Retirements

Keener C. Frazer, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

James L. McCamy, professor emeritus, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Charles Robson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Correction

In the Spring issue of *PS* under new appointments, Keon Soo Chi of Georgetown College, Ky. was incorrectly listed as Professor; he should have been listed as Assistant Professor. *PS* regrets the error.

1971 Annual Dissertation List

The 1971 Annual Dissertation list will be published in the Fall 1971 issue of *PS*.

PS will welcome items for the News and Notes Section from individuals and departments. Deadlines for submission are September 15; December 15; March 15; and June 15. Items received too late for one issue will automatically be printed in the following issue.

In Memoriam

Elmer Eric Schattschneider

E. E. Schattschneider—seminal writer on American politics, compelling teacher, irrepressible raconteur, guiding force in professional associations, and political activist—died on March 4, 1971. "Schatt," who was 78, went without pain in high spirits. He was about to talk about Congress to a civic group in Old Saybrook, Connecticut. As an emeritus professor after 1960, he enjoyed a flourishing retirement. He had published an enthusiastically reviewed book *Two Hundred Million Americans in Search of a Government*, in 1969. At Wesleyan University he taught a course entitled "Politics in the Year 2000" in the 1969-70 academic year. His work in progress at the time of his death was wholly in character with a lifetime of thought and action—a reassessment of American political institutions.

Schattschneider was born in Bethany, Minnesota, August 11, 1892. He spent his early years in Wisconsin, absorbing the Progressivism that informed his many contributions. After a year at Moravian College to satisfy a paternal wish, he transferred to the University of Wisconsin where his 1915 B.A. stood for study with John R. Commons and E. A. Ross, a visit to Hull House and a charter subscription to the *New Republic*. YMCA work and the Navy behind him, he chose to be a high school teacher for eight years, then moved to college teaching with a Pittsburgh M.A. and Columbia Ph.D.

After teaching at Columbia from 1927-30 while working on his doctorate and at New Jersey College for Women in 1929-30, he moved to Wesleyan in 1930. For thirty years thereafter he chose to teach Wesleyan undergraduates, continuing in his emeritus years to join exuberantly in social, intellectual, and teaching aspects of the Wesleyan Government Department he had founded. At Wesleyan, he played an important role in founding an interdisciplinary Public Affairs Center. Schatt applied his imagination to education in politics and introduced workshops, Washington trips, summer study grants, government internships, field work and interdepartmental seminars, years before these modes gained wide popularity. His style in these matters is partially registered in two handbooks for student research, *A Guide to the Study of Public Affairs* with Stephen K. Bailey and Victor Jones (1952) and *Local Political Surveys* with Victor Jones (1962).

Schattschneider's best known books were *Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff* (1935), *Party Government* (1940), and *The Semisovereign People* (1960). The first of these was an important influence on the "group approaches" to the study of politics during the post-war years. The second, along with *Toward A More Responsible Two-Party System*—the 1950 report of Schattschneider's Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association—dominated discussions of American party politics throughout the 1950s and has influenced recent efforts to develop deductive "economic" models of politics. *The Semisovereign People* has been an important source of theory and hypothesis about political conflict, and therefore has repeatedly been drawn upon by contemporary analysts of American politics.

Among Schattschneider's many Connecticut governmental and political activities were memberships in the Middletown City Council, on the Charter Commission of his retirement home, the town of Old Saybrook, on the State Election Laws Commission, on the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration and on the State Board of Pardons, as well as many informal consulting relationships with a wide variety of state political figures.

As a proudly professional political scientist, he served as Vice President of the APSA in 1953 and President in 1956-57. Throughout the 1950s he was a central figure in the Citizenship Clearing House (later called the National Center for Education in Politics). The CCH policy of seeking to involve students in politics was consistent with Schattschneider's many efforts over the years at Wesleyan to encourage students to study their own communities, Congressional districts and states and to engage in summer study or take political internships. In these activities—and more so in his unerring eye for seeing the main contours of a problem and his endlessly creative ear for metaphor—he was "relevant" long before that overworked term came into use.

Mere academic writing will not capture Schatt's personal qualities, but the following passages of his own vivid prose give some sense of the man and of the extraordinary continuity of his life purposes:

The philosophy of the attempt made in these pages is that the forces brought to bear on democratic government are not wholly beyond conscious

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control. The subject is, therefore, one of the greatest in modern politics. To manage pressures is to govern; to let pressures run wild is to abdicate. (Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff, 1935, pp. 292-293.)

The classical definition of democracy left a great, unexplored, undiscovered breach in the theory of modern government, the zone between the sovereign people and the government which is the habitat of the parties. The parties occupy a blind spot in the theory of democracy . . . The only way to discover the parties is to revise the definition of democracy. (Party Government, 1940, p. 15.)

One implication of public opinion studies ought to be resisted by all friends of freedom and democracy; the implication that democracy is a failure because the people are too ignorant to answer intelligently all the questions asked by the pollsters. This is a professorial invention for imposing professorial standards on the political system and deserves to be treated with extreme suspicion. Only a pedagogue would suppose that the people must pass some kind of examination to qualify for participation in a democracy. Who, after all, are these self-appointed censors who assume that they are in a position to flunk the whole human race? Their attitude would be less presumptuous if they could come up with a list of things that people must know. Who can say what the man on the street must know about public affairs? The whole theory of knowledge underlying these assumptions is pedantic. Democracy was made for the people, not the people for democracy. Democracy is something for ordinary people, a political system designed to be sensitive to the needs of ordinary people regardless of whether or not the pedants approve of them. (The Semisovereign People, 1960, p. 135.)

What is government? From the outside it looks like a security system based on the marriage of land and people. From the inside, it looks like and attempts to create a community. A government is like an oyster, hard on the outside and soft on the inside, and the outside and inside are utterly dependent on each other. . . . The greatest miscalculations we make are about democracy itself, the illusion that we might have democracy without government. The pools of quiet that grew up within the communities in the shelters have been the nurseries of democracy. Because there were many governments, there were many sources, but the hard knot of the subject is that

democracy is a government in the fullest sense of the word and the cause of government is also the cause of democracy. People who do not know what government is are not likely to know what democracy is either, for democracy is only what the soft inside of the oyster looks like. (Two Hundred Million Americans in Search of a Government, 1969, pp. 24; 38.)

E. E. Schattschneider was a presence in his profession as political scientist and teacher. He had a loyalty and a style that made him an exemplar to many. He is survived by his wife, Florence, of Old Saybrook, Connecticut and by his son Frank Schattschneider of Princeton, New Jersey.

Fred I. Greenstein
Clement E. Vose
Wesleyan University

Louis W. H. Johnston

Louis W. H. Johnston, Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh died at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on May 21, 1971. He is survived by his wife Mary McConahey Johnston, a daughter, Mary S. Johnston, and a son, Alexander M. Johnston.

He received his academic training at the University of Pittsburgh and Yale University. His interests were in political theory and American government.

During the forty years in which he was a member of the faculty of the University he established a reputation for influential teaching and effective participation in faculty affairs. He served as Vice President of the University Senate and chairman of Senate standing committees. He was secretary of the local chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Both his colleagues and his students will miss the sharpness of his wit and the wisdom of his judgments.

William J. Keefe
University of Pittsburgh

Harvey Walker

On May 22, 1971, Harvey Walker, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Political Science of The Ohio State University and former Secretary-Treasurer (1942-50) and Council member (1939-41) of the American Political Science Association

died of a heart attack at his home in Worthington, Ohio.

A talented, versatile, action-oriented man, his driving energy and strong sense of public service projected him into a wide variety of professional, public and civic activities from the beginning of his career. Always busy, always going full tilt, he could never refuse a request to assist in a new public undertaking, or ignore a pressing civic problem. Living a full, work-crowded life on several levels he did the job of several men, giving his time and energy without stint until the very day of his death.

A bare recital of the formal recorded facts of his career may give the present day student of political science a useful picture of the patterns of work of an active political scientist in the public service tradition.

Born in Des Moines, Iowa, on February 24, 1900, he was a Political Science major and member of Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Kansas where he was graduated with an A.B. degree in 1923. From 1923 to 1925 he served as Assistant Secretary of the International City Managers Association. In 1925, he became a staff member of the League of Minnesota Municipalities and a graduate student at the University of Minnesota. Receiving his M.A. degree in 1927, his thesis on *Village Laws and Government in Minnesota* was published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1928. During the year 1927-28, he served as acting secretary of the League, acting director of the University's Municipal Reference Bureau and instructor in Political Science. In June, 1928, he received his Ph.D. degree. His dissertation on *Municipal Ordinance Making under the Federal Constitution* was published in 1929 by The Ohio State University Press.

In the fall of 1928 he came to The Ohio State University as an Assistant Professor of Political Science. A few months later he was appointed executive secretary of the Ohio Joint Committee on Economy in the Public Service, which was preparing a "Report on Administrative Reorganization" for the General Assembly. When this task was completed he was appointed Superintendent of the Budget of Ohio. Serving in this capacity until 1931, he drew up the Ninth Executive Budget of the State before returning to his university duties as an Associate Professor. Between 1929 and 1931 he also served as Secretary of the Ohio Municipal League. In 1932, he received a Social Science Research

Council Fellowship and spent the year 1932-33 in England studying the British Civil Service. His book *Training Public Employees in Great Britain* was based on this study. In 1935, he was promoted to a full professorship. In the same year his book *Law-Making in the United States* was published. In the summer of 1935 he served as educational director of the National Institute of Public Affairs and taught in the summer session of the American University. In 1937, his book *Public Administration in the United States* was published. During this period he instituted training programs for various state and local governmental personnel. Over a period of years he served as director of fourteen short courses on fire administration and nine short courses on police administration. He also supervised two short courses for civil service commissioners and employees, two for municipal finance officers and four for city managers in Ohio. These programs were initiated, organized and administered almost single handedly and with the most meager financial assistance.

As a member of the U.S. Army Officers Reserve Corps he was called to active duty on June 1, 1941. After almost four years of service, largely in South America, he was de-activated as a Lieutenant Colonel and returned to the University. While carrying on his regular duties he completed a full course of study in the College of Law. In 1948 he was awarded the LL.B. degree, elected to the Order of the Coif, and admitted to the practice by the Ohio Supreme Court. In October, 1951, he was admitted to the bar of the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the immediate post-war period, he brought out several more books: *The Legislative Process* (1949); *American National Government* (with C. P. Patterson, 1949); and *Constructive Government in Ohio: The Story of the Myers Y. Cooper Administration* (1947). He also contributed a chapter on "The Vargas Regime" to a book on Brazil published in 1947; and translated from Portuguese a book entitled *Budget-Making in Brazil* (1946). In 1949, he served in the summer session as a Visiting Professor at the University of Idaho. The Ohio Civil Service Commission then asked him to direct a "Reclassification of State Employees." This task was completed in January, 1950.

In August, 1951, he was a member of a United Nations Technical Assistance Mission which assisted the Brazilian government in organizing

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In Memoriam

a teaching and research center in public administration for all of Latin America. He spent 15 months in 1951-52 in Rio de Janeiro at the center teaching courses in "Budgetary Administration" and "Public Administration" to students from various countries of Latin America. In February, 1952, he served as a member and rapporteur of the International Seminar held under the auspices of the U.N. and UNESCO dealing with problems of Public Administration. In March, 1952, he held a seminar on public personnel administration at the University of Sao Paulo for State and municipal employees. In July, 1952, he held a similar seminar in Porto Alegre for the Department of Public Service of the State of Rio Grande Do Sul.

Returning to his duties at The Ohio State University in 1953, he was asked to help revise the charters of several local governments. In the following years he performed this service again and again. In July, 1956, after a Spring Quarter as a Visiting Professor at Southern Illinois University, he served as assistant director of the United Nations School of Public Administration in San Jose, Costa Rica, and offered courses in comparative public administration, budgetary administration and administrative ethics. He also participated in international seminars on Civil Service in Honduras and Guatemala; offered a short course on administrative ethics in the National School of Public Administration in El Salvador; and advised the government of Nicaragua on problems of organization in the field of taxation and public finance.

In September, 1957, he returned to The Ohio State University. During this period he was the co-author of a book on *Ohio Government and Administration* (published in 1956); the author of a book on *Ethics in Public Administration* (translated into Spanish and published in Costa Rica) and another book on the *British Parliament and the American Congress* (published in Brazil in the Portuguese language). In 1961, he was guest lecturer at the University of Cologne in Germany.

Throughout all of his 39 years of service at The Ohio State University, he was a teacher who gave generously of his time to his students, both graduate and undergraduate. Many of his students, who are scattered through the public services in various administrative posts at the local, national and international level will never forget his interest and continuing helpfulness. To

them he was a dependable friend and advisor. To them it came as a shock when their seemingly tireless preceptor retired from the University in 1967 to become Professor Emeritus and devote his time to a full program of civic, fraternal, legal and private activities. In 1969, however, when the University of Kansas asked him to come back as a Visiting Professor in Public Administration, he accepted and spent the academic year 1969-70 in the school of his youth. In 1970, he came back to Columbus, hoping to practice law, continue his ever present consultative service to Ohio local governmental bodies and other public agencies, when he was called upon to serve as an associate director of a task force studying the effect of shock probation for the Ohio Division of Corrections. He was engaged in this undertaking until the day of his death.

It is difficult to appraise the total effect of this highly organized, useful and genuinely helpful man. He did so many things at the same time that few people had any conception of the full range of his activities. A great number of people in the university, in the public service, in civic organizations and elsewhere knew full well that if they needed help they could call on his quick interest and quicker intelligence and he would invariably lend a hand. Indeed it seemed to be taken for granted that his talents would be readily available and would be generously extended. Perhaps only a few people would have complete understanding of his varied contributions to the University, the profession and the public service.

To those who had some awareness of his hope for a better society and his faith in the "efficacy of his effort," his pattern of work at high speeds on many fronts became understandable. Those who knew him well, and that would include his students, had for him not only a warm affection but a very high respect. They saw him give the best of his talents and energies to an unceasing program of work for purposes he considered to be for the common good. They knew that neither they nor any other man could give very much more. If they were called upon to measure his life and work, they would have to give it a very high mark indeed. If as Thomas Carlyle says "All work is as seed sown; it grows and spreads then sows itself anew," perhaps even the least of his many efforts will not be lost. His many friends would wish it to be so.

Francis R. Aumann
The Ohio State University

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various departments.³ Following the literature on "organizations that process people," this matrix included variables having some bearing on the following matters:

1. Interaction patterns between faculty and students (including questions about their formality, the extent of work collaboration, the access of students to faculty, student participation in departmental decision-making, and the frequency of contact with faculty).
2. Interaction patterns among students (including questions about the frequency of such interaction and the proportion of the student body involved).
3. Student evaluation of various aspects of their work experience (including questions about the felt relevance of the overall training given, the courses offered, research experience, and program requirements; faculty concern for graduate teaching (as seen by students and by faculty); perception of student morale (by students and faculty)).

From the matrix of product moment correlations two principle clusters were identified by McQuitty's technique. They are set out

3 One department was excluded because its faculty decided that research conducted on political scientists — rather than by them on other people — violated personal privacy. Another was excluded because it had such a small student body and such a small number of faculty that, after the response rate was taken into account, there were too few cases to deal with. These department-level variables based on mean scores can be classified "analytical" variables in the scheme developed by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Herbert Menzel. They are distinguished from "global" variables which are based on properties of the entire organization — for example, its decision-making structure. Analytical variables are based on properties of the individual members of the organization, and these values are then aggregated to form a summary measure for the whole unit. Analytical variables (as in the present case) characteristically measure the distribution of some property among the members of the organization. See: Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Herbert Menzel, "On the Relation Between Individual and Collective Properties," in Amitai Etzioni, *Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961), pp. 422-40. Other writers have discussed the problem of measuring such properties of educational units, most relevantly: Alan Barton, *Organizational Measurement and Its Bearing on the Study of College Environments* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1961); Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, *The Academic Mind* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958).

diagrammatically in Figure 1. We will discuss both of them and then show how the dimensions they define relate to aspects of graduate student education.

Cluster 1: Organizational Climate: The primary cluster consists of five items. The "primary axis" is between the following two questions ($r = .923$):

Departments differ in the patterns of relationships between faculty and students. Some appear very formal with little interaction while others appear informal with much interaction. What is your impression of the general pattern of relationships between faculty and students in your department? (Student question)

In general terms, how would you characterize the morale of graduate students in your department? (Student question coded on a five-point scale from "very high" to "very low.")

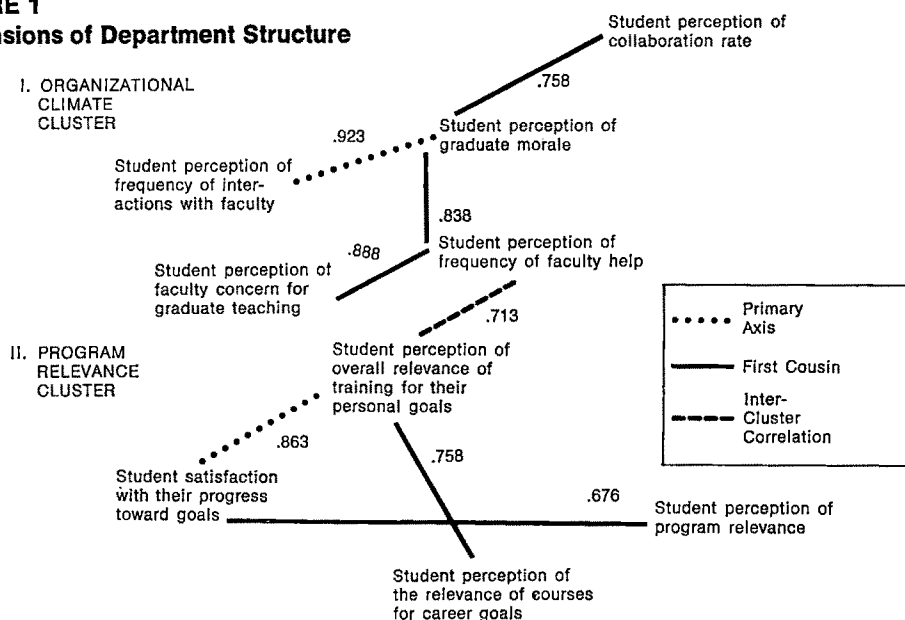
We should point out that the second question is not a direct measure of student morale, but rather one that asks for student perceptions of morale among the whole study body; perhaps we would have got different results had it been possible to construct a simple measure of so complex a variable as "morale." Nevertheless, it is significant to notice that the highest correlation in our entire matrix was between perceptions of interaction and perceptions of student morale. "First cousins" (in McQuitty's terminology) were the following:

How frequent is collaboration between faculty members and graduate students in your department? (Student question)

In general, how interested do you feel faculty members in your department are in helping you with academic problems? (Student question)

A further variable was linked with the latter one

FIGURE 1
Dimensions of Department Structure



How satisfied are you with professors' concern for graduate student teaching in your department? (Student question)

The intercorrelations among all these variables were uniformly high: the lowest correlation linking any two of the variables in this set was $-.701$ (linking the formality of interaction with professors' concern for graduate teaching).⁴ On the other hand, the

correlations linking variables in this set to variables in the other cluster were uniformly low by comparison: the highest was $-.539$ between formality of relationships and a question (included in the next cluster) asking about the relationship between the student's graduate training and his subsequent career. We are confident that the variables included in this set represent a distinct cluster.

4. The means and standard deviations of these questions, all of which were measured on a five-point scale, were:
Formality of relationships: $\bar{X} = 3.16$ $s = .591$ High = 1
Graduate student morale: $\bar{X} = 2.908$ $s = .557$ High = 1
Frequency of collaboration: $\bar{X} = 2.905$ $s = .477$ High = 1
Academic help from faculty: $\bar{X} = 2.033$ $s = .315$ High = 1
Professors' concern for teaching: $\bar{X} = 2.733$ $s = .552$ High = 1

These figures are, of course, the means and standard deviations for the mean values on the questions in the twelve departments.

Using the method outlined in Benjamin Fruchter, *Introduction to Factor Analysis* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 61-73, we arrived at loadings for each of our departments on this dimension and the subsequent ones. This allowed us to introduce the variable into the analysis along with other departmental variables, and also gave us some idea about the distribution of departments in these terms. Within our sample of departments — and we have reasonable grounds for thinking this sample is representative — the range of loadings was from 9.2156 to 13.1741 and there was a relatively even distribution of departments along that continuum. The mean score was 11.0933 and the standard deviation was 1.1354. In short, our data suggest that, in terms of this "organizational climate" variable, a wide range of departments exist.

We have termed this primary cluster the "organizational climate" cluster following Stanton Wheeler who suggests such a dimension is an important distinction among "socialization organizations."

"The concept of social climate expresses something about the feelings generated by the total set of relations between staff and recruits. Relations may be warm, free, and easy, or harsh and hostile. Both within and between the major social categories there may be feelings of trust or of suspicion and lack of confidence."⁵

Cluster II: Program Relevance: We have termed the second cluster "program rele-

5. Stanton Wheeler, "The Structure of Formally Organized Socialization Settings," in Orville G. Brim, Jr. and Stanton Wheeler, *Socialization After Childhood* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 82.

vance." The primary axis is between the following two questions ($r = .863$):

How relevant do you feel your graduate training in general is to equipping you for [the career mentioned by R. as the one "being considered at present"]?

Overall, how satisfied are you with your progress toward these career goals [those "being considered at present"]?

"First cousins" to this axis were the following variables:

How relevant do you feel formal program requirements are to equipping you for [the career mentioned by R. as being considered at present]?

How relevant do you feel courses you have taken are to equipping you for [the career mentioned by R. as being considered at present]?

Once again the intercorrelations among these variables are uniformly high: the lowest correlation linking any two of the variables in the set was .674 (linking felt relevance of courses and overall satisfaction with progress toward goals). The correlations linking these variables with those in the first cluster were uniformly low, with the exception of the linkage between the general relevance of graduate training and satisfaction with professors' concern with teaching which was .821.⁶

We have called this cluster the "program relevance" cluster because all the variables

included have to do with student evaluation of their formal learning experiences as preparation for their chosen careers. Thus it is a different kind of variable from the organizational climate variable which — since it deals with interaction between students and faculty — may properly be regarded as a structural variable. Graduate school provides graduate students with formal learning experiences, and the "program relevance" cluster distinguishes departments in terms of student satisfaction with those experiences.

Correlates of Organizational Climate

Unfortunately, we do not have any reliable measure of "output" variables such as the "quality" of the "organizational product" — if, indeed, such a thing *could* be measured. One measure that is available, however, lets us test whether the two dimensions that emerge from the cluster analysis are related to status in the profession. The American Council on Education provides a ranking of graduate programs that is based on their reputation among political scientists in different departments. The latest version allowed us to compare the rankings on our variables with a status ranking measured about the same time.⁷ Our first conclusion is:

1. Neither the organizational climate of political science departments nor the program relevance as seen by graduate students are correlated with the status of the department in the profession.

The rank-order correlation (Rho) between organizational climate and the A.C.E. rankings is .007; whether or not students and faculty interact freely and easily is not related to the professional status of the department. The

6 The means and standard deviations of the variables loaded on this cluster are:

Relevance of education for career:	$\bar{x} = 2.090$	$s = .251$	High = 1
Satisfaction with career progress:	$\bar{x} = 2.213$	$s = .219$	High = 1
Relevance program requirements:	$\bar{x} = 2.963$	$s = .294$	High = 1
Relevance of courses taken:	$\bar{x} = 2.319$	$s = .331$	High = 1

Within the sample of departments the range of loadings was from 6.8974 to 9.4571 — somewhat less than for the organizational climate cluster — and the distribution was evenly spread along the continuum. The mean score was 8.0575 and the standard deviation was .7051.

7 Kenneth D. Roose and Charles J. Anderson, *A Rating of Graduate Programs*, American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C., 20036, 1970. Twenty-two schools are ranked by this report, including five of those we sampled. In these cases we assigned an ordinal ranking by their order of appearance. Ten further schools were listed in alphabetical order as having a ranking in a second group, and three of ours were included. These three were assigned the same ranking (in this case seven). A further list of twelve beyond that contained one of our schools and it was given a rank of eight. The remaining schools we sampled were not given a ranking from this publication, and we assigned them the same score at the bottom of our list.

The Structure of Professional Education in Departments of Political Science

Rho between program relevance and the A.C.E. rankings is $-.112$. Evidently, when assessing the relevance of their educational experience, students are not influenced by any perception of their department's "status" within the profession. Students can be very satisfied with a program that is low in the national standings or unsatisfied by one that is high in those standings. We should remember that the A.C.E. rankings are based on reputation within the profession, and that reputation, in turn, is largely determined by the scholarly output of a department.⁸ These findings do not necessarily mean that departments with high research activity suffer because of that in the quality of the graduate experience; but they do mean that such activity has little to do with graduate student feelings that their educational experience is worthwhile. A student selecting a department for graduate work, and wanting one where he will be satisfied by the quality of his educational experience, should not necessarily follow the national rankings.

This conclusion should be qualified by the possibility that students in high status departments may have higher expectations of their graduate experience, and therefore might be highly dissatisfied in a lower status department. In other words, students selected by a department might be easier for that particular department to satisfy. We suspect, though, that the reason for this low correlation between status of department and program relevance is that students are more oriented toward what is happening in their own department than toward the status of that department in the profession; they are professional locals, not professional cosmopolitans. This is borne out by the correlation between organizational climate and program

relevance which is $.713$. Although the two clusters are distinct:

II. *There is a marked tendency for those departments with a high rate of professional interaction between students and faculty to be places where students are satisfied with their formal program experiences.*

An argument often heard among political scientists is that smaller departments would result in better relations between graduate students and faculty and, therefore, a better educational experience for students. This is consistent with the proposition from the organizational literature that interaction patterns in an organization are dependent on the number of people in the organization; the larger the organization the more fragmented are relations among people within it and the more bureaucratic are organizational processes.⁹ In the case of political science departments, the argument can be translated as follows: if faculty have the *opportunity* for interaction with students that interaction will take place; opportunity depends in a straightforward way on the number of graduate students, or, more exactly, on the ratio between students and faculty.

Unfortunately, we do not have any data on the size of the undergraduate body at our various institutions. Undergraduates take up faculty time as well as graduates and it is quite possible, for example, to have a low faculty/graduate student ratio but a high faculty/all-student ratio. Similarly, some departments make a distinction between graduate faculty and undergraduate faculty,

8 We should point out that not all of the student respondents were anticipating careers as professors of political science. In fact, 12.9% were planning careers in some other capacity. As might be expected, a higher proportion of Ph.D. students were planning professorial careers than M.A. students. Our data were collected in the fall of 1969 and the winter of 1970; we suspect that the proportion of students anticipating a career in a university post has declined since then as a realistic reflection of the job market — although this is based on limited impressions from a small number of departments.

9 See, for example: Mason Haire, "Biological Models and Empirical Histories of the Growth of Organizations," in Mason Haire (ed.), *Modern Organization Theory* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959), chapter 10. According to Alan Barton: "Size is a major but ambiguous attribute of the social structure of organizations. Size itself has certain necessary, formal consequences for the possible range of interpersonal relations, of communication links, and of levels of authority as conditioned by spans of control. In any given study, classifying organizations by size also classifies them by certain kinds of communications, authority, and social relations patterns which are its consequences and which in turn have other effects; it is by no means easy to say what intervening variables or incidental correlates size indicates." *Organizational Measurement*, p. 39.

and our data do not reflect that. Nevertheless, we can report that:

III. Size of the graduate student body is positively related to organizational climate;

IV. The faculty/graduate student ratio is positively related to organizational climate.

The correlation (Rho) between size and climate is .204; that between faculty/graduate ratio and climate is .227. These are not inconsistent since the bigger departments in our sample are also those with a better faculty/graduate ratio. Within the limits we have pointed out, there is some support for the hypothesis from organizational theory that the opportunity for faculty-student interaction is related to actual interaction between the two groups. However, the weak correlation suggests that many other things must be taken into account. Perhaps in large departments it is easier for students to have relaxed relationships with some faculty members simply because there are more available; similarly, small departments might be able to maintain hierarchical relationships more easily than large ones if the faculty are so minded. The question which we cannot answer here, of course, is what makes them so minded.

We asked the following questions about student participation in departmental decision-making:

Have you ever taken part in departmental committee meetings?

Have you ever consulted with faculty members on departmental matters?

We constructed a simple index by ranking departmental means for each of these questions and summing the rank scores for each department. This gave us a department-level variable which we call the "active-passive" dimension; it measures the extent to which graduate students have an active role in a department's decision-making

processes. We secured a useful indicator of construct validity by objective data on decision-making rules in each department. We found, with only one exception, that schools where students reported a high frequency of "participation" in departmental committees, they actually could vote in those committees. Participation, that is, usually does imply decision-making power.

Interestingly enough, however, this decision-making power does not appear to have much impact on students' satisfaction with the learning experiences they have to negotiate—the very thing they have most reason to want to influence. The correlation (Rho) between this active-passive dimension and the program relevance dimension is only .161, hardly enough to support the proposition that students are very successful in exercising this (admittedly very limited) decision-making power. Of course, we are measuring these things at one point in time, and we do not know how much improvement in program relevance has resulted from this power. Nevertheless:

V. There is very little association between involvement in departmental decision-making and satisfaction with formal departmental learning experiences.

On the other hand, the Rho between this active-passive dimension and organizational climate is .581:

VI. There is a moderate association between involvement in departmental decision-making and organizational climate.

We will discuss the problem of causal inferences from this kind of data in the final section, but we can point out here that this finding can be satisfactorily interpreted with either variable as the dependent variable. On the one hand, participation in formal decision-making seems a likely consequence of a situation where there is open easy interaction between faculty and students; the demand for participation might be more easy to

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make — and more easy to respond to — under such happy conditions. On the other hand, we can cite Argyris's point that genuine participation in organizational decision-making is likely to reduce worker alienation.¹⁰ We could conclude from these data that, while students don't influence anything much by their participation, that participation does make them feel better toward the organization.

The preceding leads us to the following related hypotheses:

1. That departments where the students and faculty interact freely on professional matters (that is, departments high in organizational climate) will have better communication between faculty and students;
2. That departments where the students and faculty interact freely on professional matters will have greater consensus between faculty and students on professional matters.

These hypotheses are based on the simple assumption that interpersonal contact leads to the flow of accurate information between members of an organization. Such contact is not a *necessary* condition for accurate communication but we would expect it to be a *sufficient* condition. Both of these hypotheses translated into operational terms quite easily. We asked faculty several questions about the graduate students and the graduate students several questions about the faculty. These perceptual questions were matched, in each case, by questions asked of the group itself about the same matter. It was therefore possible to correlate perceptions with the actual state of things within the perceived group.

Two matters were particularly important. The first was the "morale" of the students and faculty respectively; if good communication

did nothing else, we would expect it to pass on awareness of contentment or discontentment in a group. The second was the work pressure felt by the graduate students. Faculty, of course, assign work for students to do; adequate feedback to faculty about how students respond to that work is important if the educational function of the organization is to be achieved, and that implies good communication processes. When perceptions about a group match what the group says about itself we have an operational definition of good communication; when there is a wide divergence we have an operational definition of poor communication.

We correlated organizational climate with such difference scores to test the hypothesis that communication is better when there is easy professional interaction between students and faculty. The correlations were moderate in each case: for faculty perception of student morale the Rho was $-.473$ and for faculty perception of student work pressure the Rho was $-.364$. We should point out that the negative sign comes from the larger differences between faculty and students being in the high organizational climate departments.

VII. Faculty perceptions of graduate students are more accurate in those departments where interaction between students and faculty is open and easy.

A common finding in empirical studies of organizations is that information flows more readily downward than upward.¹¹ In the case of political science departments, this would lead to the expectation that when interaction does take place between faculty and students,

10 Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization: The Conflict between System and the Individual* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).

11 This is particularly true of communications between individuals at different authority levels in organizations. Harold Guetzkow has written that "A dominant feature of such nets (communications) is its directionality, in that orders usually flow vertically within the organization, from a few individuals at the top of the authority structure to the many individuals in its lower regions." Harold Guetzkow, "Communications in Organizations," in James G. March (ed.), *Handbook of Organizations* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 543. See also, Robert L. Kahn, et al., *Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 190-92.

faculty pick up cues about the students more readily than the students do about the faculty. This is borne out in fact: the Rho is $-.236$ between organizational climate and the difference between student perceptions of the faculty morale and the faculty morale itself. Of course, we should admit the possibility that, since "faculty morale" is operationally based on faculty perceptions of themselves, students are in fact more accurate judges of where the faculty are than the faculty themselves, but the finding does justify the tentative conclusion:

VIII. While high rates of interaction between faculty and students also increase the accuracy of student perceptions of faculty, this is not so much the case as the opposite.

Consensus can be reached in a political science department in several ways. Faculty can recruit students into the department who already agree with them when they come; students and faculty can agree on a matter by chance processes unconnected with their joint habitation of the same organizations; students can bring faculty to their way of thinking; or, finally, faculty can bring the students to *their* way of thinking. Many of the measures of what Tannenbaum and McLeod call "the degree of socialization"¹² are based on the assumption that only the latter process is working; it is assumed that, since there is a formal distinction between "teacher" and "student," all agreement between the two groups comes about because teachers teach students. Like most people studying "organizations that process people," we are naturally most interested in this kind of process, but we should recognize that our measure of agreement between faculty and students does not distinguish it from alternative processes that are consistent with evidence of consensus.

The data provide us with evidence of such consensus, but it does not relate to

organizational climate in the way we expected. We asked two questions:

How do you feel about political scientists doing classified government research?

How do you feel about the Caucus for a New Political Science?

Once again, we correlated the organizational climate variable with the difference between faculty and student scores in each department. For the classified research question the Rho was $.400$ and for the Caucus question it was $.205$. There is support here for the following proposition:

IX. Consensus among faculty and graduate students on political issues facing the profession is greatest in departments where relations between faculty and students are formal and closed (and student morale is low) and least in the opposite kind of departments.

Notice that the correlation coefficients conceal the *actual* positions taken by the students and faculty in each department. They are based on the absolute differences between the two groups, and do not tell whether students or faculty have more favorable attitudes in either case. The only noteworthy finding of this order, however, has to do with the direction of faculty and student attitudes toward classified research. To our complete surprise, with the exception of only one department, students were—on the average—significantly more willing to support classified research than their professors. We were surprised, of course, because of the much commented-on radicalism of contemporary students, but perhaps the data should be taken more as a reflection of the greater centrality of the issue for faculty than for students; perhaps students are simply not so aware of the issue as faculty.

For several reasons, these data do not disconfirm the hypothesis that interactions

12 Percy H. Tannenbaum and Jack M. McLeod, "On the Measurement of Socialization," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 31 (1967), pp. 27-37.

between faculty and students promotes the learning process in political science departments and similar organizations. We have already pointed out that consensus between the two groups can come as a result of several processes, only one of which is student learning. The data might also be interpreted to say that the faculty in interactive departments teach their students critical ability, and that this learning results in disagreement with their mentors on important matters.

We cannot argue from the data that interaction between faculty and students improves the learning process in strict academic terms, but we can argue that it produces an *environment* that *supports* honest differences between them on substantive matters. Communication between groups increases mutual awareness (even if that increase is greater for some groups than others), and makes behavior easier to predict. The ability to predict faculty behavior is vital for graduate students since their futures normally depend on continued faculty approval; graduate life, if not solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short, is at least insecure and uncertain. In the absence of good communication between students and professors — such as comes from easy and open interaction between them — a probable response is conformity, at least on controversial matters. Yet this conformity is exactly what critics of professional training in the social sciences deplore. In reducing and controlling their interaction with students, the faculty might be making life easier for themselves without reducing the amount students learn, but it does seem likely that they are also reducing student willingness to think independently and, therefore, creatively.

Cohort Analysis

Socialization, whether of graduate students or any other group, is a process that takes place through time; by definition, it involves change in the individual being socialized.

This section of our analysis explores the possibility that students at different stages of the graduate school "processing" relate differently to the "processing" experience and to the faculty.

Our first interest was simply the growth of "professional awareness" by year in the program in our departments. We expected that knowledge about professional things — important matters occupying the attention of the discipline — would increase by year in graduate school. Our second interest was change in "professional values" by year in the program, particularly values about the intellectual substance of the discipline. We expected that acceptance of such values would increase by year as students became progressively "professionalized."

The analysis, so far, suggests two "pure types" of departments. It seems that one type is formal with little interaction between students and faculty, has little understanding between faculty and students — and has a student body that toes the faculty line on important matters facing the profession. Another type of department is informal and interactive, has good mutual understanding between faculty and students — and has a student body that is willing to differ with the faculty on important political matters.

We identified such "pure types" in a simple scalogram manner. Departments were assigned a + or a — depending on whether they fell above or below the mean on each of our three structural measures: organizational climate, program relevance, and the active-passive dimension. By chance, three departments were "pure types" at both the high and low end of the scale. Type I departments are those that are high in organizational climate, program relevance and political activity among graduate students; Type II departments are low in each of these. In any type of department, contact with faculty is a major way in which students come into "contact" with the profession itself; faculty are, in a sense, the

"representatives" of the profession in their own departments. Type I departments are places with relatively free and open interaction between faculty and students, and Type II departments are the opposite. It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that awareness of "professional events" will be higher in Type I departments and also that acceptance of "professional values" will be greater there. Perhaps we can also predict that the growth of both of these things will be more rapid in Type I departments since "channels of communication" to the profession are more readily available.

We used two questions to investigate "professional awareness" and "professional values." They are, respectively:

Are you aware of the Caucus for a New Political Science?

How satisfied are you with the questions political scientists are asking at present — as reflected in the leading journals?

Table 1 reports, in percentage terms, "awareness" of the Caucus by year in the program for the two types of department. Because of the limited number of cases beyond the third year in each type, we have collapsed years three and beyond into a single category. The data record, first, a between-year difference in both types of department: students become increasingly aware of this particular "professional event" the longer they are in the program. More significant, however, is the difference within each year between the two types of department. It is a remarkably constant difference of about fifteen percentage points. We suggested that the growth of professional awareness might be more rapid in Type I departments, but the rate of growth is about the same in each case. The difference appears by the first year and is maintained throughout subsequent years. We can conclude that:

TABLE 1 Awareness of the Caucus for a New Political Science, by Year in the Program and Type of Department (by percent)

	Year in the Program		
	First Year	Second Year	Third Year and Beyond
Type I departments	78.5 (28)	89.4 (27)	94.8 (47)
Type II departments	63.1 (19)	72.7 (11)	78.7 (49)

X. At every stage of their graduate school careers, students in departments where relations with the faculty are open and easy have greater professional awareness than students in departments where relations are closed and difficult.

The mean A.C.E. ranking for Type I departments is 3 while the mean ranking for Type II departments is 7.5. One could argue that higher status departments are, because of that status, more "hooked into" the "professional network" and that students in those departments are more likely to have other linkages to the profession than their faculty. Similarly, higher status departments might recruit more professionally oriented students who are also likely to "bypass" their faculty. However, the status difference is not great between the two types, and at least two of the Type II departments have substantial national reputations. We do not think this status difference is sufficient to seriously qualify the conclusion.

Table 2 reports mean differences in student "satisfaction with the questions political scientists are asking" by year and type of department. Once again there is a remarkably constant difference within each year by type of department: First, second and third-plus year students in Type II departments are significantly more likely to approve of what the profession is doing than their cohorts in Type I departments. This cannot be readily explained in communication terms, but does seem to be quite consistent with our earlier suggestion that ready interaction between students and faculty makes possible student

differences with the faculty. Not only are students in Type II departments more ready to conform to the *political* attitudes of their faculty — as was argued in the earlier analysis — but they are also more ready to conform to the research values of the wider profession. There is no reason to advance a different explanation for this particular kind of conformity: students in Type I departments are in a social situation that frees them from many of the anxieties attendant on non-conformity elsewhere.

TABLE 2 Satisfaction With What Political Scientists are Doing, By Year in the Program and Type of Department*

	Year in the Program		
	First Year	Second Year	Third Year and Beyond
Type I departments	1.780 (28)	1.070 (27)	1.650 (47)
Type II departments	2.059 (19)	1.566 (11)	1.958 (49)

* Means from a five-point scale with 1 low and 5 high.

XI. At every stage of their graduate school careers, students in departments where relations with the faculty are open and easy are more willing to criticize what the profession is doing.

Conclusions and Recommendations

From the preceding analysis, one polar type of political science department (Type I) has the following characteristics: such departments are highly interactive, and academic and intellectual interaction between students and faculty is open and easy; students and faculty each have a good understanding of “where the other group is at” although the faculty’s perception of students is somewhat better than vice versa; the students feel free to differ with the faculty on professional matters and they do so differ; and, finally, the students generally approve of the various educational experiences provided for them by the department.

The second type of department (Type II) has the following characteristics: relations

between students and faculty tend to be hierarchical, formal, and non-interactive outside of classroom situations; students and faculty have little knowledge of the other; the students tend to be uncritical of their profession and more ready to conform to the expressed views of their faculty; and, despite their submissiveness on many intellectual things, they tend to be critical of their general educational experience in graduate school.

Although this study falls short of demonstrating that students “processed” by Type I departments are, in the long run, more productive scholars and better teachers than students “processed” by Type II departments, we feel that there are grounds for arguing:

1. That the three or four years Type I students spend in graduate school before their “induction” into profession are more enjoyable and exciting;
2. That it is more likely students from Type I departments will develop the habit of independent and critical thinking which can, in the long run, only benefit the discipline.

The model of organizational change that seems most satisfactory as an explanation of our data is suggested by Maruyama. It involves what he calls deviation-amplifying and deviation-counteracting feedback networks.” He argues that cybernetics has traditionally been concerned with only one type of feedback loop: the type where a system of interacting parts moves toward some stable equilibrium. He calls this “the first cybernetics.” “The second cybernetics” involves feedback loops that move a system of interacting parts away from such a stable equilibrium. In some situations: “Whatever the change, either an increase or a decrease, amplifies itself. . . . In a loop, therefore, each element has an influence on all other elements

13 Magoroh Maruyama, “The Second Cybernetics: Deviation-Amplifying Mutual Causal Processes,” *The American Scientist*, 51 (1963), pp. 164-79.

either directly or indirectly, and each element influences itself through other elements. There is no hierarchical casual priority in any of the elements.” “ It seems very likely that political science departments — and similar organizations — change like this. Using Maruyama’s term, some “initial kick” sets the system moving in a particular direction and its internal logic takes over to maintain the momentum; in short, some initial event starts things off and the first movement continues and expands itself.

This movement might be in the direction of Type I or Type II situations. For example, one or two faculty members behaving in an open and accessible manner might increase mutual awareness between students and faculty, this might lower anxiety for some students which might, in turn, improve the morale of a wider group of students; the situation becomes less threatening for relations between students and faculty and still more faculty are brought into the interaction system. Of course, there are processes which would tend toward restoring a stable equilibrium at some point, but it seems plausible that such movement, once begun, could continue a considerable distance.

To test such a model of reciprocal relationships would require time-lapse data, ideally with many measurement points a short time between each other, and this is very seldom collected. The interesting question here, however, concerns the implications of such a model for attempts to change political science departments in a desired direction — presumably toward the Type I end of the continuum. It seems likely that once a department begins movement in a particular direction, actions intended to slow down that movement or reverse it will be particularly difficult, and the more so the further the process has gone. For example, in a department where there is little interaction between students and faculty, wildly

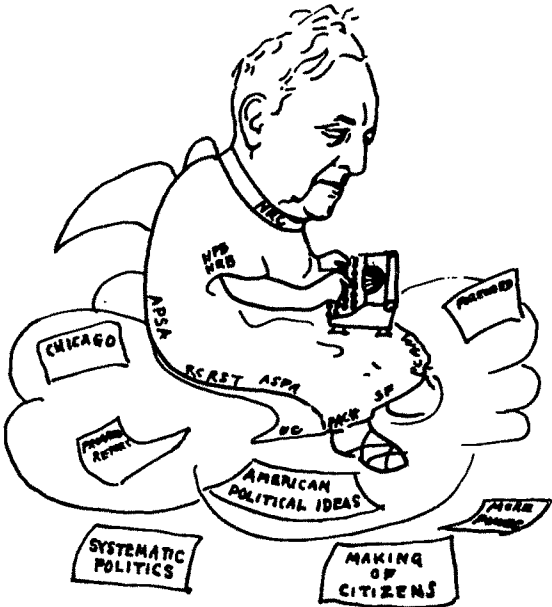
inaccurate perceptions of each other, low student morale and widespread student dissatisfaction, actions by either group toward the opposite state of affairs are likely to be misunderstood; the initial movement becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy regardless of the intentions of the various actors.

In the extreme situation of this kind, perhaps only extreme measures can reverse the movement: a department head might change, or some faculty and students either resign or “opt out” of the system. However, in less extreme circumstances it seems likely that fairly subtle changes in orientation among some actors in the system might have a disproportionate effect. Our analysis has emphasized the importance of open and easy interaction between faculty and students. We are concerned, of course, primarily with interaction on intellectual matters although social interaction might — or might not — go with it. If the role of “faculty member” was understood by its occupants to extend beyond a narrow conception of “professor” or “researcher,” to a wider conception of participant in a social system designed to encourage free and open intellectual exchange, major changes in behavior might follow for both faculty and students.

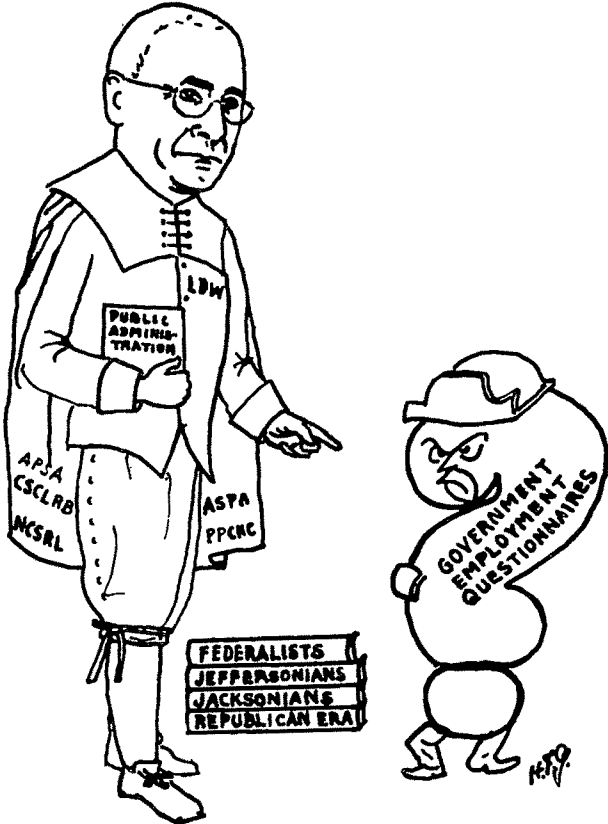
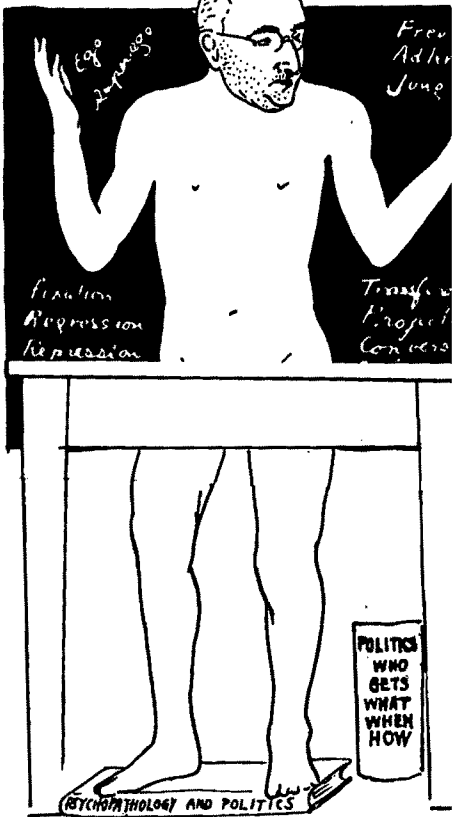
While we do not mean to underplay the importance of student participation in departmental decision-making (which we heartily endorse), we suspect it is less a cause of student satisfaction than a consequence of student *dissatisfaction*. One major condition students want seems to us to be a good organizational climate, and that cannot be legislated into existence. Similarly, we suspect that the intricacies of formal program requirements are not too important since a good organizational climate seems likely to be compatible with a variety of program requirements. The thing that does seem to be important is the pattern of human relationships between members of the department — students and faculty — and that depends very simply on their willingness to engage each other in a productive way from day to day.

The Chicago School of Politics in the 20's and 30's

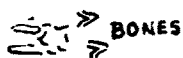
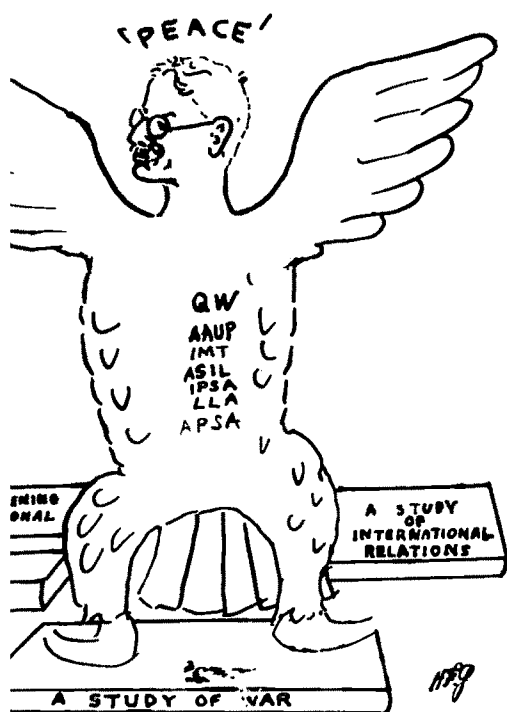
Harold Gosnell
Washington, D.C.



BEYOND POWER
BEYOND WORDS
BEYOND GRAMMAR



CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER



The Status of Women in the Profession: Tokenism

Jane Jaquette
Occidental College

The woman who is now entering (or contemplating entry) into the political science profession confronts a field that is biased against her ("political science is no place for a woman") and which admits her only grudgingly and accords her limited status. The following is a summary of the data now available on the status of women in the profession.

From the survey conducted by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women (1969, 473 departments responding), we have the following information on female participation:

- 23.2% of undergraduate majors are women
- 17.5% of graduates enrolled are women
- 14.7% of Ph.D. candidates are women
- 8.7% of those receiving the Ph.D. 1960-1968 are women
- 8.6% of assistant professors are women
- 6.7% of associate professors are women; and
- 4.1% of full professors are women.

On the other hand, a full 16.9% of political science instructors are women and 11.7% of those who teach outside of track positions (in the category "other") are women. As the Converse¹ report points out, less than 6% of the males in the profession have part time employment while "a full 30%" of the females do. Further "the part-time academic male tends to be 'moonlighting.' . . . The part-time woman typically holds no other position in the labor force so that her income is truly a partial wage . . ." Even the full-time employed female looks forward, according to Victoria Schuck's² analysis, to a career in which "most women are concentrated in the lower ranks," in which "a woman who is a full professor is almost an exception," and in which "tenured

positions at all levels appear to be a masculine preserve."

The data indicates that there are three major points at which female participation is significantly narrowed: between undergraduate and graduate school, between entering graduate school and completing the Ph.D., and at the point of hiring and later promoting of female faculty. Of those, the situation in graduate school seems to be changing most rapidly despite the admission by male professors of discrimination against female graduate students. Political science shows the highest growth rate of women doctorates (12.6% annually for women, 1958-68 as compared with 5.8% increase for men over the same period), second only to economics.³ However, it must be remembered that political science has fewer women in the profession than the other social sciences except economics. Sociology awarded over 15% of its doctorates to women during the period 1958-68 while psychology awarded nearly 20%. During this same period only 8.9% of political science doctorates were earned by women.⁴

Two key factors in female graduate numbers are, of course, admission and the availability of funds, to say nothing of the factor of encouragement by members of the graduate faculty. In this regard it is interesting to look at the role the graduate department plays as "gatekeeper." A survey done by the Western Political Science Association reveals that men report more discrimination against female graduate students than the women themselves perceive! Specifically, more male professors report discrimination against women graduate students in graduate school admissions, financial aid, admission to advanced degree candidacy, placement and follow-up interest. The paradox is explained by the fact that women were asked to report perceptions of discrimination from *their own*

1 Philip E. and Jean M. Converse, "The Status of Women As Students and Professionals in Political Science," *PS*, Vol. IV, No. 3, (Summer 1971), pp. 328-348.

2 Victoria Schuck, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations," *PS*, Vol. II, No. 4, (Fall 1969), pp. 642-653.

3 Victoria Schuck, "Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences," *PS*, Vol. III, No. 3, (Summer 1970), p. 360.

4 *Ibid.* p. 360.

experiences while the males were in a position to report from broader knowledge of decisions involving many women.⁵ While the Converse report found that women receive financial support comparable to men in graduate school, it is interesting that 59% of women in the *APSA Directory* (1968) listed comparative government and political development as their first field. This may be an indicator of the relatively closed attitude of the more traditional fields (public administration, political theory, international relations and U.S. politics) toward women. 56% of the women in the *Directory* received their degrees in the 1960's, a period characterized by the flow of new funds into area studies and development oriented programs.⁶ Of significance in judging the response of the field to women is the factor of faculty encouragement. In that regard, Ilchman and Rudolph report in a survey of department chairmen that, in a hypothetical case in which "their best student" was leaving his or her studies to "enter his father's dry-goods business" in the case of the male or "to start a family" in the case of the female, department chairmen would be much more likely to intervene actively to prevent the male from leaving than to give similar encouragement to the female.⁷

On the position of women as faculty, we find that in the APSA survey only 49.5% of the departments reported any female faculty at all, and that the distribution of women is skewed toward small institutions — 76% of all women were teaching in departments with less than 15 members. Larger departments have some women, but this is token, not proportional, representation. Women are severely under-

represented in "distinguished" institutions and in institutions ranked as "largest producers of doctorates." As noted, women cluster in the lower ranks. A full 44% of them have no access to graduate students. 83.1% of the institutions report no female instructors; 78.9% have no assistant professors; 88.2% no associate professors and 94.1% no full professors that are women. Figures on salary differentials, not including part time salaries, show that men earn an average annual salary of \$16,500 while women earn only \$11,820 — a difference of over \$4500!⁸ According to Mitchell and Starr,⁹ 32% of women professionals make less than \$9,000/yr. while only 5% of the males receive such low incomes. Only 19% of the women make more than \$15,000/yr. while 45% of the men are found in that category. On perceived discrimination against women in faculty positions, the WPSA survey found that 85% of male professors observed discrimination against women in job applications with an equal percentage of women reporting such discrimination and over 50% of the men had observed discrimination in rank assignments, promotion, tenure and salary. As an index of psychological pressure faced by women, over 75% of the women surveyed felt they had experienced discrimination in those areas, a reversal of the earlier tendency of the men to report greater discrimination than the women. It is clear that women who do find employment in the profession, those who are not kept out by the absence of day care facilities or the enforcement of anti-nepotism rules, suffer discrimination at all levels. They can expect only the low status, low paying jobs. The woman academic also faces negative attitudinal biases, according to Ilchman and Rudolph, in that very few chairmen favor part time jobs leading to tenure, half of the chairmen sampled favored nepotism rules at the department level, and few chairmen base any of their attitudes about female performance on real evidence.¹⁰ Finally, in the

5 Joyce Mitchell and Rachel Starr, "Aspirations, Achievement and Professional Advancement in Political Science: The Prospect for Women in the West," in *Women in Political Science: Studies and Reports of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession*, Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1971.

6 Schuck *op. cit.*, p. 645.

7 Warren F. Ilchman and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, "Report on Interviews With a Panel of Political Science Department Chairmen," unpublished APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession Report, 1971.

8 Converse, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

9 Mitchell and Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

10 Ilchman and Rudolph, *passim*, p. 49.

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absence of legitimate part-time jobs and day care facilities, a woman is expected to *choose between* a family and a career which accords her only second rate status. *This is a choice a man is never asked to make.*

While women professionals comprise about 7% of the non-student membership of the APSA, their participation in the Association's activities has been much more restricted. In the Annual Meetings held over the last 11 years (to 1969), women averaged 1.9% of the Chairmen, 4.1% of the Paper Givers, and 3.2% of the Discussants."¹¹ Although these percentages improved markedly in 1970, they were still well below the 7% indicated by membership. We are talking about a total number of women participants in Annual Meetings (not corrected for multiple participation) of 182, which is less than the number of men who participated in the 1968 convention alone and about a fifth of the total number of participants in the 1970 convention! As Barry and Bommer¹² point out, women are noticeably absent from the "leadership group" in the APSA and from the list of multiple participants, indicating that they are outside of the "old boy" network within the Association. Nearly 4% of the Council members of the APSA have been women, yet of those (a total of 14 women) three have held other posts in the Association. Thus female representation has been more limited than even the dismal statistics show. Only 0.7% of the membership of the APSA editorial boards have been women."¹³

In view of the existing patterns of participation and evidence of past discrimination against women in political science, it is clear that major changes must take place in recruitment and hiring, in the encouragement of women as graduate students and as members of the faculty. The Association *has already approved*

a number of resolutions with which you should be familiar. The APSA is committed to support for the recruitment of women, and to censuring of instances of discrimination in admissions, financial support, and employment. It favors the abolishment of anti-nepotism rules and the granting of full academic status to part-time positions. These and other existing resolutions would go a long long way toward achieving equitable treatment for women in the profession *if implemented.*

¹¹ Victoria Schuck, "Femina Studens rei Publicae: Notes on her Professional Achievement," Vol. III, No. 4, (Fall 1970), p. 625.

¹² Donald D. Barry and James G. Bommer, "Participation in APSA Annual Meetings, 1964-1969," PS, Vol. III, No. 4, (Fall 1970), pp. 629-640.

¹³ Schuck, *op. cit.*, p. 627.

DEAR VIRGINIA

Congratulations on your admission and fellowship for graduate work at It should be the beginning of a very promising career and I'll be glad to give you whatever advice I can on the subject.

In answer to your question, there is probably less overt discrimination against women now. Graduate admissions and fellowships look fairly good on the record. And although departments are still lagging in professorial positions and salaries for women, some of them are making an effort to catch up. It shouldn't be too long before most departments have their "quota" of assistant professors. The problem now is with the subtler forms of discrimination — "Phase II" of whatever it is we are involved in. (Phase II, like Phase I, uses sex as a basis for choice, but its arguments are more sophisticated. Phase I says "A woman's place is in the home." Phase II says "We'd like to hire a woman, but . . .")

I wouldn't worry about discrimination in graduate school. Professors will judge you on your work. The only thing you might find is that you are not taken quite as seriously as the male students. I mean, it's clear why they are in graduate school (probably for the same reasons as their professors), but it's not so clear about you. And if you are single, there is always the chance that you will get married and have babies and so forth and never finish the dissertation. Almost everyone has his favorite story about a situation just like that. Also, I think proteges tend to be "like" their patrons in certain significant respects. You will probably have to be almost twice as good as your male colleagues to get treated seriously. But it's still possible. It's just a little harder that's all.

At the first-job stage (if you *have* succeeded in being considered seriously and if you are willing to forgo marriage and children), there shouldn't be much of a problem — except at the few "prestige" departments which have yet to hire a woman. You will still have some good schools to choose from. However, if you

are married, then that is something else. Some women I know commute 100 miles or so to work at the school that has the kind of students they want to teach. It cuts down on the collegiality and can be rather tiring, I guess, but it can be done. And even if your husband is a sculptor or something and needs no special locale for his work, the burden of doubt is still on you. I saw a married woman's vita tossed aside with the remark, "But what's she going to do with her husband?" It's *your* business, gal, what you do with your husband, but if the department considers it its business, then you are not even going to get asked for an interview. The "what's-she-going-to-do-with-her-husband?" line is right at the center of Phase II.

To be on the safe side, you should be clearly better than any males you may be in competition with. If you are only as good as the best of them, you can't blame departments, can you, for taking what appears to them to be the lesser risk?

Beyond the hiring stage, there shouldn't be too much of a problem with promotions and raises and such. Of course, both men and women are fighting against some pretty deep-seated traditional roles about "superior" and "inferior" sex, but I would not expect that to influence decisions.

To show you how difficult Phase II problems are, take the argument that goes "We'd like to hire a woman, but there's no one good enough." If being "good enough" means not only talent and intelligence but also professional prestige, then by the very fact that Phase II has followed Phase I, there's not going to be that many professionally prestigious women around. You can't argue that they should take someone who is not "good enough" since that devalues the currency. But perhaps these departments might weigh talent and intelligence more heavily than prestige or they might consider that the selection process has been a bit stiffer for one sex than the other. The results of this obstacle course are obvious — and

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embarassing. What it means is that school by school, department by department, rank by rank, for graduate students and faculty, the women within each group will tend to be more qualified than the men.

The hardest part is probably the loneliness. Since there's not very many of us, we tend to be cast in the role of representative or extraplanetary envoy. It may take some effort to show that you just want to teach your courses and write your books — just like everybody else — if that's the way you feel. And being the envoy in a situation where collegiality and friendship are important has some clear disadvantages. There's other problems too. Take sex, for example — But I had better stop for now.

I guess my main worry is that after all this — all the doing of twice as much for half the chance — it will be said that you are where you are *only because* you're a woman. The charge of "tokenism" when levied against real achievement is the most damaging discrimination of all. It's an advanced Phase II threat that could lead us all right back to the beginning.

I certainly hope I haven't discouraged you.
Again, my best wishes and LOTS OF LUCK.
S. C.

Grades and Graduate Schools

A Recurring Issue

In 1969-70, while I was serving as Dean of the College, Wesleyan became embroiled in one of those grading system controversies that have become a commonplace in American universities. A recurring issue in these debates is the effect that various grading schemes have on admission to graduate and professional schools; and I attempted to improve my understanding of that issue by soliciting information from the admissions officers of law, business, medical and liberal arts graduate schools that had accepted more than six Wesleyan seniors from 1965 to 1969. While the schools polled have, therefore, a special pertinence for Wesleyan, the unanimity of opinion in their responses suggests a broader application.

As members of university faculties, political scientists are regularly confronted with policy choices about grading systems. Furthermore, the graduate schools' overwhelming preference, detailed below, for distinctly calibrated evaluations of applicants' work in their fields of undergraduate concentration has meaning for departmental faculties as they structure requirements for their student majors. To the extent that individual faculty members have the option, as we at Wesleyan do, to offer courses on a graded or pass/fail basis, their choices may be guided in part by the consequences for students. Where students individually decide whether or how they will be graded in particular courses and in universities which invite student participation in academic policy making, undergraduates ought to know the full implications of their choices.

Let me disclaim at the outset any intention to canvass the merits of various grading systems. Nor do I wish to be in the position of arguing that undergraduate programs should select grading schemes because of the preferences of graduate institutions or of employers. My purpose is to illuminate one factor which some teachers and students will include in their individual and collective choices about academic evaluation: what consequences for graduate and professional school admissions flow from their decisions? At Wesleyan, students themselves — however much they may deny its importance — have made this an urgent question because approximately 70 per cent pursue studies beyond the bachelor's degree.

The core of my letter to admission officers said, "It would be very helpful to us if you could give

us some idea of the relative merits of various grading systems from the perspective of graduate admissions. We are considering a wide range of grading systems, including pass/fail, the traditional letter grade system, a reporting only of courses in which the student does satisfactory work and gets credit, and a combination of pass/fail and letter grades." Other questions pertinent only to Wesleyan were asked.

I was surprised at the large number of harassed admissions officers who responded and at the care they took in explaining their problems and procedures. Fifteen of 20 liberal arts graduate schools replied, 17 or 18 medical schools, eight of 11 graduate business programs, and 10 of 14 law schools.¹ The replies touched on many subjects beyond those about which questions were directly asked. A portrait emerged of admissions officers swamped by large numbers of highly qualified applicants, striving to select those whose undergraduate training promised that they would be liberally educated professionals, and struggling to give applicants a fair hearing despite increasingly chaotic and unrevealing methods of undergraduate evaluation.

An Overwhelming Preference for Grades

The letters revealed a clear pattern in which undergraduate academic evaluation overshadowed every other indicator in graduate admissions. Although frequently deemed inadequate, standardized tests (the GRE, MCAT, ARGSB and LSAT) were listed as the next most important variable, and faculty recommendations were a third factor. Several business programs mentioned that they were interested in extracurricular activities, but this was never mentioned by other admissions officers.

¹ The confidentiality of replies was assured to encourage responses. Letters quoted here are therefore not attributed to their authors. Similarly, schools are not identified with the preferences and opinions expressed. It may be useful, however, to list those universities from which one or more graduate and professional schools responded.

University of California (1), University of Chicago (4), Columbia University (2), University of Connecticut (4), Cornell University (3), Duke University (3), Harvard University (3), Indiana University (1), Jefferson University (1), Johns Hopkins University (1), University of Maryland (1), University of Michigan (2), Northwestern University (1), New York University (2), University of Pennsylvania (3), University of Rochester (3), Stanford University (2), Syracuse University (3), Union University (2), Vanderbilt University (3), University of Virginia (2), Yale University (3).

Teaching Notes

Grades and Graduate Schools

Two other slight variations showed up. Arts and sciences graduate programs have highly diffused admissions' procedures in which departments apply their own standards. One graduate dean emphasized the point by reporting that "I have a veto over all, but it is about as effective as that of the House of Lords." The upshot, stressed by a number of graduate deans, is that the prestige of the student's undergraduate major department carries great weight with graduate department admissions committees and that letters of recommendation from well-known scholars in the field are very influential.

The opportunity for most undergraduates to benefit from this emphasis on letters of recommendation is quite slim, however. "Letters from young faculty may be very useful since they often develop a close and intimate relationship with the student. But however excellent these young men and however sincere and discriminating their judgment may be, since they are not generally known to the faculty of the Graduate School and since their judgments have not been tested by subsequent performance in graduate school of students they recommend, their letters of evaluation, to be persuasive, must be confirmed by other evidence [such as grades]." On the other hand, "how many undergraduates can find one, let alone three, mature faculty members whose judgment and whose predictions of the probable success of their students have been tested by the records of former students . . . admitted to major graduate schools?"

The medical school deans seemed willing to rely very heavily on the judgments of the Pre-Medical Advisory Committee. But this may reflect Wesleyan's special situation as a small institution with an unusually vigorous pre-medical advising program headed by a respected and energetic college physician of long standing. In larger schools or those without such medical advising programs, the likelihood is less that the emphasis on grades and test scores is similarly ameliorated.

Despite these slight variations, the overall pattern of responses showed an overwhelming preference for grades. A few admissions officers said that they were content with any system — whether traditional grades or a new set of designations such as High Honors, Honors, etc. — that clearly distinguished the quality of work of different students. But most did not concede even that much. Expressions ranged from affirmative assertions of the value of grades to warnings that

students in ungraded programs would be severely disadvantaged. In one law school, for instance, applicants from two ungraded universities were considered only if their LSAT scores were over 700; the ungraded programs made it impossible to distinguish among students on other grounds.

There were, finally, three reports that a "pass" was arbitrarily converted into a grade in the admissions process, and in each case this worked to the disadvantage of the applicant. A medical school averaged pass grades as C and a business school as C+/B—. The most generous treatment was a letters and sciences graduate school which converted pass to B; but since its selective admissions policy required a B+ or A— mean, this equivalence actually worked to the detriment of students with some pass/fail courses and many B+, A— and A grades by averaging their overall grade point downward toward the B level. If this practice is common elsewhere, it disadvantages even those students from undergraduate programs with very limited and closely circumscribed pass/fail options.

Among the 50 letters of response only two favored ungraded systems, and both were from business school admissions officers. One advocated a pass/fail system in which each faculty member would write a comment on each student in his class. The second reported that since "most material is fairly well correlated," it was possible to use letters of recommendation, test scores and other indicia about as effectively as grades. Two other business schools expressed lukewarm attitudes best described as a grudging willingness to try to adapt to pass/fail systems.

Of 15 arts and science graduate schools, four responded negatively to all ungraded programs, six said that pass/fail programs outside the major did not significantly harm an applicant's prospects, and five more found some other limited form of pass/fail grading acceptable. The range of those limits suggests so little agreement among graduate schools, however, that undergraduate faculties and students would have a difficult time accommodating such disparate preferences. Among the proposals were "one pass/fail course a year," "two courses per year," "a limited number — not more than 10 per cent," "a relatively small number," and "two each semester outside the major and minor." Five respondents volunteered that more emphasis would be placed on standardized tests if grades were not available and two others said additional weight would be given letters of recommendation.

Among 17 medical school replies, six expressed disfavor of any ungraded work, four accepted various limited pass/fail options, and six specifically said that the pre-medical courses in natural sciences should be graded but that others could be ungraded. One medical dean replied that so much emphasis was placed on the recommendation of the Pre-Medical Advisory Committee that an ungraded program would not seriously disadvantage an applicant, but he went on to express a preference for traditional grades. Four medical schools offered the view that in the absence of grades more emphasis would be placed on the MCAT and four others thought recommendations, particularly from pre-medical advisors, would weigh more heavily.

The surprising willingness of business schools to adapt to ungraded undergraduate programs confounded many of the stereotypes that others in liberal arts faculties must share with me about the conservatism of professional business education. Only two of eight responses opposed pass/fail grading of all kinds and one more suggested a limited pass/fail option of not more than 25 per cent of courses. As reported in a previous paragraph, the attitudes of other business schools ranged from enthusiastic advocacy of pass/fail to grudging acceptance.

Four law school admissions officers opposed any pass/fail, one more thought pass/fail outside the major a viable alternative, and five others favored various kinds of limited pass/fail options such as the usual "one course each semester," "not more than one-third of his courses," and "as few as possible." Eight law schools warned of greater emphasis on LSAT's when undergraduate academic records became less useful for distinguishing among students and three believed recommendations would count more.

Apparently the suggestion, advanced by some critics of traditional evaluation schemes, that Wesleyan provide simply a transcript listing courses passed with credit was not taken seriously by graduate and professional schools, for only seven commented on it. The tone of those comments bordered on outrage. One letters and sciences dean called it "dishonest," another warned that it would make Wesleyan's reports "skewed and probably unreliable," a third said that such transcripts will be of "no help to us, we are interested in knowing . . . [where] he is weak."

Even the most polite reply had a sharp edge: "I don't take to the notion of reporting only courses in which a student does satisfactory work and gets credit. That . . . seems to me too scanty a record." The idea was "hooted down" by one admissions committee. A medical school dean called the plan "intolerable" and another stressed that his committee wanted to know all of a student's performance.

Evaluation and Recommendations

Beyond their reactions to various grading systems, a number of deans and admissions officers commented specifically upon the usefulness of written faculty evaluations of student course work and on the quality of letters of recommendation. Since no specific question was asked about these matters, the number of responses (11 on evaluations, 9 on recommendations) is not great enough for more than impressionistic conclusions. Nonetheless, a number of these responses made arguments on the merits that deserve attention.

On the favorable side, one medical school dean reported that an undergraduate pass/fail system "worked out rather well . . . where the unrestricted portion of the student's transcript contained some very specific evaluations of the student's performance." Another thought that "if coupled with an expanded, meaningful written evaluation of the student almost any [grading] system could be acceptable," although he preferred a traditional grading system as easiest to work with. Three other institutions (two medical schools, one arts and sciences graduate school) which preferred grades said that where a pass/fail system was used, careful individual evaluations of student work must accompany the transcript, and one of these reported that most "[w]ritten evaluations which accompany grades under a pass/fail system do not, in [our] experience, add materially to other evaluations and sometimes prove detrimental to the applicant."

The more numerous critical comments about course evaluations emphasized the inherent difficulty in preparing statements that were meaningful and that made distinctions between students, the banality of most written evaluations, and the nearly impossible burden they impose on already overextended admissions committees or staffs. The strongest adverse statement came from an arts and sciences dean who said, "Having read

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a fair number of end-of-course evaluative statements and having witnessed the utter frustration which at least some faculty members experience when faced with the problem of providing individual qualitative evaluations, I am quite skeptical about the amount of relevant and valid information which they contain. Upon reading a few such statements, one is likely to be impressed with what appears to be the penetrating insight and concern of the faculty member. Read them all day and you end up with intellectual (if not somatic) nausea when you realize that many such 'qualitative evaluations' are little more than collections of clichés and platitudes." A law school admissions dean also described evaluations as platitudinous. He suggested that it would be useful for students who advocate them to write evaluations of classmates and then compare results; they would, he asserted, find the results banal and useless in distinguishing among students. Complaints about the low quality of evaluations pervaded the comments of other respondents.

The problem of volume concerned a law school admissions dean who said simply that he did not have the manpower to read 10 to 20 pages of evaluations for each applicant. And a medical school dean despaired of student folders which included "reams of observations about the student. . . ." Course evaluations undoubtedly became even more unmanageable in 1970-71 than they had been in 1969-70 in the wake of a rising tide of applications for all graduate and professional programs, and especially for law schools.² The tendency to minimize the attention given to course evaluations is perhaps reflected in the practice of the Law School Data Assembly Service which reports LSAT scores and transcript summaries to law school admissions officers and which will calculate admission indexes using these factors if a law school requests them. "No attempt is made to summarize narratives or statements describing candidates' academic work."³ Ironically, those institutions in which faculty continue to shoulder the responsibility for admissions are most adversely affected by large-scale adoption of course evaluation systems: the burden of reading admissions files becomes too great for faculty members and they are forced either to

ignore such evaluations or to turn the admissions decisions over to a professional admissions staff.

While recommendations from pre-medical advisors and from well-known scholars in prestige departments are likely to carry weight, as mentioned above, letters of recommendation do not ordinarily have a high standing in the admissions process. The basic problem is that they are too indiscriminating and give too little information. Seven of the nine comments on letters of recommendation were negative or skeptical. A law school dean said that "honest grades are much more common than honest recommendations." An arts and sciences dean captured the general problem when he reported that ". . . the large majority of letters received . . . are so uniformly enthusiastic that they allow for little discrimination. The number of negative letters received is infinitesimal, so I am afraid that graduate schools cannot depend on the frankness of faculty members to give this method much value in choosing those to admit. . . ." Another said that one-third of the letters received were of no use and that many more were misleading. One dean complained that letters of recommendation put "a premium on gregariousness and forwardness in class" and that "a man who has unpopular views or is obnoxious may be dumped on in letters from faculty." A comment that encompassed both evaluations and letters of recommendations said that "evaluations tend to be very personal (and sometimes pretty far into the realm of amateur psychology) or they tend to be perfunctory, the sort of thing that one gets in the letter of recommendation." Although opinions about written course evaluations and letters of recommendation in lieu of grades were found in only about one-fourth of the letters received, those responses suggest tentatively that neither is a substitute for a clearly calibrated system of evaluation.

The Consequences of "Reform"

Let me emphasize again the limits of this study: it is basically impressionistic rather than rigorously quantitative, it surveys a limited number of graduate schools selected because of their pertinence to Wesleyan undergraduates, and it is concerned solely with the effect that grading systems have on graduate school admissions. One is compelled to conclude, nonetheless, that, to the extent students and faculty give weight to the aspirations of undergraduates to pursue graduate or professional studies, revisions in grading

2 The rising tide of law school applications was reflected in the numbers taking the LSAT: 60,503 in the 1968-69 academic year and 109,318 in 1970-71.

3 Educational Testing Service, *Law School Admission Bulletin* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1971), p. 35.

systems, especially "reforms" which substantially reduce or eliminate the calibrated evaluation of a student's course work, should be undertaken charily. The same warning is pertinent where students opt individually for graded or ungraded courses or programs, where each faculty member makes decisions about grading systems for his courses, and where departmental committees structure the grading requirements for student majors. The elimination or substantial curtailment of reasonably precise course grades will, in all probability, disadvantage applicants for graduate and professional schools or force those institutions to rely even more heavily on such arbitrary measures as standardized tests and the prestige of recommendation writers.

Report of the Managing Editor, The American Political Science Review, 1970-71

Nelson W. Polsby
University of California, Berkeley

My responsibilities as Managing Editor began officially some time in the spring of 1971, immediately following the appearance of the March 1971 issue of the REVIEW (Volume 65, Number 1), the last issue under Austin Ranney's editorship. For some months previous, I had been receiving and supervising the evaluation of manuscripts as Managing Editor Elect.

Owing to the geniality and good judgment of my predecessor, the transition was accomplished smoothly. Indications of our mutual cooperation were the facts that professor Ranney's last issue appeared in a new format selected by me, and that my first issue contained two articles accepted by him. In the course of the transition I reached the conclusion that one thing better than having Austin Ranney as a predecessor was having him as a colleague, and so I prevailed upon him to maintain his association with the REVIEW by remaining on the editorial board, which he consented to do.

Evron Kirkpatrick was enormously helpful during the transition period. His gift is not unlike Joe Dimaggio's legendary ability to make intrinsically difficult things look easy. This is a gift that spectators can underestimate, but I can assure the Council that to those of us down on the field it makes all the difference in the world to have an Executive Director who is on top of his job and always ready to ease ours.

Bea Lindberg in Madison and Thelma Drews and John Robson of George Banta Company, our printer, also took great pains to start us out on the right track.

Our staff at Berkeley was augmented at the start by a generous grant from the University of California. This enabled us to do two things never before attempted by the REVIEW: to give regular staff assistance to the Book Review Editor, and to give thorough professional editorial preparation to all manuscripts accepted for publication. The University of California also provided us with office space sufficiently spacious so that we could consolidate all REVIEW editorial functions in a single place.

Professor Philip Siegelman of San Francisco State College became Book Review Editor with the March 1971 issue. Professor Richard Fenno of the University of Rochester, his predecessor, served with distinction from September 1968 to December 1970.

For this first period our principal editorial assistants were Mary Fain and Kathleen Peters, and our Manuscript Editor was Helen Rowan. All were extraordinarily helpful in getting us on our feet. As the academic year drew to a close, our secretarial work was taken over by Barbara Hight and Beverly McDaid, and our Manuscript Editor is now Ellen Siegelman. Mrs. Siegelman, who holds a doctorate in psychology, is an experienced editor and a published scholar. She has established a style manual for the REVIEW, and is in large measure responsible for the increased readability of contributions. Our proofreading is done on a contracted-out basis by Jeanne Dritz, and the index to Volume 65 has been prepared by Nili Tannenbaum.

Our Editorial Board has been reconstituted and greatly enlarged. Retiring members of the board are Harvey Mansfield, Columbia University; Warren E. Miller, University of Michigan; Melvin Richter, Hunter College, CUNY; John E. Turner, University of Minnesota; Vernon Van Dyke, University of Iowa; and Myron Weiner, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Held-over members of the board are Fred I. Greenstein, Wesleyan University, who resigned after he was elected to the Council of the Association; Walter Murphy, Princeton University; and Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin. New members are Alan Altshuler of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who resigned in June after accepting the post of Secretary of Transportation for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Shlomo Avineri, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; David Braybrooke, Dalhousie University; Richard A. Brody, Stanford University; Edith T. Carper, The Aerospace Corporation; Samuel D. Cook, The Ford Foundation and Duke University; S. Rufus Davis, Monash University; Robert Fried, University of California Los Angeles; Arthur S. Goldberg, University of Rochester; Morton H. Halperin, The Brookings Institution; Nannerl O. Keohane, Swarthmore College; Peter Laslett, Trinity College, Cambridge University; H. Douglas Price, Harvard University; Robert D. Putnam, University of Michigan; Douglas W. Rae, Yale University; Giovanni Sartori, University of Florence; George Von der Muhl, University of California Santa Cruz; and Richard A. Watson, University of Missouri.

We are continuing the custom of meeting together at dinner sometime during the annual meeting

(the only compensation the Association offers members of the Editorial Board) and, following dinner, intend to continue on into the evening in semi-structured discussion of REVIEW business.

During the year past we have instituted extensive changes in the REVIEW'S format, some of which I have already discussed in a REVIEW Editorial Comment (itself an innovation) and thus need not repeat here.¹ Each contribution to the REVIEW is now edited by a professional Manuscript Editor and every footnote and quotation is checked by an Editorial Intern.² Comments from authors on this service have been on the whole barely short of ecstatic. Readers have been more reticent with their responses, but they, unlike authors and members of the editorial staff, do not know what they are missing.

If I can point to a single contribution that we have been able to make during the past year it surely must be in the professionalization of the REVIEW. My predecessors performed miracles operating on an ad-hoc basis, with sharply limited funds and part-time assistance. The intellectual responsibilities that fall to the REVIEW in a burgeoning discipline made this approach impossible to continue, and I am grateful to the Council for their assistance in helping the REVIEW over this fundamental transition.

In order to give the Council some idea of the scope of the change-over, consider the Book Review section. Richard Fenno worked within a tiny budget that did little or nothing to defray the expense of his time or his clerical costs. He produced a highly creditable Book Review section, but of course had neither time nor other resources with which to expand the Review section. His successor, Philip Siegelman, reports as follows on his workload and activities:

We receive an average of 80 to 100 books a week or between 4,500 and 5,000 books a year. I'm guessing that we request about half of these from the publishers using current book catalogues, advertisements, press releases and the like to identify books we would like to examine and perhaps send out for review. I sort them out as quickly as possible and try to get out invitations to potential reviewers within a few weeks of a

book's arrival in the office. My best guess is that about seven out of every ten invitations sent out are accepted, though often not without another round of correspondence to straighten out a detail relating to deadline, length of review, etc. (We invite members of the profession to review books by using a form letter. We establish a tickler file that shows when the review will be overdue, a file that lists the book by author, and another that allows us to find out which reviewers are currently working on something or have reviewed something in the recent past. I hope we will soon be able to consolidate some of these record-keeping operations by devising new forms and shorter ways of recording necessary information.) Of course, when I'm turned down by a reviewer, I start looking over the field for an alternative candidate as soon as possible. Some books require as many as four or five invitations before a suitable reviewer can be found.

Very few of our reviews arrive on the promised date, which means that we have to send out reminders. Once we have a review in hand, except for a few rare exceptions, I read them quickly and pass them on to Ellen Siegelman for editorial changes. This results after a round of correspondence with the author in a very substantial contribution to the REVIEW's clarity and quality. Once authors have approved of our changes we don't deal with them again until they are asked to proofread printer's galleys — a practice that once was reserved for authors of the few Book Reviews per issue but not required of authors of Book Notes. We consider all reviews as reviews and have abolished the Book Note. These latter were presumably proofed only by Banta and that resulted in a large number of howlers. I think we have raised the level of the journal's performance considerably in this respect.

I average about ten pieces of first-class mail every day not counting returned manuscripts, newly arrived reviews, publisher's press releases, book catalogues, and the like. Typing and filing correspondence, shipping out books, maintaining record files, sending out two copies of all printed reviews to publishers, handling page proofs and galleys, unpacking books, etc., keeps a half-time secretary working every available minute. The fact that she has recently begun to fall behind — in a sense, we both have begun to fall behind — happened not only because of the work load briefly outlined above, but because in recent months considerable time has been given to trying

1 Editorial Comment APSR 65 (June, 1971), p. 502.

2 On this process and especially the rôle of Editorial Interns see Editorial Comment APSR 65 (September, 1971), p. 781.

to work up contributions other than conventional book reviews for the Book Review section.

I want the Book Review section to give some evidence of intellectual engagement in synoptic ways rather than simply providing an arena in which the most current work is assessed. Of course, our major obligation is to find the best qualified reviewers for current books, but we also need to help organize the "invisible colleges" of scholarly interest throughout the profession, to provide some occasions for summing up, and generally to move a bit more aggressively and imaginatively into the roiling waters of the current literature. At present, we review what comes to us in the mails — hardly the most exciting and intellectually profitable way of helping to establish the (quarterly) parameters of a discipline. I'm proposing to give some reality to such hopes by introducing the following features regularly into the Book Review section: 1) review essays; 2) review bibliographies; 3) re-reviews of classical works of primary significance for current research and study; 4) tandem reviews (i.e., by two different reviewers) of important or controversial books. Working out suitable arrangements in all these matters is very time-consuming. I've corresponded with a large number of people asking for their reactions to such innovations (all favorable) and for their proposals on subject matter and authors. I've also corresponded with numbers of others who might take on an assignment or have (finally) agreed to work on some project.

The review essay is the most convenient device for accomplishing some of the intentions noted above. Some review essays will deal with ten or twenty recently published books; others will deal with the work of a single major scholar, perhaps occasioned by the publication of his latest book. I have commitments or am close to having commitments for review essays on: violence and politics, Vietnam, the revisionist literature on American foreign policy, poverty, public policy, the Universal Reference System, women and politics, Robert Dahl, and others. Length will be about 5,000 words; all essays over three thousand words will be read and approved by referees before being accepted for publication to insure that their quality is commensurate with that of regular articles. I would also like regularly to print review essays that deal with current textbooks in all the major areas of political science. The past neglect of textbooks is, I think, inexcusable. They will not be reviewed individually in the way we

now review works of scholarship. A dozen or so leading texts in American politics, parties, comparative, international relations and so on down the line will be analyzed and thus provide an occasion to comment on the state of the discipline. I already have commitments for a few review essays of this sort. A dozen or so texts that introduce undergraduates to Political Science are also being treated in a review essay which might appear in the December issue. The review bibliographies will be useful additions to the literature in the case of newly aggregating subjects (e.g., war/peace, socialization, exchange theory, race) or in the case of established aggregations (e.g., community power, leadership/elites, methodology) where summing up and pointing toward new or neglected directions are necessary.

My own workload mostly entails the receipt and evaluation of manuscripts. In this task I rely heavily upon referees, anonymous scholars who are specialists in the various topics upon which we receive papers, as I frequently am not. Last year nearly 400 scholars served as referees, and in behalf of the REVIEW I offer them heart-felt thanks.³

Table 1 Distribution and Disposition of Manuscripts

	1966-1967*	1967-1968*	1968-1969*	1969-1970**	1970-1971*
Received	308	255	318	280	407
Accepted	36	21	39	25	29
Under Consideration	73	54	64	97	91
Returned	191	180	215	158	287
Acceptance Rate	15.9%	14.8%	15.3%	13.7%	9.1%

* August 1 to July 31.

** August 1 to May 31.

Table 1 gives the bare bones of the statistics on the receipt and disposition of articles for the REVIEW in the past year (August 1, 1970 - July 31, 1971) with comparative statistics for previous years.

The number of articles submitted to the REVIEW hit an all-time high last year, and we see no sign of abatement. In general, I accepted all articles strongly recommended by referees, and rejected all articles strongly disapproved of by them. Our

3 See the December 1971 REVIEW for an Editorial Comment discussing the work of referees in greater detail.

very severe backlog problem continues. We are currently filling the September 1972 issue, and intervening issues are, barring minor adjustments, already full. Our acceptance rate remains extremely low. I do not know of a scholarly journal with a higher rate of rejection than the REVIEW. Our policy of anonymity in refereeing continues to serve us well; no article is accepted without refereeing, although comments, communications, rejoinders and book reviews generally are requested and refereed by the editor or the book review editor rather than by anonymous outsiders. I am happy to say that despite the stiff competition for space, a number of articles in the last year were accepted from junior members of the profession. We want to encourage them, as we hope we are able to encourage others, to think of the REVIEW as a hospitable outlet for new thinking in all areas of political science.

Table II gives comparative statistics on printing and publishing costs. We are printing quite a few more copies than we sell to current subscribers.

Current subscriptions to members and institutions number approximately 18,000; the balance is held at the Banta company and is used to fulfill the rather substantial number of back orders that we receive. Publishing costs per copy have remained about the same over the last couple of volumes, but this is bound to increase since these figures reflect 1) wage costs in the Fox River Valley of Wisconsin 2) U.S. postage costs and 3) costs of paper. All are on the rise. Political economists in our midst can undoubtedly give reasons for this, and perhaps even can prescribe an ameliorative program of political action, but I consider that my writ extends only to reporting the facts.

Fluctuations in printing costs within the relatively narrow tolerances reported here are accounted for mostly by variations in the size of issues and in the type of material set: figures, tables and the algebra that we have recently become addicted to cost more to set into type than gems of purely literary expression.

Table 2 Circulation, Printing Costs*, and Distribution of Space in THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, 1969-71

	Vol. 63 1969				Vol. 64 1970				Vol. 65 1971	
	Mar.	June	Sept.	Dec.	Mar.	June	Sept.	Dec.	Mar.	June
Number printed	24,900	24,600	16,000	27,500	29,000	34,883	40,000	40,000	27,000	26,802
Total printing and mailing cost	\$22,786	\$21,264	\$25,145	\$29,818	\$25,716	\$31,737	\$27,113	\$40,370	\$24,616	\$23,080
Cost per copy	92¢	86¢	97¢	\$1.08	89¢	89¢	67¢	\$1.01	91¢	86¢
Total pages	358	330	359	403	343	388	296	442	332	308
Total editorial pages . .	251	265	301	313	247	338	249	365	237	260
Total pages advertising	105	63	56	85	94	50	47	77	95	48
Number of articles . . .	12	12	12	14	14	13	12	13	15	10
Average number of pages per article . .	13.6	13.7	17.5	15.1	12.6	18.4	14	16	12	15.8
Percent of editorial pages in:										
Articles	65%	62%	70%	68%	71%	72%	69%	59%	75%	62%
Book Reviews and Notes	32%	34%	28%	21%	26%	24%	30%	31%	20%	34%
Communications . .	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	0.5%	2%	2%	1%
Announcements . .	1%	2%	+	+	1%	2%	0.5%	+	1%	
Index				9%				8%		
Abstracts									2%	
Editorial Comment										1%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* These costs do not include either editorial costs or the expenses of maintaining the membership records, preparing the mailing list, and the like.

+ Less than 0.5%

**Report of the Managing Editor,
The American Political
Science Review, 1970-1971**

I think it is apparent from all this that the REVIEW is a fairly substantial operation, which absorbs the energies and time of a sizeable number of people and a significant proportion of the resources of the Association. My colleagues at the REVIEW and I take seriously our obligations to identify and present to members of the Association in readable form important contributions to the growth of knowledge in political science. We are not wholly satisfied that we have succeeded in this task, but if we have, it is in no small measure because of the assistance of our co-workers in the national office, as well as the forbearance of our readers, to whom all this work is dedicated.

Association News

The 1971 Annual Meeting

The 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association was held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, from September 7 to 11. Sidney Verba of the University of Chicago served as Program Chairman. Official registration was 2,632 with 1,067 participants in panel sessions. 431 papers were delivered. Several special features of the 1971 Annual Meeting were: the workshop format for about a third of the panels in which participants had the opportunity to study the papers prior to the meeting; a demonstration center employing the use of computers under the direction of Gregory Marks, Head, Computer Support Group, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan with assistance from Stewart Robinovitz and Sylvia Barge, also of the Center for Political Studies; and a videotape/film study of the meeting. The videotape/film project was sponsored and financially supported by the Film Research Unit of the Political Data Program of the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle. The Project Coordinators were Kaye Miller of the Department of Political Science and Gerald Swatez of the Department of Sociology.

Other important aspects of the 1971 Annual Meeting included the Annual Business Meeting, the Awards Ceremonies and the Presidential address by Robert E. Lane, Yale University.

The Annual Business Meeting

The 1971 Annual Business Meeting was conducted in three sessions this year with President Robert E. Lane presiding; the American Arbitration Association again assisted with the administration of the sessions. Items on the agenda included amendments to the current Constitution, the proposed new Constitution, resolutions and nominations for Association officers.

The Business Meeting voted to submit one amendment to the membership for mail ballot vote. It would substitute in the Constitution an Administrative Committee of elected Association officers for the current Executive Committee which is composed of elected and appointed officers. An amendment on cumulative voting for Association officers which had been tabled at last year's Business Meeting was lifted from the table on the motion of its sponsor, Steven Brams, but failed by vote of the meeting to receive the necessary forty percent support to be placed on the mail ballot.

The proposed new Association Constitution was also taken up by the Business Meeting and following discussion of it the meeting voted 172 to 59 against it. Since it received less than forty percent of the vote of those present and voting at the meeting, the proposed new Constitution was defeated.

Two resolutions were adopted, one recommending that academic institutions support part-time study and a second one recommending that in the matter of the detention in a foreign nation of Professor Rene Lemarchand of the Department of Political Science of the University of Florida, the case be referred to the Committee on Academic Freedom and/or the President of the Association take appropriate action as soon as is possible in the light of available information.

The final action of the Business Meeting was the nomination of candidates for Association officers and Council. The results of the balloting on the Constitution amendment and on election of officers and Council members as well as the official minutes of the Business Meeting will be published in a future issue of *PS*.

Awards

Ted Robert Gurr of Northwestern University received the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award of \$1,000 and a medal for the best book published in the United States in 1970 in government, politics, or international affairs. The award winning book, *Why Men Rebel*, was published by Princeton University Press. William T. R. Fox, the Chairman of the Selection Committee, in his citation said, "Dealing with a subject of the greatest theoretical and practical importance, he (Gurr) has ranged through the literature of many social science disciplines and the history of many Western and non-Western cultures in his impressive exploitation of available materials. To paraphrase one reviewer, this rigorously constructed book is also a work of synthesis in the grand manner of the state of the art and science of systematically studying revolution!" The Committee which selected the winner was composed of William T. R. Fox, Chairman, Columbia University; Donald E. Stokes, University of Michigan; and M. Crawford Young, University of Wisconsin.

The first annual Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best political science publication in the field of United States national policy was awarded to Bruce M. Russett, Yale University, for his book,

What Price Vigilance, published by Yale University Press. In presenting the award of \$500.00 to Russett, Charles O. Jones quoted John P. Lovell's review of the book that it "is a forthright and timely expression of the author's deep concern about the burden of maintaining a vast defense establishment; yet it is a careful, skillful analysis, in which inferences and prescription are closely tied to data." Members of the Selection Committee were: Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh, Chairman; Thomas R. Dye, Florida State University; and Ira Sharkansky, University of Wisconsin.

The Pi Sigma Alpha Award, for the best paper presented at the 1970 Annual Meeting, went to Daniel Ellsberg, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for his paper, "Escalating in a Quagmire." Members of the Selection Committee were: Davis B. Bobrow, University of Minnesota, Chairman; Melvin Richter, Hunter College; and Robert C. Tucker, Princeton University.

The Edward S. Corwin Award, for the best dissertation in public law, broadly defined, went to Douglas Eurico Rosenthal, of the firm Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson. His dissertation "Client Participation in Professional Decision: The Lawyer-Client Relationship in Personal Injury Cases," was submitted by the Department of Political Science, Yale University. Members of the Selection Committee were: David Danelski, Cornell University, Chairman; Paul C. Bartholomew, University of Notre Dame; and Sanford V. Levinson, Stanford University.

The Leonard D. White Award, for the best dissertation in the general field of public administration, broadly defined, went to Larry B. Hill, University of Oklahoma. His dissertation, "The International Transfer of Political Institutions: A Behavioral Analysis of the New Zealand Ombudsman" was submitted by the Department of Political Science, Tulane University. Members of the Selection Committee were: Laurence I. Radway, Dartmouth College, Chairman; Arnold J. Meltsner, University of California, Berkeley; and Robert V. Presthus, York University.

The Helen Dwight Reid Award, for the best dissertation in the field of international relations, law and politics. The Reid Award Committee for 1971 recommended that no award be made for 1971 and that consideration be given to means whereby more submissions for consideration would be available for future awards and that the 1972 Committee consider making two awards.



Heinz Eulau,
Stanford University, Association President 1971-72

APSA Council Minutes

The third Council meeting of the year was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., June 7 and 8, 1971.

Present:

Chadwick F. Alger, Philip E. Converse, John A. Davis, Thomas R. Dye, Heinz Eulau, Fred I. Greenstein, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Donald R. Matthews, Joyce M. Mitchell, Nelson W. Polsby, Jewel L. Prestage, James W. Prothro, William P. Robinson, Dankwart A. Rustow, Victoria Schuck, Allan P. Sindler and Ellis Waldron.

Approval of Minutes

Minutes of the previous meeting were unanimously approved, subject to such minor corrections that the Secretary may find necessary.

Priorities of the Association

President-Elect Eulau, at the request of President Lane, presented the Council with a "Prolegomenon to a Discussion of APSA Priorities." President-Elect Eulau's comments included the following:

Given constraints arising out of the heterogeneous nature of our membership and our

limited resources, it is easier to say what the Association is not and what it should not do, than what it is and what it should do. . . .

First, we are not a university backed by public or private funds. . . . Much as I appreciate the Association's potential in shaping the course of teaching and research, I believe that this course will be set in and by the university departments. . . . It is in this context that whatever we do about secondary, undergraduate, graduate and minority education or the dissemination of research and writing must be judged. We have undertaken such efforts in the past and Bob Lane has initiated a great many relevant enterprises in the past year. I propose, therefore, that in the coming year or two this Council, the Executive Director and the President do no more than try to carry on these programs and not scatter our limited resources in further new directions. . . .

Second, we are not a foundation in the business of subsidizing worthy causes. . . . This is not to say that the Association cannot help, directly or indirectly, those who wish to promote something of which this Council approves. I think the efforts being made in behalf of black students for fellowship support are of this order. But we are in this respect at best a broker institution that, like an *amicus curiae*, intervenes. . . .

Third, we are neither a labor union nor a trade association. Although we are concerned with the social and economic welfare of our members, especially those who are teachers, we are in no position to bargain collectively, or as an Association, make demands on the universities. . . . Those of our members or departments who wish to enter into trade union relationships with their employers should affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers or similar organizations.

Those who are concerned with academic freedom and tenure are free to join the AAUP. It seems to me inappropriate for our Association to do what other organizations are set up to do and potentially capable of doing.

Finally, and I am coming here to a matter closest to my heart, we are not set up or organized for political action or the propagation of political points of view. . . . My objection to political

action groups in the Association is not that they may have certain aims, some of which I probably share, but that they seek to use and, I think, misuse the Association as an instrument for the achievement of their political aims. . . . As a learned society whose members differ a great deal among themselves, the Association should commit its moral and scientific resources most sparingly. . . .

I consider it, therefore, as our top priority to maintain rationality and sanity in a world that to some people seems so topsy-turvy that they lose all sense of direction and long-range purpose. That purpose has been and shall continue to be "to encourage the study of Political Science."

President Lane also spoke to the Council of his ideas of Association priorities. He described on-going activities of the Association in a variety of fields, together with the new programs he had previously presented to the Council. He categorized these activities as follows:

- Education in Political Science
 - Pre-Collegiate Education
 - Undergraduate Education
 - Graduate Education

- Publications and Information Exchange
 - APSR
 - PS
 - Annual Meeting
 - Abstracting and bibliographic services
 - Book reviewing
 - Scientific Information Exchange

- Manpower
 - Recruitment and Placement
 - National Register
 - Manpower study

- Professional Equality
 - Committee on the Status of Blacks
 - Black Fellowship Program
 - Committee on the Status of Women
 - Committee on the Status of Chicanos

- Ethics and Academic Freedom

- Application of Political Science Knowledge in Public Affairs

1971 ANNUAL MEETING

The Technological Challenge to Political and Administrative Organization in the United States:
An Analytical Colloquium



L to R: Jonathan F. Galloway, Lake Forest College; David H. Davis, Johns Hopkins University; James D. Carroll, Ohio State University; Albert H. Teich, Syracuse University; and Roger E. Kanet, University of Kansas.

The Measurement of Policy Outcomes in the Administration of Social Services



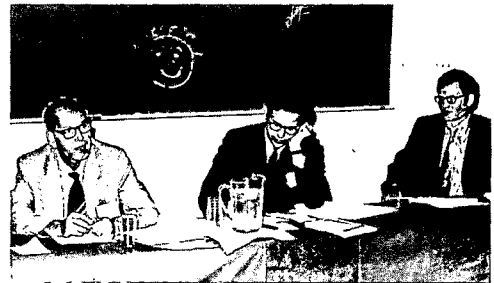
L to R: Jay W. Stein, Western Illinois University; Murry Tucker, Florida State University; Sydney Reid, Florida A & M University; Lenneal Henderson, San Francisco State and Paul L. Puryear, Florida State University.

Nominating Presidents and Prime Ministers:
Comparative Perspectives



L to R: Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin; Elijah B. Kaminsky, Arizona State University; Donald R. Matthews, Brookings Institution and David Butler, Nuffield College, Oxford University.

The Financing of Politics



L to R: John Owens, University of California, Davis; Donald Balmer, Lewis and Clark College, and Delmer Dunn, University of Georgia, Athens.

Multi-Media Approaches to Teaching International Relations in High Schools



L to R: Cheryle Nottingham, Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver and H. Thomas Collins, Center for War/Peace Studies, University of Denver.

What Kind of Majority — Republican, Real, For Change or None



L to R: David Kovenock, University of North Carolina; Robert Wagner, Louis Harris and Associates; Kevin Phillips, King Features Syndicate; Richard M. Scammon, Elections Research Center; Rick S. Piltz, University of Texas and William Hamilton, Independent Research Association.

Presidential Address and Awards Ceremony



L to R: Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh, Chairman, Gladys M. Kammerer Award Committee; Sidney Verba, University of Chicago, 1971 Annual Meeting Program Chairman; Robert E. Lane, Yale University, 1971 Association President; and Laurence I. Radway, Dartmouth College, Chairman, Leonard D. White Award Committee.

Yale University Dutch Treat Reception



David R. Mayhew, Yale University, and Michael Kraft, Vassar College.



The Presidential Address, Robert E. Lane Yale University

Awards Presentation



L to R: Bruce M. Russett, Yale University, winner 1971 Gladys M. Kammerer Award; Ted Robert Gurr, Northwestern University, winner of the 1971 Woodrow Wilson Book Award and William T. R. Fox, Columbia University, Chairman, Woodrow Wilson Book Award Committee.

APSA Council Meeting



L to R: John A. Davis, City College; Evron M. Kirkpatrick, APSA; Robert E. Lane, Yale University; Heinz Eulau, Stanford University; and Thomas R. Dye, Florida State University.

Filming the Council Meeting



L to R: Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University; Donald R. Matthews, Brookings Institution; Herbert McClosky, University of California, Berkeley; Allan P. Sindler, University of California, Berkeley; John H. Kessel, Ohio State University; Henry Kariel, University of Hawaii; Gordon Tullock, Virginia Polytechnic Institute; Edward C. Banfield, Harvard University; and Victoria Schuck, Mt. Holyoke College. The cameraman is Samuel Walker.

Association News

Kirkpatrick pointed out that in reading the history of the Association and in meeting with directors of other social science associations, he was impressed with the similarities in the activities, programs, and problems of all the professional associations. He felt that two of the most important functions of the Association should be to strengthen publications and the Annual Meetings. He stated that pre-collegiate and undergraduate education have been a concern of all the associations through the years and will probably continue to be in the future.

Following these statements by Eulau, Lane, and Kirkpatrick, the Council engaged in only a brief discussion of Association priorities. The Council neither approved nor disapproved of the views expressed by the President, President-Elect, and Executive Director. Statements by Davis, Rustow and Prestage indicated diversity within the Council about Association priorities.

Association Budget for Fiscal 1971-72

Matthews presented the Council with the budget for fiscal 1971-72 proposed by the Administrative Committee. He pointed out that the proposed budget was balanced at \$724,000, and that the By-Laws of the Association obliged the Council to adopt a balanced budget. He observed that the deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, was approximately \$157,000. On a procedural point, he moved that if more than one motion is made to alter the budget expenditures proposed by the Administrative Committee the following procedure will be followed:

(1) Each motion will be considered separately and approved or disapproved by a preliminary vote of the Council.

(2) The budget as amended will then be voted on as a whole. This final budget must be passed by roll call vote of the Council for alterations in the budget to take effect.

Motion was unanimously approved.

During the discussion of *income from the Annual Meeting*, Prestage moved to reaffirm the registration fees set by the Council last fall of \$15 for non-members, \$10 for regular members, and \$5 for student members. Matthews observed that the proposed budget envisioned a \$10 registration fee

for both student and regular members of the Association, and that a \$5 student registration fee would reduce anticipated income by \$5,000.

The vote on the Prestage motion was:

For: Alger, Davis, Kariel, Prestage, Sindler, Waldron

Against: Converse, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kessel, McClosky, Matthews, Polsby, Prothro, Schuck

Lane, Mitchell and Rustow abstained from voting

Motion defeated — 6 approved; 11 opposed.

Matthews, for the Administrative Committee, moved to establish registration fees for the Annual Meeting as follows: \$10 for members, \$15 for non-members.

Vote was:

For: Converse, Davis, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kessel, McClosky, Matthews, Polsby, Prothro, Rustow, Schuck, Sindler

Against: Alger, Prestage, Waldron

Kariel and Lane abstained from voting.

Motion carried — 14 approved; 3 opposed.

Because of the increased *printing cost of the Review*, Polsby moved to increase the amount allocated for such printing by 10% (\$10,500). No objection; motion approved. Dye asked Polsby when he intended to increase the *Review* to six issues annually, and asked why Polsby had not requested funds to do this in 1971-72. Polsby's reply was that he wished to consult with next year's officers and Council.

Rustow observed that the Administrative Committee was proposing only \$35,000 for *PS* compared to \$51,000 allocated to *PS* in 1970-71. Kariel, Davis, and Schuck spoke on behalf of *PS* and its popularity among Association members. James David Barber, Chairman of the Editorial Board of *PS*, asked the Council's view on how *PS* should implement a reduced appropriation. McClosky, Kessel, and Huntington mentioned various steps to reduce *PS* expenses, but noted that editorial responsibility rested with the Board.

Rustow moved to increase the printing costs of *PS* by \$10,000. McClosky moved that the consideration of the *PS* budget item be tabled and brought back from the table after a joint committee of members

of the Editorial Board of *PS* and members of the Council had met and were prepared to submit a proposal for additional funding.

Later, Barber, for the joint committee, proposed an increase of \$5,000 to the *PS* budget. Rustow made a substitute motion to his previous motion to increase the budget of *PS* from \$35,000 to \$40,000. Motion unanimously approved.

Eulau suggested that, in order to *increase the revenue available to the Review*, the Executive Director and Managing Editor of the *Review* be authorized to explore the possibilities of establishing page charges for articles prepared under the terms of a grant or contract and establishing submission fees for all manuscripts submitted. Polsby noted that the Ad Hoc Committee on Association Publications had considered both of these possibilities and rejected them as unfeasible. He stated that he had no objection to exploring them further, but that \$5-6,000 has already been spent to consider the proposals and they were not approved.

Josephine Milburn, Chairman of the *Committee on the Status of Women* in the Profession, stated that her committee originally requested a \$1,000 budget item as the "minimum" amount required to continue the Committee's work, but that the Administrative Committee was proposing only \$500. She stated that this appropriation would not enable her committee to hold any funded meetings. Matthews stated that the Administrative Committee had allocated \$500 for costs of committee members for telephone, correspondence, and transportation to the national meeting of members who might not otherwise get their way funded. Prestage moved that \$500 be added to the appropriation for the Committee on the Status of Women to bring their total appropriation to \$1,000. Prestage motion was approved; only Dye voted against; Eulau, McClosky and Polsby abstained from voting.

Schuck moved to add \$500 to the allocation to the *Committee on the Status of Chicanos* in the Profession to bring their total appropriation to \$1,000. Alger amended the motion to allocate the Committee on the Status of Chicanos to a total of \$1,500. Schuck accepted the amendment. Sindler stated his feeling that the Council was obligated to give the Committee on the Status of Chicanos a larger amount of money because of the large appropriations which have been expended in

previous years by the Committee on the Status of Women and the Committee on the Status of Blacks. He offered a substitute motion for the appropriation of \$4,500 for the Committee on the Status of Chicanos, contingent upon failure of the Committee to receive foundation support, with the understanding that this would be the last year of funding at such a level and that if the committee continues beyond next year, it will be funded at a level of a "watch-dog" committee.

Vote on the Sindler motion was:

For: Alger, Converse, Greenstein, Mitchell, Prestage, Robinson, Rustow, Sindler

Against: Davis, Dye, Eulau, Huntington, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Matthews, Mitchell, Prothro, Schuck, Waldron

Lane and Polsby abstained from voting.

Motion defeated — 8 approved; 11 opposed.

Schuck motion, as amended by Alger, was approved; only Dye voted against; Polsby and Eulau abstained from voting.

Waldron moved to increase the allocation to the *Committee on Ethics and Academic Freedom* by \$1,000 to bring its total appropriation to \$1,500. He stated that he could find nothing in the entire budget which he considers to be of more importance to the Association and the membership than this committee, and that one meeting of the committee is a minimal commitment.

The Waldron motion was approved; only Dye voted against; Polsby and Eulau abstained from voting.

Alger asked about the Administrative Committee's budget cut in the "*membership in other societies*" category. Kirkpatrick explained that this was because of a proposed cut from \$1,500 to \$500 of the APSA membership fee in the International Political Science Association. Alger moved that the \$1,500 contribution to IPSA be maintained, and that this amount be restored to the budget for this purpose.

Vote on the Alger motion was:

For: Alger, Rustow

Against: Davis, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Polsby, Prothro, Schuck, Sindler, Waldron

Converse, Lane and Robinson abstained from voting.

Motion defeated — 2 approved; 15 opposed.

Prior to voting on the amended budget, Dye raised a point of order: the increases voted by the Council totaled \$18,000, and even after administrative adjustments there remained a deficit in the amount of \$12,460. Under the By-Laws adopted for the Association, the Council is required to preserve a balance between expenditures and income, and, therefore, said Dye, it would be out of order for the Council to accept the budget as it now stands.

Prestage moved to direct the Administrative Committee to reduce the total expenditures by 2%, guided by the necessity of fixed costs. No objection; motion approved.

Matthews moved for adoption of the budget as amended, including the Prestage amendment.

Vote on the Matthews motion was:

For: Alger, Converse, Davis, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, Matthews, Mitchell, Polsby, Prestage, Prothro, Robinson, Rustow, Sindler, Waldron

No opposition; motion unanimously approved.

The Council unanimously commended the Treasurer, Executive Director, and Administrative Committee for their work in developing the Association budget.

Establishment of an E. E. Schattschneider Award

Greenstein moved to authorize the establishment of an endowment fund for an E. E. Schattschneider Award for the best dissertation completed in the previous year in the general field of American government and politics. He stated that Wesleyan University has pledged \$1,000 to the fund. Unanimously approved.

Rules of Procedure for the Annual Meeting

Kessel, on behalf of the Rules Committee, moved that the Rules of Procedure be amended to include:

"2.8. Any amendment that fails to gain support of 40% of those members present and voting shall be defeated; any amendment supported by at least 40% of those members present and

voting shall be referred to the full membership by mail ballot. (Art. IX, Sec. 2) Any resolution that fails to gain the support of one-third of those members present and voting shall be defeated; any resolution supported by more than one-third but less than two-thirds of those members present and voting shall be referred to the full membership by mail ballot; any resolution supported by at least two-thirds of those members present and voting shall be passed." (Art. VIII)

"2.9. In accordance with the mail ballot requirements specified in Sec. 2.8, a motion to table, postpone, or defer an amendment must be supported by at least 60% of the members present and voting to pass. A motion to table, postpone, or defer a resolution must be supported by at least two-thirds of the members present and voting to pass. If an amendment has been tabled, it may be lifted from the table if at least 40% of the members present and voting cast votes to do so. If a resolution has been tabled, it may be lifted from the table if at least one-third of the members present and voting cast votes to do so."

This motion was made with the understanding that if there are substantial objections raised by the membership after publication of the Rules of Procedure, the Committee on Rules would be willing to entertain a motion to reconsider the rules at the September meeting of the Council.

Vote on the Kessel motion was:

For: Alger, Converse, Davis, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Mitchell, Polsby, Prothro, Robinson, Schuck, Sindler

Against: Rustow

Dye, Lane, Prestage and Waldron abstained from voting.

Motion carried — 17 approved; 1 opposed.

Kessel moved, on behalf of the Rules Committee, the following revisions to the Rules of Procedure:

"4.2. In the initial formal presentation of the new constitution, fifteen minutes shall be allotted to proponents of the new constitution (members of the drafting committee) followed by fifteen minutes to be divided equally among principle opponents of the new constitution. Thereafter,

discussion will be governed by the three-minute rule outlined in Sec. 2.5."

No objection; motion approved.

"4.3. In view of the time and effort that went into the drafting of this new constitution, and the year that has been devoted to its discussion by the membership, the new constitution shall have a privileged status; motions to table, postpone or delay the full draft of the new constitution shall not be admitted. If the new constitution receives the support of at least 40% of those present and voting, its provisions will subsequently be presented to the membership at large for a mail ballot. If it does not receive support at the 40% level, it will be defeated."

No objection; motion approved.

"2.12. Except as otherwise provided in the Constitution, By-Laws, and these Rules of Procedure, the Annual Business Meeting shall be governed by the rules set forth in the most recent edition of Sarah Corbin Robert (ed.) *Robert's Rules of Order* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co.)."

No objection; motion approved.

In reply to a Rules Committee request that the Treasurer orally present the Budget Report to the Annual Business Meeting, the Council directed the Chairman of the Rules Committee to provide an opportunity for people to meet with the Treasurer at a time and place other than the Annual Business Meeting.

In consideration of the proposed Schedule for the 1971 Annual Business Meeting, Polsby moved to reschedule consideration of proposed Resolutions to Tuesday evening, before the discussion of the proposed Constitution. The Council unanimously agreed that the Business Meeting should consider Resolutions from 8:00 to 9:30 p.m., Tuesday, followed by the Open Forum for Discussion of the New Constitution at 9:30 p.m.

Kessel moved for adoption of the Rules of Procedure as amended. No objection; motion approved.

Constitutional Amendment — Administrative Committee

Kessel then presented a proposed Constitutional amendment substituting an Elective Administrative

Committee for Partially Appointive Executive Committee (see Summer, 1971, PS for wording of amendment). No objection; motion approved.

Constitutional Amendment — APSA Trust Fund

The Council then discussed a Constitutional Amendment proposed by Lane for the establishment of an American Political Science Association Trust Fund. (A copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes). Lane defended the proposed Trust Fund as a "prudent protection of the Association's endowment and a guarantee of continued future Association income from the interest thereon." The principle beneficiaries of the Trust Fund idea, he said, would be future members of the Association.

Polsby stated that it seems undesirable, in principle, to take power over Association funds from the Council and lodge it elsewhere in a separate Board of Trustees. He also questioned the proposed composition of the Board of Trustees — the three immediate past Presidents of the Association.

McClosky moved that the Council direct the President to appoint a committee to investigate the advisability of establishing such a trust fund and the best means for executing it; the committee is to be composed of the President-Elect, Treasurer, and such other persons as the President designates, and it is to report to the Council by the second meeting of the 1971-72 Council.

Sindler spoke in support of the McClosky motion. He stated that he was in sympathy with the goal of preserving the capital endowment of the Association, but that there may be more effective ways of doing so.

McClosky motion was approved; only Dye voted against.

Proposed New Constitution

The question was raised by Rustow as to whether or not the present Council should take a position on the proposed new constitution. Kessel stated his opinion that the present Council lacks jurisdiction under the By Laws and Constitution to vote on the proposed Constitution. The previous Council had already discharged the Constitutional responsibility for advising on these constitutional amendments; and the new Constitution is still technically in the hands of the Business Meeting

where it is tabled. Polsby moved that the Council take up the proposed Constitution and amendments to it in order to record its sentiments with respect to them.

Vote on the Polsby motion was:

For: Davis, Huntington, Matthews, Mitchell, Polsby, Rustow, Schuck

Against: Alger, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Prestage, Sindler, Waldron

Lane abstained from voting.

Motion defeated — 7 approved; 10 opposed.

Executive Director's Contract

McClosky moved that the Council approve the joint letter of agreement concerning the employment of the Executive Director, between President Robert E. Lane and Evron M. Kirkpatrick. Council approval is given with the understanding that the letter incorporates the policies concerning retirement age, and retirement and other benefits for the Executive Director previously approved by the Executive Committee and the Council, specifically including the Executive Committee actions of 1961, reaffirmed in 1968; and with the further understanding that copies of these actions and others relating to the Executive Director's employment be attached to the record copy of the Lane-Kirkpatrick letter. Motion unanimously approved.

Proposed Council Action on Committees

Lane presented the Council with a proposal for reorganizing the Committee structure of the Association. Kessel moved to refer Lane's proposal to the Administrative Committee with the instructions that staggered terms for committee membership be provided; that all committee appointments be from January 1; and that the President-Elect be consulted concerning the committee structure and committee appointments. Rustow amended the Kessel motion to provide that, pending a report to and review by the Council, such committees which have continuing functions be allowed to function as they are currently composed and budgeted. Kessel accepted the Rustow amendment. Motion unanimously approved.

Report on a Proposal for a Center for Political Science Abstracts

Lane reported to the Council on discussions with NSF relating to political science abstracts. Sindler moved to authorize the submission of the proposal to NSF and to authorize the President, in

consultation with the President-Elect, to re-appoint a Committee on Scientific Information Exchange. Motion unanimously approved.

Pre-Collegiate Education

Tom Mann reported to the Council for the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. He stated that the Committee has produced a number of materials useful to people in the profession and to people in foundations, and is also preparing proposals for curriculum development.

Proposal to Establish Standards for Graduate Programs in Political Science

Lane reported to the Council his receipt of a letter and proposal from Professor Warren Ilchman for a study of graduate education in political science. Lane spoke of the utility of establishing national standards for the evaluation of graduate programs in political science. Sindler, Kessel, and Dye pointed out the serious implications involved in proposals to standardize graduate education. Whatever may be the posture of other associations, the discipline of political science does not lend itself to standardization. Moreover, proposals of such potential importance to the discipline should not be acted upon, they said, without due notice and consideration. Polsby moved that documents relevant to this proposal be circulated to members of the Council before the next meeting, and that no action be taken until then. Unanimously approved.

Committee on the Status of Women

Josephine Milburn, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, presented the final report of the Committee (the Report is printed in the Summer 1971 issue of *PS*) to the Council. The Committee recommended that the following Resolution be favorably recommended to the Annual Business Meeting:

"That the American Political Science Association recommends that academic institutions provide programs for part-time study; that institutions and foundations provide support for part-time study with more flexible age and time provisions."

In support of this recommendation, Milburn stated that "provisions for part-time programs of study and support on the undergraduate and graduate level will afford women and for that matter men, the opportunity to enter the profession at various times during their lives. Existing styles of life for

women — often including family responsibilities, and for men — often including armed services, act to deter their entering into professional careers, hence programs of study and support for the serious applicants of various ages are necessary. For women part-time programs of study and support are essential to encourage entrance into the field while they continue with family responsibilities."

Eulau moved that the Council receive the report from the Committee on the Status of Women and refer it to the Administrative Committee for advice and recommendations. Mitchell amended the Eulau motion by adding "accept in spirit," thus reading that "the Council receive the report from the Committee on the Status of Women, accept it in spirit, and refer it to the Administrative Committee for advice and recommendations."

Vote on the Mitchell amendment to the Eulau motion was:

For: Alger, Converse, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Mitchell, Prothro, Robinson, Rustow, Schuck, Sindler, Waldron

Against: Dye, Kessel

Eulau, Lane and Polsby abstained from voting.

Motion carried — 13 approved; 2 opposed.

There were no objections to the Eulau motion as amended. Motion approved.

Status of Blacks

The Council received a written Annual Report to the Council from the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes).

Conference on Disadvantaged Groups

Lane reported to the Council that the Association had not heard from the Foundation to which a proposal for a Conference on Disadvantaged Groups had been submitted.

Pamphlet on Careers in Political Science

Kariel moved to authorize the President and the President-Elect, in consultation with the Administrative Committee, to ask someone to write a pamphlet on Careers in Political Science to be considered by the Council for publication by the Association. Motion unanimously approved.

Proposal for Regional and Specialized Journals

Lane presented the Council with proposals for (1) a Consortium of Political Science Regional Associations and (2) APSA National Office Assistance to Specialized Journals related to Political Science (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes).

Kariel moved to authorize the Executive Director and the Administrative Committee to explore the possibilities of using the business services of the Association to assist regional and specialized journals. Unanimously approved.

The Council agreed to meet again on September 5 and 6 in Chicago.

Thomas R. Dye, *Secretary*

E. E. Schattschneider Award

The Association is continuing to receive contributions for its fund for the newly established E. E. Schattschneider Annual Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of American Government and Politics.

According to Fred I. Greenstein of Wesleyan, who introduced the award resolution to honor the late Professor Schattschneider at the Council meeting on behalf of himself and a number of co-sponsors associated with Schattschneider over the years, the award "seeks to recognize the permanent impact 'Schatt' made through his writings, teaching, professional activity and his unbounded ebullience and imagination." Members of the selection committee for the first Schattschneider award to be made at the 1972 Annual Meeting are Austin Ranney, Chairman, University of Wisconsin, Barbara Hinckley, Cornell University, and H. Douglas Price, Harvard University.

Members of the Association wishing to contribute to the E. E. Schattschneider Award fund are provided a form below. Contributions to the award fund are tax-deductible and will be acknowledged

Association News

by the Association. Checks should be made out to the American Political Science Association.

American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

Attached find my contribution of _____
for the American Political Science Association's
E. E. Schattschneider Award.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ (Zip) _____

AAUP Censure List

The American Association of University Professors censure list with dates of censuring, are listed below. Reports were published as indicated in the *AAUP Bulletin* citation.

Alabama State University	Winter 1961, pp. 303-309	April 1962
South Dakota State University Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Autumn 1961, pp. 247-255	April 1962
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Autumn 1962, pp. 248-252	April 1963
Grove City College	Spring 1963, pp. 15-24	April 1963
College of the Ozarks Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Trustees, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Winter 1963, pp. 352-359	April 1964
Wayne State College (Nebraska) Censure was voted specifically on the Board of Education of State Normal Schools of the State of Nebraska, and not on the institution's administrative officers.	Winter 1964, pp. 347-354	April 1965
St. John's University (N.Y.)	Spring 1966, pp. 12-19	April 1966
Amarillo College	Autumn 1967, pp. 292-302	April 1968
Texas A & M University	Winter 1967, pp. 378-384	April 1968
Cheyney State College	Winter 1967, pp. 391-399	April 1968
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Spring 1968, pp. 14-24	April 1968
Wisconsin State University—Whitewater	Spring 1968, pp. 25-36	April 1968
Troy State University (Alabama)	Autumn 1968, pp. 298-305	May 1969
Northern State College (South Dakota) Northern State College, like South Dakota State University, is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents of Education of the State of South Dakota.	Autumn 1968, pp. 306-313	May 1969
Frank Phillips College (Texas)	Winter 1968, pp. 433-438	May 1969
Dutchess Community College (N.Y.)	Spring 1969, pp. 41-49	May 1969
Central State College (Oklahoma)	Spring 1969, pp. 66-70	May 1969
Broward Junior College (Florida)	Spring 1969, pp. 71-78	May 1969
Detroit Institute of Technology	Spring 1969, pp. 79-85	May 1969
Southeastern Louisiana College	Autumn 1969, pp. 369-373	April 1970
Indiana Institute of Technology	Winter 1969, pp. 463-468	April 1970
Indiana State University	Spring 1970, pp. 52-61	April 1970
Oklahoma State University	Spring 1970, pp. 62-72	April 1970
The University of Mississippi	Spring 1970, pp. 75-86	April 1970
The University of Florida	Winter 1970, pp. 405-422	
Grambling College	Spring 1971, pp. 50-52	
Laredo Junior College	Winter 1970, pp. 398-404	
Southern State College	Spring 1971, pp. 40-49	
Tennessee Wesleyan College	Spring 1971, pp. 53-57	

APSA Committee Reports

Report of the 1972 Program Committee

Plans for the 1972 American Political Science Association Program

From one year to the next, there is almost no institutionalized continuity in the program planning for APSA meetings. Each year a set of new people is free to try their hands at carving the discipline into a convenient number of parts. A program committee comes into being, and each member undertakes to plan a set of panels or colloquia for the section he or she is responsible for. To arrange each panel session, the initiative and help of others are enlisted — a panel chairman, two or three paper-givers, one or two discussants. At Los Angeles in 1970, 168 different sessions were set up, featuring more than 400 paper-givers and nearly as many discussants; at Chicago in 1971, 150 panels and workshops were scheduled, and nearly 300 prepared papers and a similar number of featured commentators were on the agenda.

In 1972, as in the past, a highly decentralized pattern of program decision-making will prevail: about who will participate, what topics will be aired, and what format will best facilitate the serious consideration of mutual concerns and specialized interests. Next September 5 to 9 at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C., it will be possible from Tuesday afternoon through Saturday morning to schedule about 125 panels and colloquia without holding any meetings at other hotels. With an average of two papers presented at each session and with perhaps two featured discussants as well, the intellectual efforts of more than 500 political scientists in key roles will be enlisted.

The 1972 program has been divided into thirteen sections, compared with twenty-one this year and twenty-six a year ago. Each section chairman is responsible for a conventionally-defined subfield of political science activity, rather than a thematically-similar sequence of panels to be organized. Each section overlaps with others, of course. Each contains much variety. Taken together, they are intended to cover the whole discipline. Whatever the topic, someone on the committee will give careful thought to whether a presentation of significant scholarly work is possible and is called for in September, 1972.

The 1972 program sections were chosen to correspond with the familiar subfields in which most of us perform our teaching duties, find our research interests, try to keep up with the professional literature, and are best acquainted with one another. Each section is the locus of the

Dwaine Marvick

University of California, Los Angeles
1972 Annual Meeting Program Chairman

intellectual interests and research efforts of a significant number of practicing political scientists.

Each section chairman decides which panels, workshops or colloquia to schedule in his part of the program — which topics are not only intellectually-stimulating themes but also are being investigated in systematic and rigorous ways by enough political scientists to justify a place on the agenda. Enough meetings will be planned to reflect the quality and diversity of professional work currently going on in each field. In some sections, the bulk of 'significant' and/or 'innovative' work is of a certain kind, and most panels will feature work of that style, content, or persuasion. In other fields, fruitful lines of inquiry are being pursued in four or five quite different directions; panels that reflect rival approaches, contrasting methods and different traditions are being organized, to mirror this ferment.

In making these decisions, a section chairman has to consider other points also. Is there evidence that a significant body of serious professional attention is being given to a topic? What attention has it recently received at regional meetings, in political science journals and monographs, and in other professional outlets. Is enough rigorous and systematic work already done or well under way to justify a full session devoted to a neglected problem, an *avant garde* formulation, or an emergent methodology? If so, what alternative topics competing for a place on the schedule will have to be eliminated?

The advice and suggestions made by colleagues are invaluable to section chairmen. Unless others help by calling attention to excellent work, wherever it is going forward, no section chairman — however knowledgeable and diligent — is likely to learn about all the important research and teaching developments being pursued by political scientists — young or old, in teams or alone, at small schools or large, throughout the country — working in his field. The open quality of the 1972 program depends upon the initiative and responsiveness of those who help to make each individual session a serious professional event.

Learning about good work that deserves attention and planning good topics for the program are one set of problems; getting consistently good performances from those who play key roles is another. There is no point in scheduling a panel

session on a topic if little or no work of high quality reflecting rigorous thought and careful research has yet been done on the topic. But how is it possible to ensure that mediocre work, immature work, or hastily-done work will not be inflicted on the audience when the appointed time comes? Editors of professional journals regularly find that only about one manuscript in every ten received by them merits serious consideration. After these in turn are reviewed by a panel of referees, only a small fraction is judged to be worth publishing. Only an optimist would predict a substantially higher 'publishability quotient' for APSA convention papers than for articles submitted to the APSR.

Those who organize the individual panels — even more than the section chairmen who plan each set of panels — are the ones who have to make the sometimes hard decisions that are necessary to ensure a high level of professional quality in the performance given by every paper-giver, every discussant, every presiding officer. They are the ones who sometimes have to say no; they are the ones who have to enforce due dates; they are the ones who have to see that good professional work — and only good professional work — is featured at their session.

The working conditions of the 100 to 125 panel organizers are largely determined by the information they get beforehand. A panel organizer's job is to line up participants; some he may invite, others are recommended to him, others indicate their willingness to participate. From each of these, he needs as much information as possible. Potential paper-givers can provide him, long before a manuscript is available, with a detailed prospectus of what their paper will contain, if it is accepted. Often they can provide copies of their earlier work along closely-related lines. Apart from the specifics about a proposed paper, they can help with other information: who else is working on similar problems? Who else might be a stimulating panelist? What session format seems likely to focus attention on the problems of professional inquiry or vocational practice posed by the topic? This kind of information from all would-be participants can significantly help the panel organizer in his tasks of fixing the agenda, finding participants and assigning the roles they are to play.

Perhaps in the future, the American Political Science Association will follow the practice of sister disciplines by creating a number of perma-

nent 'sections', each of which is charged with planning a major part of the annual program, each of which develops a system of referees whose job it is to screen papers to eliminate unscholarly work of poor quality and whose work helps to ensure high-quality performances at every session.

Until that time, however, it is the section chairmen and their panel organizers who work beforehand to create the conditions that make the individual sessions of APSA meetings worth going to. Of course, a good meeting depends on solid performances by those who are the featured participants. Those who preside, those who serve as discussants, and those who give papers: inevitably these are the major sources for whatever is professionally rewarding about a panel session. There are no substitutes for good professional contributions from them.

Certain steps can be taken beforehand, fortunately, to improve the working conditions under which they perform. To clarify the extent to which the roles they play are interdependent, it may be useful to examine each of those roles more closely:

The man or woman who presides at a scholarly session plays a complex role, and his working conditions require specific information beforehand from the other participants. They can furnish him, well ahead of the session, with a concise *vita* tailored to the occasion, so he can introduce them accurately and appropriately. He must watch the clock and pace the discussion. In addition, he should be free to comment on the substantive themes; he is after all chosen because of his professional involvement. His role will be substantially more manageable if he is made aware of the professional interests and scholarly background of each featured participant.

More than anything else, a discussant needs *time* in order to do his job effectively. His contribution at a panel session is comparable to the effort involved in writing a book review or acting as a manuscript referee for a political science journal. At a typical session, the audience hears the scholarly papers for the first time; ideally, the discussant has had two months — preferably three — to study the *set* of papers. He is moreover chosen because he knows about other work being done along similar lines. At the session, he can do a great deal to point out methodological difficulties, note conceptual parallels, clarify unstated assumptions, and make explicit the larger implications of

APSA Committee Reports

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what is being considered. To do these things, he needs time to study and time to voice his appraisal.

Paper-givers need, above all, a full and fair hearing. They do not get it when the agenda is overcrowded, when other panelists take too much time, or when discussants ignore their work. A paper-giver is entitled to know how much time he is allotted, how many other papers are on the agenda, in what sequence the presentations will be made, how firm a hand in following the time-budget the panel chairman will use, and how much attention to commonalities rather than specifics the discussants will give. To be sure, those who listen to a scholarly paper must depend on its author to provide focus, develop themes and avoid tiresome details. A paper-giver can usefully prepare an oral summary beforehand, so that his presentation is tailored to listeners instead of readers.

The 1972 program committee, then, is seeking to put together a program that reflects in a balanced way the common problems and the specialized concerns of American political scientists. To this end, we are using a program framework that is familiar, balanced, open and responsible.

Although it is still many months until September 1972, a suggestive outline of the sessions being planned (and the name of a panel organizer, if the section chairman has designated one) can be given. The 'skeleton program' that follows does *not* mean that panel topics or participants are already largely settled upon; many changes are likely to occur. New panel themes will be added; some of those now listed will be dropped or revamped. Even if they cannot always say yes, panel organizers welcome communications that give them a clearer picture of who is working professionally along lines relevant to each topic. Suggestions and criticisms will be seriously considered.

Political Science as a Profession

- (Robert J. Huckshorn, Florida Atlantic, Boca Raton)
1. Access to Public Documents (James McGregor Burns, Williams College)
 2. Opportunities as Consultants and Analysts (John Bibby, U. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee)
 3. Career Perspectives of Black Political Scientists (William Daniels, Union College)
 4. Obstacles to Scholarly Book Publishing (Samuel Patterson, U. of Iowa)

5. Sex Discrimination: Public Issue for Political Science
6. Restructuring the Political Science Curriculum (Samuel Krislov, University of Minnesota)
7. Professional Standards and Political Commitment

Comparative Politics: Western Areas

(Gerhard Loewenberg, Univ. Iowa)

1. Sub-National Politics (Sidney Tarrow, Cornell)
2. The Political Role of Senior Civil Servants (Alfred Diamant, Indiana)
3. Comparative Voting Behavior (Leon Epstein, Wisconsin)
4. Diachronic Comparison (Aristide Zolberg, Chicago)
5. Comparative Analysis of Authority Patterns (Harry Eckstein, Princeton)
6. Theory and the Strategy of Comparative Research (Adam Przeworski, Washington U, St. L.)
7. Unconventional Political Participation
8. Influence of Elite Attitudes and Attributes on the Political System

Comparative Politics: Communist Areas

(David Cattell, UCLA)

1. Change & Development in Communist Systems (John Kautsky, Washington U, St. Louis)
2. Communist Organizational Theory & Practice (Lucian Pye, MIT)
3. Containment Policy Revisited (Charles Gati, Union College)
4. Research on Comparative Communism (Frederick Fleron, SUNY, Buffalo)
5. American Writing on Communist Policy (Bernard Morris, Indiana)

Comparative Politics: Developing Areas

(Leonard Binder, Chicago)

1. Impact of Study of Developing Areas on Study of Developed Areas (Willard Johnson, MIT)
2. Religion & Political Development: Role of Priestly Class (Marvin Zonis, Chicago)
3. Non-traditional Authoritarian Regimes: Defensive Modernization (Philip Schmitter, Chi.)
4. Traditional and Rural Notables (Francine Frankel, U. of Penn)
5. Elites and Power Phenomena (Marvin Zonis, Chicago)
6. Film in the Mass Politics of Developing Areas (Robert Hardgrave, U. of Texas)
7. Development Sequences: Episodic, Incremental, Dialectical (Ronald Brunner, Michigan)
8. Peasant Politics (Samuel Popkin, Harvard)

9. Urban Proletariat in Developing Countries (Josephine Milburn, U. of Rhode I., Kingstn.)

American Politics (Jack Dennis, Wisconsin)

1. Political Parties (Edmund Constantini, U. California, Davis)
2. Electoral Behavior (M. Kent Jennings, Michigan)
3. Interest Groups (Harmon Zeigler, Oregon)
4. Women in Politics (Martin Gruberg, Wisconsin State Univ., Oshkosh)
5. Mass Belief Systems (G. R. Boynton, Iowa)
6. State Politics I: (Richard Hofferbert, Michigan)
7. State Politics II: (Richard Hofferbert, Michigan)
8. Presidency
9. Legislative Behavior (John Manley, Stanford)
10. Political Socialization (Richard Niemi, Rochester)

European Developments in Political Science (Klaus Liepelt, DATUM, Bad Godesberg, Germany)

1. Policy Scientists in Europe
2. Research Interests of European Political Scientists

Research Methodology (Merrill Shanks, U. California, Berkeley)

1. Models and Methods for Analyzing Political Change
2. Data Linkage and Levels of Aggregation
3. Data Systems for Policy Analysis
4. Teaching Research Methods
5. Computer Applications for Political Science

Law and Judicial Processes (Martin Shapiro, U. California, Berkeley)

1. Urban Trial Courts (Martin Levin, Brandeis)
2. Law in Villages (Lloyd Rudolph, Chicago)
3. Appellate Courts (Stephen Wasby, Southern Illinois)
4. Law as an Instrument of Public Policy (Anthony D'Amato, Law School, Northwestern)
5. Pre-legal Education

Micro-Analysis of Political Behavior (Roberta Sigel, SUNY, Buffalo)

1. Personality and Politics (Leroy Reiselbach, Indiana)
2. The Scientist as Policy Influencer (Vaughn Blankenship, SUNY, Buffalo)
3. Grassroots Politics and Community Leaders (David Greenstone, Chicago)
4. Methodology and Small Group Research (Robert Golembiewski, Georgia)

5. Communications, Information, and Policy Outputs (Kenneth Sherrill, Hunter)

6. Leadership Theory and Political Science (Carl Beck, Pittsburgh)

7. Biology and Politics (Al Somit, SUNY, Buffalo)

International Relations (A. F. K. Organski, Michigan)

1. Curriculum Developments
2. Foreign Policy: Decision Making Models
3. Foreign Policy: Domestic Sources
4. World Politics: Causes of War
5. World Politics: Termination of War
6. World Politics: Maintenance and Transformation of the International System
7. World Politics: Negotiation
8. World Politics: Measurement of Power and Influence
9. International Organization: Conflict Management
10. International Organization: Socio-economic Development
11. International Organization: International Corporations
12. International Law as a Constraint in International Politics

Urban and Community Political Processes

(William Hanna, CUNY, Lehman College)

1. Urban Poor in Comparative Perspective (Joan Nelson, Wilson Center, Smithsonian Inst.)
2. Urban Space as a Political Factor
3. Metropolitan Governance Models
4. Urban Outcomes and Political Health (Dennis Palumbo, Brooklyn)
5. National-local Interfaces
6. Comparative Study of Local Politics
7. Can Local Outcomes be Explained in Local Terms?
8. Major Research Progress Reports

Policy Analysis and Public Administration

(Matthew Holden, Wisconsin)

1. Politics of Economic Policy and Policy-making (Michael Reagan, U. Calif., Riverside)
2. Urban Administration (Michael Lipsky, MIT)
3. Chief Executive Leadership (Tom Cronin, Brookings Inst.)
4. Policy-Making of the Learning Process (Robert Wood, U. Mass.)
5. Environmental Policy (Matthew Crenson, Johns Hopkins)
6. New Methodologies in Policy Impact Analysis
7. Cultural Pluralism, Bureaucratic Practice, and Organizational Theory

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8. New Problems of Administrative Representation and Participation

Political Theory (David Minar, Northwestern)

1. The New Left: Its Roots in American Radicalism
2. Education in Democratic Theory (Lee Anderson, Northwestern)
3. Phenomenology and the Study of Politics (Robert Pranger, Amer. Enterprise Instit., Wash.)
4. The Politics of Everyday Life (Lewis Froman, U. Calif., Irvine)
5. Are the Classics Relevant? (Lee McDonald, Pomona)
6. Policy Analysis and Political Theory (Michael Shapiro, U. Hawaii)
7. Formal Political Theory (Kenneth Shepsele, Washington U, St. Louis)
8. Transactionalism and Politics (Henry Kariel, U. Hawaii)
9. Pluralism Revisited

Committee on Professional Ethics

Report of the Committee on Professional Ethics

The Committee on Professional Ethics has adopted an addition to an earlier advisory opinion as well as three new advisory opinions. In two other actions, the Committee has initiated a policy of requesting editors of political science journals and journals in cognate fields to observe the policies of the Committee's Advisory Opinion No. 3 on Permissions to Reprint and recommended to the Council the endorsement of the AAUP Statement on Professional Ethics.

Advisory Opinions

Addition to Advisory Opinion No. 4 (June 11, 1971)

The Academic Marketplace

As the result of a specific complaint, the Committee on Professional Ethics has adopted the following language as an addition to the first paragraph of Advisory Opinion No. 4, *The Academic Marketplace*. (The new language is in *italics*.)

1. Once an employing institution clearly indicates that it is giving serious consideration to an applicant for a faculty appointment, e.g. by interviewing him, it should inform him of the status of his application, *and of any change of status*, within a reasonable time. *The employing institution has an obligation to inform a candidate for employment fully concerning the terms and procedures which are utilized in the making of offers of appointment.*

Advisory Opinion No. 9 (June 11, 1971)

Association Electioneering

In making statements or in sending communications to members of the Association in connection with the election of officers, there is an ethical obligation to speak with accuracy and appropriate restraint. All candidates and spokesmen are obligated to clear all claims and endorsements with all parties involved.

Advisory Opinion No. 10 (June 11, 1971)

Public Statements Involving the Name of the Association

Whereas, a statement taking a position on American foreign policy was released to the public and published in the *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, p. 589 (June, 1970), over the signatures of eight members of the Association, all

of them identified as past, present or future Presidents of the Association; and

Whereas, such identification is inconsistent with a proposed rule of conduct suggested by the Committee on Professional Standards and Responsibilities (Bernstein Committee) in its final report, as published in PS, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Summer, 1968), p. 11;

Therefore, the Committee on Professional Ethics formally endorses Rule 3 as follows:

When an officer, member, or employee of the Association speaks out on an issue of public policy, endorses a political candidate, or otherwise participates in political affairs, he should make it as clear as possible that he is not speaking on behalf of the Association unless he is so authorized by the Association, and he should not encourage any inference that he acts for the Association unless he is so authorized by the Association.

Advisory Opinion No. 11 (June 11, 1971)

Recommending Candidates for Faculty Appointments

1. The recommending of a candidate for faculty appointment calls for honest and responsible judgment.
2. The scholarly achievements and promise of the candidate should be assessed as fairly as possible.
3. Also to be assessed are the characteristics of the candidate that relate to his probable effectiveness in the classroom and to the development of a stimulating rapport with professional colleagues.
4. Should there be clear basis for question about the compatibility of the candidate's past behavior with legitimate expectations of the employing institution, the fact may be mentioned. It is permissible for the employing institution to expect that members of its faculty will abide by those rules which do not violate academic freedom principles or political rights of citizenship, and refrain from inciting others to violate those rules.
5. A candidate should be informed if matters relating to paragraph 4 are in his record, and he should have an opportunity to place in the record a statement of his own relating to such matters.
6. Matters pertaining to the candidate that have no bearing on the legitimate expectations of the employing institution should not be mentioned.

Journal Editors Support of Permission to Reprint Advisory Opinion

As a result of a complaint from a member of the political science profession, the Committee recommended that the Washington Office of the Association mail to editors of political science journals and journals in cognate fields a copy of the text of Advisory Opinion No. 3, relating to "Permissions to Reprint," together with a request for a reply indicating willingness to observe the policies set forth in the Opinion. It was suggested that the Association publish a list of those editors who have indicated that they intend to observe the policies which the Committee has developed relating to the reprinting of journal articles in readings books.

The Washington office has written to Editors and plans to publish in *PS* the list of those editors willing to observe the Committee's Advisory Opinion on permission to reprint.

Endorsement of AAUP Statement on Professional Ethics

The Committee on Professional Ethics recommended to the Council that the Association formally endorse the American Association of University Professors' Statement on Professional Ethics. At its September meeting, the Council accepted the recommendation of the Committee and endorsed the statement which is printed below.

AAUP Statement on Professional Ethics

The following statement was endorsed by the AAUP's fifty-second Annual Meeting, April 1966 and is reprinted from the September 1966, *AAUP Bulletin*.

Introduction

From its inception, the American Association of University Professors has recognized that membership in the academic profession carries with it special responsibilities. The Association has consistently affirmed these responsibilities in major

policy statements, providing guidance to the professor in his utterances as a citizen, in the exercise of his responsibilities to students, and in his conduct when resigning from his institution or when undertaking government-sponsored research.¹ The *Statement on Professional Ethics* that follows, necessarily presented in terms of the ideal, sets forth those general standards that serve as a reminder of the variety of obligations assumed by all members of the profession. For the purpose of more detailed guidance, the Association, through its Committee B on Professional Ethics, intends to issue from time to time supplemental statements on specific problems.

In the enforcement of ethical standards, the academic profession differs from those of law and medicine, whose associations act to assure the integrity of members engaged in private practice. In the academic profession the individual institution of higher learning provides this assurance and so should normally handle questions concerning propriety of conduct within its own framework by reference to a faculty group. The Association supports such local action and stands ready, through the General Secretary and Committee B, to counsel with any faculty member or administrator concerning questions of professional ethics and to inquire into complaints when local consideration is impossible or inappropriate. If the alleged offense is deemed sufficiently serious to raise the possibility of dismissal, the procedures should be in accordance with the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* and the 1958 *Statement on Procedural Standards in Faculty Dismissal Proceedings*.

The Statement

I. The professor, guided by a deep conviction of the worth and dignity of the advancement of knowledge, recognizes the special responsibilities placed upon him. His primary responsibility to his subject is to seek and to state the truth as he sees it. To this end he devotes his energies to developing and improving his scholarly competence. He accepts the obligation to exercise critical self-discipline and judgment in using, extending, and transmitting knowledge. He practices intellectual honesty. Although he may follow subsidiary interests, these interests must never seriously hamper or compromise his freedom of inquiry.

II. As a teacher, the professor encourages the free pursuit of learning in his students. He holds before them the best scholarly standards of his

¹ 1964 Committee A Statement on Extra-Mural Utterances (Clarification of sec. 1c of the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure*)

1968 *Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students*

1961 *Statement on Recruitment and Resignation of Faculty Members*

1964 *On Preventing Conflicts of Interest in Government-Sponsored Research*

1966 *Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities*

Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

Report of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

discipline. He demonstrates respect for the student as an individual, and adheres to his proper role as intellectual guide and counselor. He makes every reasonable effort to foster honest academic conduct and to assure that his evaluation of students reflects their true merit. He respects the confidential nature of the relationship between professor and student. He avoids any exploitation of students for his private advantage and acknowledges significant assistance from them. He protects their academic freedom.

III. As a colleague, the professor has obligations that derive from common membership in the community of scholars. He respects and defends the free inquiry of his associates. In the exchange of criticism and ideas he shows due respect for the opinions of others. He acknowledges his academic debts and strives to be objective in his professional judgment of colleagues. He accepts his share of faculty responsibilities for the governance of his institution.

IV. As a member of his institution, the professor seeks above all to be an effective teacher and scholar. Although he observes the stated regulations of the institution, provided they do not contravene academic freedom, he maintains his right to criticize and seek revision. He determines the amount and character of the work he does outside his institution with due regard to his paramount responsibilities within it. When considering the interruption or termination of his service, he recognizes the effect of his decision upon the program of the institution and gives due notice of his intentions.

V. As a member of his community, the professor has the rights and obligations of any citizen. He measures the urgency of these obligations in the light of his responsibilities to his subject, to his students, to his profession, and to his institution. When he speaks or acts as a private person he avoids creating the impression that he speaks or acts for his college or university. As a citizen engaged in a profession that depends upon freedom for its health and integrity, the professor has a particular obligation to promote conditions of free inquiry and to further public understanding of academic freedom.

The Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education wishes to announce that the Political Science Education Project, directed by Lee F. Anderson and Richard C. Remy, recently moved from Indiana University to Northwestern University. All Communications henceforth should be sent to: Political Science Education Project, 1834 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60201, Tel: AC 312 492-5664.

Since issuing its report "Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science" in the Summer 1971 *PS*, the Committee has continued to move forward in several areas. Its proposal to initiate a major curriculum development project at the elementary and secondary level is currently being processed by the National Science Foundation.

Major attention is now being focused on the involvement of political scientists in the education of public school teachers. Individuals involved in teaching special courses or directing programs of teacher education are urged to contact the Political Science Education Project staff at the above address.

Committee on the Status of Women

Report of the Committee on the Status of Women

The Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession is interested in adding members to its roster of women in political science and would appreciate women political scientists filling out the form below if they have not already done so.

Resume — Women in Political Science

Name (First) (Last)
Position
Address
Home Zip
Office Zip
Telephone
Place of Birth Date
Education B.A. Date
M.A. Date
Ph.D. Candidate
Date degree expected
Ph.D. Date
Dissertation Title:
Current Major Field of interest
Current Minor Field of interest

SCHOLARSHIPS FELLOWSHIPS AWARDS (List)
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TEACHING POSITIONS HELD (DATES)
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RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS (LIST)
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POSITIONS HELD OTHER THAN TEACHING (LIST)
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COMMITTEE AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE
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PARTICULAR INTERESTS IN PROFESSION
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PARTICULAR INTERESTS IN RESEARCH
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PARTICULAR INTERESTS IN COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS
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PARTICULAR INTERESTS IN JOBS
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GEOGRAPHICAL RESTRICTIONS
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Return to: APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Committee on Elections

Statement from Elections Committee Chairman

The official secret ballot of the American Political Science Association, issued by the American Arbitration Association, lists three candidates for Secretary: Thomas Dye, for the APSA Nominating Committee and the Ad Hoc Committee, Judith May for the Women's Caucus and Judith Stiehm for the Caucus for a New Political. The nominating papers on file at the Association office are consistent with this three-way election for the office concerned. *It turns out, however, that Professor Stiehm, who is not a member of the Caucus for a New Political Science, did not know she had been listed as a candidate. Both Professor Stiehm and Professor May believed that Professor May would be listed as the joint candidate of the Women's Caucus and the Caucus for a New Political Science. However, through an innocent sequence of communication failures, the listing of candidates for Secretary was as indicated above.*

Let me state for the record my extreme regret that this has occurred.

President Eulau has ruled that representation on this matter may be made at the December 10-11 meeting of the APSA Council.

Fred I. Greenstein
Chairman

For further information on this matter, see Letters to the Editor.

The Profession

Professional Notes

Social Science Research Council of

Canada

The Social Science Research Council of Canada has issued its 1969-70 report. *The Annual Report* and news bulletin, *Social Science in Canada* are publications of the Social Science Research Council which is a non-governmental organization founded in 1940 to promote social science research in Canada. The Council is composed of seven broadly representative social science associations including the Canadian Political Science Association. Dean Daniel Soberman, Faculty of Law, Queen's University, is President of the Council.

The primary activities of the Council have been concerned with funding levels for research in the social sciences and assisting social science learned societies to combine their efforts in dealing with subjects which are of general concern. It has also provided help to its member societies in arranging and scheduling their annual meetings. The Executive Secretary for the Council is John Banks, Suite 415, 151 Slater Street, Ottawa, K1P5H3, Canada.

Merrill Chair of Political Science

The Milton R. Merrill Chair of Political Science has been established at Utah State University honoring Milton R. Merrill who retired as Academic Vice President of the University this past spring following four decades of service to the Department of Political Science and the University. The Chair was established through funds raised from friends and former students of Merrill. Individuals wishing to contribute to the Chair fund may send contributions to the Merrill Chair Fund at Utah State University, Logan, Utah. The Merrill Chair will be filled on a rotating basis to allow students and faculty to benefit from exposure to a number of distinguished people in a variety of fields within political science.

Newsletter of the Association for

Asian Studies

The Association for Asian Studies has established a NEWSLETTER which will be published five times a year. The Editor for the new NEWSLETTER is Mrs. Myrna Ann Adkins.

The Editor of the NEWSLETTER will welcome appropriate material including announcements,

personals, etc. Material should be sent to: Editor, NEWSLETTER, Association for Asian Studies, One Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

Civil Rights

Research Clearinghouse

The Center for National Policy Review has been established to assure that Federal laws and policies in urban areas are implemented to protect the interests of minority groups and the poor. It is composed of lawyers and social scientists engaged in research and legal action on behalf of the principal civil rights groups in the country, including the NAACP, the Urban League, and the National Urban Coalition. The Director of the Center is William L. Taylor; Director of Research is Samuel Gubins.

As part of our purpose the Center will serve as a clearinghouse for social science research which has implications for Federal policies on equality of opportunity. It is soliciting brief summaries of such research which is either completed or in progress. Currently the principal concerns of the Center are with housing, credit practices, federal site selection, employment, and metropolitan school desegregation. However, it also welcomes reports on research in other areas of civil rights concern such as welfare program administration, political participation, and revenue sharing. Research reviews will appear in a quarterly newsletter which will be sent to organizations involved in civil rights reform, urban studies centers, social scientists, and civil rights lawyers. The Center for National Policy Review is located at the School of Law, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20017.

Fulbright 25th Anniversary

The Board of Scholarships, the Presidentially-appointed group responsible for the supervision of the Fulbright academic exchange program, is attempting to gather data on what this program has meant to the American academic community on the 25th anniversary of the signing of the original Fulbright legislation. In preparing to commemorate this event, the Board has been concerned by the absence of either a full list of individual alumni now active in the major academic disciplines in the United States or any authoritative statements of what the program can be said to have contributed to specific academic disciplines.

The Board is, therefore, requesting assistance of scholars in preparing short statements of the value of the program for the United States and for foreign countries and for students, for research and for the lecture and travel grant programs.

Also, the Board would like to hear from alumni in order to compile an alumni file. Correspondence should be sent to: James Roach, Board of Foreign Scholarships, Room 4825, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Pembroke State University **Department of Political Science**

Pembroke State University, Pembroke, North Carolina has established a separate Department of Political Science; it was formerly joined with the Department of History. The new Chairman of the Department is Chang Hyan Cho.

WPSA Committee **on the Status of Women**

A Committee on the Status of Women in Political Science was established in 1970 by the Western Political Science Association, the first regional political science association to have a local counterpart of the national APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession.

During its first year of operation, the WPSA Committee investigated employment patterns and practices in Western colleges and universities, circulated a newsletter on political science job openings and women job-seekers in the West, and promoted the participation of women in the WPSA annual meeting and governing bodies.

The WPSA-CSW investigation of employment practices in Western institutions was conducted through a mail survey sent in February 1971 to 139 departments, 86 of which responded. The findings parallel those of the 1969 ASPA national survey, showing that women comprise about 9% (107) of the 1,213 political science faculty members in the reporting institutions, while 14% of the current graduate students in political science, international relations and public administration in Western universities are women. Thirty-nine departments (45%) reported no women faculty members, either full or part-time; ten additional departments employed women part-time, but not full-time. In about three-fourths of the institutions, part-time service does not count

toward tenure, nor are part-time faculty eligible for tenure. Over a third of the Western departments stated that some "anti-nepotism" rules are in effect which would restrict the hiring or advancement of related individuals.

In 1971-1972, WPSA-CSW activities plans to focus on the establishment of "good offices" panels of persons whose services will be available in cases involving alleged discrimination by educational institutions against women political scientists, and on implementation of the APSA and WPSA resolutions urging educational institutions to abolish "anti-nepotism" rules and to provide equal status, pay and promotion opportunities for fully-qualified part-time faculty members.

Members of the WPSA Committee on the Status of Women are Anne Feraru, California State College, Fullerton; Barbara Callaway, California State College, Los Angeles; Lynne Iglitzen, University of Washington; Mary Lepper, Southern Colorado State College; Joyce M. Mitchell, University of Oregon; Lela Noble, San Jose State College; Sister Mary Jean Pew, Immaculate Heart College; and Francine Rabinovitz, University of California, Los Angeles.

For further information on the WPSA Committee on the Status of Women or a copy of the 1970-71 Committee report, write to Anne Feraru, Department of Political Science, California State College, Fullerton, California 92631.

Teaching Political Science Journal

A new journal, *TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE* to be published by Markham Publishers is in the process of being organized. The first issue will hopefully be published in the fall of 1972. The Editor will be Samuel Krislov and Associate Editors will be Sheila Koeppen and Charles Walcott, all of the University of Minnesota. The Editorial Board is still in the process of formulation, but those involved to date include: William Coplin, Syracuse University; Paul Dawson, Oberlin College; David Danelski, Cornell University; Kenneth Dolbeare, University of Washington; Charles Foster, U.S. Office of Education; Judith Gillespie, APSA Political Science Project; Andrew Hacker, City University of New York; Fred Hayward, University of Wisconsin; Martin Landau, City University of New York; Joyce Mitchell, University of Oregon; Norman Noonan, Augsburg College; and Leroy Rieselbach, University of Indiana. Suggestions for editorial policies and specific

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articles, as well as manuscripts for consideration should be sent to: Samuel Krislov, Editor, *TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE*, 1414 Social Science Tower, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

American Academy of Political and Social

Sciences Monograph

The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences recently assembled a group of leading American social scientists who conferred for two days on the subject of "International Studies: Present Status and Future Prospects." The proceedings from this conference composed of six papers and written critiques will be published shortly as a monograph and will be available to Association members without charge by writing to Richard D. Lambert, President, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

Freedom To Vote

Task Force Reprints

The two reports published by the Freedom to Vote Task Force, Ramsey Clark, Chairman, "That All May Vote" and "Registration and Voting in the States," have been republished by the Democratic National Committee. The reports provide much of the rationale and the basic analysis for the registration reform bills presently before the Congress. Individuals wishing copies should contact the Research Department, Democratic National Committee, 2600 Virginia Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

East Pakistan

Displaced Scholars

The South Asia Regional Council of the Association for Asian Studies has formed a Temporary Committee for Displaced Scholars from East Pakistan that will endeavor to assist such persons to continue working abroad until they are able to return to Pakistan. The Ford Foundation is assisting the Committee with finances that hopefully will be expended mostly on a matching fund basis.

The Committee would appreciate receiving information on (1) cases of graduate students, professional people, university teachers and research workers, scientists, writers, artists, and other intellectuals who are now without appropriate employment for the immediate future, and on (2) cases of such persons who have been temporarily

accommodated by host institutions in North America. A curriculum vitae and a statement of the difficulty faced by the scholar would be helpful. Send all information to: Temporary Committee for Displaced Scholars, South Asia Regional Council, Association for Asian Studies, 130 Lane Hall, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Women's Caucus

for Political Science

During the Association's 1971 Annual Meeting in Chicago, members of the Women's Caucus for Political Science met and elected the following officers for the year 1971-72: Evelyn P. Stevens, President; Pamela J. Hellert, Vice President; Wilma R. Krauss, Secretary and Shelah Leader, Treasurer. For further information on the Caucus, write Evelyn P. Stevens, 14609 South Woodland Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120.

California News Reporter

The California News Reporter, a semi-monthly news digest focusing on California affairs began publication in July. Designed to summarize news about the State's politics and government, social and environmental issues, and the economy, labor and education, the Newsletter service will also be a source for answers to specific news references questions and a continuing, systematic chronicle of trends and events. A complete cumulative index is included.

California News Reporter is published by the Center for California Public Affairs, an affiliate of the Claremont Colleges. The same group produces *California News Index*, a semi-monthly index to the state's major newspapers and magazines, and *The California Handbook*, a source guide.

For full information about this new service, write to the Center at 226 W. Foothill Blvd., Claremont, California 91711.

The Implications of Science-Technology for

the Legal Process Symposium

The University of Denver Law Journal has published in its 1970, Number 4 issue the contributions to a symposium on the Implications of Science-Technology for the Legal Process. Authors include, Wilbert E. Moore, "Science and Technology versus Law, or a Plague on Both of Your Houses"; Michael S. Baram, "The Social Control of Science and Technology"; Arthur S.

Miller, "The Law School as a Center of Policy Analysis"; Franklin P. Huddle, "Political Adaptation to a Technology-Surfeited Society"; and James W. Curlin, "Protecting U.S. from Ourselves: The Interaction of Law and Technology". Copies of the special symposium issue may be obtained for \$3.00 by writing to Deniss & Co., 251 Main Street, Buffalo, New York 14203.

USOE Program Guide

A guide to all of the programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education has been published by the agency's magazine, *American Education*. All Fiscal Year 1972 programs are listed by type of assistance in four groupings. Information on each program lists the authorization, purpose, appropriation, who may apply and where to apply.

Single copies of the 1972 *Guide to OE-Administered Programs* are available free from: The Editor, *American Education*, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. 20202. Multiple copies can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 at 20 cents each (25 percent discount on orders of more than 100). When ordering, specify OE-11015-72.

Learned Hand's Opinions

John Hageman, Law Librarian at the University of South Dakota has recently compiled a list of Judge Learned Hand's opinions from 1946 to his death in 1961. The list is available for \$2.00 prepaid from Professor Hageman, McKusick Law Library, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota, 57064. Checks should be made out to the University of South Dakota. This new list of Hand's opinions updates the previous list of his opinions from 1909 to 1946 which was compiled by Ronald M. Dworkin and Hershel Shanks and published by the Harvard Law Review Association.

Interfuture Program

Six political scientists are among the founders of Interfuture, a new interdisciplinary program created in 1969 for intercultural study for select undergraduates. Irving Dillard, Ferris Professor of Journalism at Princeton University and writer on the Supreme Court and civil liberties is the Chairman of the Interfuture Program Board. The organization, headquartered at 221 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08504 gives students the opportunity to investigate world issues — like "Man's Habitat" and

"Internationalism" — comparatively in the USA, Europe, and new nations. Its approach combines intensive predeparture preparation, independent projects overseas, foreign experts as project advisors, and academic leadership by student participants when they return to their home campuses.

Trustees and sponsors include Harwood Childs, Professor Emeritus of Politics, Princeton University; Paul Conner, Associate Professor of Social Sciences, Pace College; Max Lerner, Richter Professor of American Civilization and Institutions, Brandeis University; Duane Lockard, Professor and Chairman of Politics, Princeton University; Wentworth Ouatey-Kodjoe, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Queens College; and Glenn Paige, Professor of Political Science, University of Hawaii.

The program's first study group examined "Nationalism" in the USA, UK, Ireland, and Ghana. The 1971-72 students exploring "Man's Habitat" will be distributed among those locales and, in addition, The Netherlands. In 1972-73, a study group will also be sent to the English-speaking Caribbean.

Beginning with small pilot groups, InterFuture is opening its project teams to a wider base of students. Soon to be appointed at a limited number of schools are campus coordinators, who will nominate candidates, help them to prepare, and arrange for them to lead a seminar on return to campus. The coordinator, drawn from an institution's teaching, research, or administrative staff, will receive an honorarium not to exceed \$1,000. The program would be pleased to hear from political scientists who would like their students to have the chance to participate in InterFuture.

Policy Indicator Handbook

The Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma, has recently issued a study entitled "Handbook of State Policy Indicators" containing comparative state data for 45 policy areas for two time periods (usually 1960 and 1969). The volume is 79 pages in length and sells for \$2.00. The Bureau of Government Research also has available several aggregate studies on Oklahoma voting trends and an anthology on state constitutional revision. These publications may be obtained from the Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

Research and Training Support

Support Available

1972 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Travel and Maintenance Assistance Program

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has a Travel and Maintenance Assistance Program for international organization field studies. At present, emphasis is being given to the following areas, although applications on other topics are not excluded from consideration: elite networks, impact studies, asymmetric power and international organizations; transnational organizations. Awards are made to projects that, in terms of research objectives, design and measurement strategies promise to add qualitatively new dimensions to the field, with special emphasis on comparative research. Applicants may be either young pre- or post-doctoral scholars affiliated with U.S. or Canadian institutions. Assistance is supplemental only, limited to travel and maintenance of applicant; it is not a salary equivalent, will not cover tuition fees at academic institutions, family allowances, or any other expenses. The closing date for filing applications and supporting documents is 12 November; awards are made in February.

Brookings Institution Fellowships

Research Fellowships carrying a stipend of \$5000 (fully nontaxable for predoctoral Fellows, partly nontaxable for postdoctoral Fellows) have been announced by the Governmental Studies Program and the Foreign Policy Studies Program of the Brookings Institution for 1972-73. Fellows pursue their own research interests while in residence at the Brookings Institution, normally working on completion of their dissertations or preparation of their dissertations for publication.

The number of fellowships is limited. Candidates must be nominated by their departments; applications from individuals not so nominated cannot be entertained. The Institution encourages interest from members of ethnic minority groups and from women. Advanced predoctoral students and recent recipients of doctorates can obtain full information from their departmental offices or by requesting announcements from Seyom Brown (foreign policy and international relations) or Herbert Kaufman (domestic politics and policies, and public administration), the Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Nominations are due by January 15, 1972.

NATO Fellowship Program

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is offering a limited number of Fellowships which are open to political science. The aim of the NATO Fellowships is to promote study and research leading to publication on various aspects of common interests, traditions and outlook of the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance and in order to throw light on the history, present status, and future development of the concept of the Atlantic Community. Grants will normally be for a period of two to four months, but can in special cases be extended to six months. Candidates must be a national of a member NATO state and have at least a working knowledge of the language of the country, or countries, in which they propose to study. Candidates must be university graduates of established reputation. For further information, American candidates for NATO Fellowships should write, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20560.

American Research Institute in Turkey Fellowships

The American Research Institute in Turkey offers several fellowships for the academic year 1972-1973. Provision is made for maintenance and for travel allowance to and from Turkey, and may be made for travel within Turkey.

Scholars and Advanced graduate students are eligible if they are engaged in research on Turkey in ancient, medieval and modern times, in all fields of the humanities and social sciences. Student applicants must have fulfilled the preliminary requirements for the doctorate. Applicants are expected to be members in good standing of educational or research institutions in the United States and Canada and to submit a suitable research project or program of study.

Accommodations are available at the headquarters of the Institute in Istanbul and in Ankara for single fellows and for married fellows without children. A nominal fee is charged for these accommodations.

Applications should be submitted before February 15, 1972, to American Research Institute in Turkey, 1155 East 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637. Application forms are available and the following

documentation is required: A curriculum vitae setting forth educational qualifications, present status and professional experience — An outline of the project or study to be pursued in Turkey — A budget of financial means required, specifying travel, maintenance and research expenses — At least three letters of recommendation from suitable authorities.

The Committee on Fellowships and Funds expects to notify applicants of its decisions on or about March 15, 1972.

NASPAA Public Administration Fellows Program

The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration has announced its 1972-73 Public Administration Fellows Program.

The Program, sponsored in cooperation with the U.S. Civil Service Commission is designed to enhance understanding of the public policy process and the relation between theory and practice in government and provides policy level governmental positions in the Executive Branch of the federal government to college and university faculty teaching in the field of public administration and other supportive public policy areas.

Coordinated by NASPAA, the Educational Component of the program consists of activities arranged for the collective and individual interests of the Fellows, supplementing and complementing their agency assignments.

College and university faculty members teaching in the field of public administration and related areas are eligible to participate in the NASPAA PA Fellows Program. Compensation is determined for each Fellow according to experience and educational background, ranging from GS-9 (\$10,470) to GS-15 (\$25,251). Appointments are for a period of nine months to one year, generally beginning in early September. Positions are located in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

The application deadline for the 1972-73 Program is December 15, 1971. Tentative selection of Fellows will be made by January 15, 1972 and announcement of placement will be issued by April 1, 1972.

Further information on the Fellows Program may be obtained by contacting Don M. Blandin, NASPAA Associate Executive Secretary, 1225

Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Fellowships in Legal History

The American Bar Foundation Project in Legal History is offering fellowships to encourage and assist scholars to publish original research in Anglo-American legal history. Candidates for the nine to eleven months fellowships with a maximum stipend of \$11,000 should be holders of law degrees, Ph.D.'s or be candidates who have completed their comprehensives in the area of history or related subjects. The deadline for applications is February 1. For further information and application forms write to Project in Legal History, American Bar Foundation, 1155 East 60 Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

ACLS - SSRC Grant Programs

The Joint Committee on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Society and the Social Science Research Council has announced three grant programs. The purpose of the three programs is to enable both the specialist and non-specialist on Eastern Europe to strengthen their competence and to provide a scholarly exchange. For details of eligibility and information which must be supplied in requesting application forms, write to Office of Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East 46 Street, New York, New York 10017. The three areas of grant programs are:

Post Doctoral Research

These are offered to mature scholars for research in the humanities or social sciences relating to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, East Germany since 1945, and post-Byzantine Greece. Small grants are awarded for research-related travel, research assistance, and maintenance for short periods of time. Grants to a maximum of \$8,500 are also awarded for more extended periods.

The application deadline is December 31, 1971.

European Languages

These are offered for study of the languages of the above countries, with the exception of East Germany (for Greece, modern Greek only). Grants are for summer study abroad or for enrollment in intensive language courses in this country. They are offered to scholars who are East European

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specialists and to the non-East European specialist who intends to apply his discipline to the area. Students who have completed at least one year of graduate study and for whom an East European language is essential for his doctoral research may also apply. Maximum award: \$1,000.

The application deadline is February 1, 1972.

Conference Support

These are made to meet part of the costs of conferences held in the United States for the advancement of research in the East European field, exclusive of Russian/Soviet studies. Normally a year's lead time for preparation of papers is considered desirable.

The application deadline is February 15, 1972.

Research and Training Support

Announcement of Awards

1971 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Travel and Maintenance Assistance Program Awards

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has made the following award for 1971 on its peace travel and maintenance assistance program:

David D. Finley, Colorado College, for a study of regional international organizations and the relationship between regional and trans-regional integration in Europe;

Bernard Mennis, University of Pennsylvania, for a study of multinational corporations and the prospects for political integration in Western Europe;

Robert Pendley, Rice University, for study of relationships between organizational outputs, conflict within organizations, and the impact of organizational activity;

Donald J. Puchala, Columbia University, for a study of supranational rule-enforcement in the European Communities;

John C. Ruggie, University of California, for a study of technological developments, transnational responses, and the future world order; a comparative study of changing structures of public authority;

Ronald S. Scheinman, University of California, for study of the implementation of human rights in the international community: compulsion vs. persuasion;

Nellie Varner, Harvard University, for a study of possible relationships among black socialists and revolutionaries in the U.S., Caribbean, and Africa.

Social Science Archival Acquisitions Newsletter

The National Science Foundation has funded the Laboratory for Political Research at the University of Iowa to publish a quarterly newsletter of information on the acquisitions of social science data archives in the United States. The newsletter will contain brief descriptions of new data sets recently acquired by archives and will also include names and addresses of appropriate persons to contact for those interested in acquiring specific data sets.

It is hoped that the Newsletter will facilitate a more direct flow of information about data from archives to social science researchers.

Individuals and institutions may be placed on the Newsletter mailing list by writing to John G. Kolp, Managing Editor, Newsletter of Social Science Archival Acquisitions, 321A Schaeffer Hall, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

AAUW 1971-72 Fellows

The American Association of University Women has announced that three women political scientists have received 1971-72 AAUW graduate fellowships for women. The winners are:

Sharon Lee Camp, Johns Hopkins University, "Political change in Charles County, Maryland."

Natasha C. Lisman, M.I.T., "Clandestine Literary Activities in the Soviet Union."

Annette Szumaski, George Washington University, "Case study in group political behavior and educational innovations in Soviet Russia, 1958-1968."

Ford Foundation Grants

The Ford Foundation has announced grants to support: programs of excellence for graduate education in political science and history at Howard University and Atlanta University; a Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University; and faculty Research Fellowships in political science for 1971-72 for sixteen political scientists.

Graduate Education Programs at Howard University and Atlanta University

Two of the nation's leading predominately Black institutions — Howard University in Washington, D.C. and Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia — will each receive \$1,750,000 to assist the institutions become graduate centers of excellence in the social sciences. Howard University will use its new funds to improve its doctoral programs in history and political science. The two year grant to Howard will enable the departments of History and Political Science to hire eight new full-time faculty members each, and will provide for assistantships, library acquisitions, and other expenses such as travel, seminars, and space renovation. Atlanta University will inaugurate a doctoral curriculum in political science through the grant. It will also

Research and Training Support

Announcement of Awards

provide an endowment for three chairs in political science and will offer matching funds over a period of six years for additional faculty, fellowships, library acquisitions, and other expenses.

Indiana University Social Studies Development Center

—The Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University was granted \$265,000 to test new ways of disseminating innovations in the social science field and to document their experience for use by schools and universities throughout the country. One of the center's most recent activities has been the training of local field agents in an effort to ease the transformation of new teaching methods into effective classroom practice. The field agents (similar in concept to county agricultural agents) visit schools periodically to provide teachers with up-to-date information on materials and practices. They also inform curriculum experts and departmental scholars at the university about particular school needs.

Over the next three years the center will conduct experimental work in ten schools within a 300-mile radius. Curriculum researchers, teacher trainers, and other specialists, as well as agents, will take part in the project.

Among the Project Directors is a member of the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, Howard Mehlinger of the Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University, 1129 Atwater, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

Faculty Research Fellowships

Sixteen political scientists received awards for the academic year 1971-72 to support independent research on subjects of their own choosing. The grants, made to the graduate universities with which the fellows are associated provide for full salary plus a modest research allowance for an academic year free of teaching and administrative duties. Political Science Fellows and their research topics are:

CALIFORNIA

William E. Bicker, University of California, Berkeley. Research on public opinion and the political impact of campus unrest: from the free speech movement to the present.

John W. Lewis, Stanford University. Research on a study of education and political development in Tangshan, a city in north China.

Anthony D. Martin, University of California, Los Angeles. Research on an analysis of diplomatic bargaining in the area of peace negotiations.

ILLINOIS

Sidney Verba, University of Chicago. Research on political participation in India, Japan, Nigeria, and the United States.

IOWA

Victor A. Olorunsola, Iowa State University. Research on political reconstruction in three African states — Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone.

MASSACHUSETTS

Eric A. Nordlinger, Brandeis University. Research on how conflict in some divided societies can be regulated without widespread repression or violence.

Hugh D. Price, Harvard University. Research on theories of American politics.

NEW YORK

Richard F. Fenno, University of Rochester. Research on congressional committees.

Sidney G. Tarrow, Cornell University. Research on the voters, parties, and elites of Italy and France.

Herbert F. Weiss, Brooklyn College, City University of New York. Research on political protest in the Congo, particularly the Mouvement National Congolais and the Kwilu Rebellion.

Donald S. Zagoria, Hunter College, City University of New York. Research on the social sources of peasant communism in Asia.

NORTH CAROLINA

James W. White, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Research on political implications of urban migration in Japan.

PENNSYLVANIA

Robert F. Lyke, Princeton University. Research on philosophical problems of political behavior.

TEXAS

R. Harrison Wagner, University of Texas, Austin. Research on application of theories of conflict, bargaining, and organization to analysis of foreign policy making.

WISCONSIN

Jack Dennis, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Research on the state of public support for major political institutions in contemporary America.

ISRAEL

Saadia E. Touval, Tel-Aviv University. Research on de-escalation and disengagement in international conflicts.

Cross-Cultural Southwest Minorities Studies Center

The University of Texas at El Paso has received a grant of \$63,701 from the Spencer Foundation of Chicago to support the development of a Cross-Cultural Southwest Minorities Studies Center. The Center, under the direction of Z. Anthony Kruszewski, Associate Professor of Political Science, will investigate Southwest ethnic groups relationships and conflicts and coordinate activities aimed at creating a cultural data bank for illuminating inter-ethnic relationships. For further information contact Z. Anthony Kruszewski, Department of Political Science, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, Texas 79968.

SSRC Fellowships and Awards

The Social Science Research Council has announced the following awards to political scientists for 1971-72:

Foreign Area Fellowship Program

AFRICA AND THE NEAR EAST

M. Catharine Newbury, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of Wisconsin, for completion of research and preparation of a dissertation in Rwanda, Europe, and the United States on the political integration of Kinyaga, 1916-60. (renewal)

Gary Schiff, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Columbia University, for research in Israel on its four religious political parties.

Neal Sherman, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of Wisconsin, for Luganda language training and research in Uganda on dairy policies.

ASIA PROGRAM

Bruce Cumings, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Columbia University, for research in Korea on the government of the People's Republic, August 1945 to 1946.

John Dolfin, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Columbia University, for research in Hong Kong on the role of administrative organization in facilitating the development of a national community.

Michael Donnelly, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Columbia University, for completion of research and preparation of a dissertation in Japan and the United States on rice politics in Japan. (renewal)

Richard Gaulton, Ph.D. candidate in government, Cornell University, for research in Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan on political control and population mobilization in Shanghai, 1949-53.

Kuang-sheng Liao, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of Michigan, for research in Hong Kong on internal politics and external conflict in Communist China.

Marshall Bouton, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of Chicago, for research in India on the economic and political consequences of technological change in agriculture.

SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

W. Harriet Critchley, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Columbia University, for completion of research and preparation of a dissertation in Yugoslavia and the United States on the 1921-29 political system in Yugoslavia. (renewal)

Natasha Lisman, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research in Europe, Israel, and the United States on clandestine literature in the Soviet Union as a political instrument of dissidents.

WESTERN EUROPEAN PROGRAM

Lyndelle D. Fairlie, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Indiana University, for research in England on the roles of the British Labor Party regional organizers and Conservative Party area agents since 1945.

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Announcement of Awards

Denis Lacorne, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Yale University, for a comparative study in France of French Communist and Socialist federations.

Peter M. Lange, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research in Italy on the internal operations of the Italian Communist and Socialist Parties. (renewal)

Jerry L. Ulrich, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of Chicago, for research in England on political culture and the expansion of political participation in England, 1850-1900.

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN PROGRAM

William L. Ascher, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Yale University, for research on the role of national planners in Argentina and Chile, in affiliation with the National Development Council, Buenos Aires, and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, Santiago.

Robert D. Bond, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Vanderbilt University, for research on Venezuelan bureaucracy and the bureaucratic elites, in affiliation with the Center for Research on Social Communication, Andrés Bello Catholic University.

Michael Mitchell, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Indiana University, for research on political participation of ethnic groups in São Paulo, in affiliation with the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning, São Paulo.

John C. Spence, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research on decentralization of the administration of justice in Chile, in affiliation with the School of Law, University of Chile, Santiago.

Barbara B. Stallings, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Stanford University, for research on leadership and strategies of development in Venezuela and Chile, in affiliation with the Institute of Political Science, Catholic University of Chile.

UNITED KINGDOM

Joseph W. Foweraker, D.Phil. candidate in politics and economics, University of Oxford, for research on the development of frontier economies within Brazil, in affiliation with the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning, São Paulo.

PROFESSIONAL INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

David J. Gould, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Chico State College, California, and Ph.D. candidate in public administration, New York University, for an internship in public administration, Public Administration Commission, Caracas.

Research Training Fellowships

Michael D. Cohen, Ph.D. candidate in social science, University of California, Irvine, for postdoctoral training in advanced mathematics and logic.

Jerry F. Hough, Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto, for postdoctoral training at the University of Michigan in statistics and survey research techniques.

Noel Kaplowitz, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Columbia University, for postdoctoral training at Yale University in psychology for political scientists.

Sharon G. Nathan, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for training at the University of Michigan in psychology.

Benjamin I. Page, Ph.D. candidate in political science, Stanford University, for postdoctoral training at Harvard University or Massachusetts Institute of Technology in economic theory and econometrics.

Faculty Research Grant

Benedict R. Anderson, Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University, for research in Indonesia and London on the breakdown of guided democracy in Indonesia.

John A. Armstrong, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, for research on the evolution of administrative elites in Europe.

Robert Jervis, Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University, for research on the varieties and causes of misperception of others' intentions in international relations.

Daniel S. Lev, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Washington, for a comparative study in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Pakistan of legal institutions and sociopolitical change.

Eric A. Nordlinger, Associate Professor of Politics, Brandeis University, for research on conflict regulation in divided societies.

Frank A. Pinner, Professor of Political Science, Michigan State University, for research on a theory of political behavior.

Philippe C. Schmitter, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, for research in Portugal on the debate on its entry into the European Economic Community and the probable consequences.

Sidney G. Tarrow, Associate Professor of Political Science, Yale University, for completion of research in France on local politics.

Latin American Studies (Co-sponsored with the American Council of Learned Societies)

Ronald H. Chilcote, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, Riverside, for research in Brazil on elites and development in two backlands communities in the Northeast.

Edward Gonzalez, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, for research in Cuba and the United States on Castro's political system, 1965-61.

Donald Hindley, Associate Professor of Politics, Brandeis University, for research in Costa Rica on the course of political change since independence.

Daniel H. Levine, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, for a comparative study in Venezuela and Colombia of the response of the Church to change.

Riordan J. A. Roett, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, and Domingo M. Rivarola, Director, Paraguayan Center of Sociological Studies, for research in Asuncion, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires on the origin, composition, and role in politics of the Paraguayan political elite, since 1930.

Near and Middle East (Co-sponsored with the American Council of Learned Societies)

Monte Palmer, Associate Professor of Government, Florida State University, for research in Lebanon, Kuwait, and Iran on political participation among university students in Lebanon and the Middle East.

Slavic and Eastern European Studies

Charles Gati, Associate Professor of Political Science, Union College, for research on restraints on East European foreign policies.

Joseph Rothschild, Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, for a political and socio-economic analysis of interwar Central Europe.

Comparative Legislative Studies

A consortium group of three Universities — Duke University, The University of Iowa, and The University of Hawaii — as well as additional individual Associates have received individual grants from the Agency for International Development for interdisciplinary programs of training and research in comparative legislative studies. Because each of the three institutions has somewhat different substantive and area emphases, Duke University will also serve a coordinating function. Program members and their colleagues and students will be engaged in research training and research on relevant topics both in the United States and in less developed countries. Membership of a Consortium Advisory Committee under the Chairmanship of Professor Allan Kornberg of Duke University will soon be announced.

Under the grant, Duke University has received a five-year institutional development award of \$500,000 to develop its capabilities in the field of comparative legislative studies with particular emphasis on the comparative approach to the role of legislatures in developmental processes. In addition to providing fellowship support for students from developing countries, other foreign countries, and the United States many of the activities will also be conducted in conjunction with foreign scholars as colleagues. The project is administered by a University Committee consisting of Allan Kornberg, Political Science, Director; Joel Smith, Sociology, Associate Director; John Tepaske, History; and Thomas Naylor, Economics. Professor Kornberg is on leave for the academic year 1971-72 and inquiries may be directed to Professor Joel Smith, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 27706.

The University of Hawaii has received a grant of \$235,000 for five years to encourage expansion of its research, teaching, and training capacities with respect to the role of legislatures in political development. Regional focus for the collaboration of American and foreign scholars, and assistance to graduate students through fellowships, will be on selected Asian and Pacific Island countries. The University of Hawaii project is being administered through its Social Science Research Institute,

Research and Training Support

Announcement of Awards

headed by Fred W. Riggs, with Norman Meller and Robert B. Stauffer serving, respectively, as Program Director and Associate Director.

The University of Iowa has received a five-year institutional development grant of \$265,000 to expand its program of research and research training in comparative legislative studies. The grant will be used to support research on the role of legislatures in political development. Scholars from developing countries will be closely associated with the project. Beginning in September, 1972, the Department will offer fellowships for graduate students interested in comparative legislative research. The project is administered by the Comparative Legislative Research Center of the Department of Political Science; Gerhard Loewenberg is serving as Program Director, and G. R. Boynton, C. L. Kim, and S. C. Patterson are Associate Directors.

science and technology to problems in underdeveloped countries. It will consist of a group of educational and research experiences that will focus on the process of technology transfer to see what are the vital steps that go into the establishment of fundamental policies.

A major goal of the Cornell program will be to identify alternative policies that could be implemented at the national and regional levels that would promote industrialization of selected underdeveloped countries and answer the specific needs of these countries. It will be under the direction of Edward T. Cranch, Associate Dean of Engineering, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14850.

Carnegie-Mellon Limbach Fund

The Limbach Foundation has established a \$100,000 Emil Limbach Fund at Carnegie-Mellon University for special programs in the School of Urban and Public Affairs.

The endowment, named in honor of the chairman of the board of the Limbach Company, a mechanical contracting firm with headquarters in Pittsburgh, provides support for seminars for governmental and quasi-governmental managers, fellowships, visiting lectureships, and other programs. The first recipient of the award, Richard Royce, staff director of the Committee on Public Works, U.S. Senate, recently delivered a series of lectures on senatorial legislative processes. The talks are being edited in collaboration with Robert Shellow, professor of urban processes, SUPA, for possible publication in an Emil Limbach Lecture Series.

Cornell Science and Technology Program

The Agency for International Development has awarded a five year \$580,000 grant to Cornell University's Center for International Studies, College of Engineering and the Program on Science, Technology and Society for a new teaching and research program on Policies for Science and Technology in Developing Nations.

The program will concentrate on the analysis and study of policies concerning the application of

Professional Conferences

Past

Middle Atlantic Regional Division of the International Studies Association

The Middle Atlantic Regional Division of the International Studies Association held its annual meeting at Columbia University on May 8, 1971. The general topic was "Technological Change and International Relations."

Papers were delivered by the following persons on the following topics: John Ross, Technical Assistant Division of the Population Council, "The World Population Program: Technical Aspects;" Richard Gardner, Columbia University, "A World Population Program: A Current Re-appraisal;" Howard Perlmutter, University of Pennsylvania, "The Implications of New Management Technologies for International Relations;" Christopher Wright, Columbia University, "Alternative Patterns for Settling Disputes Arising from Environmental Problems;" George Quester, Cornell University, "Impact of Changes in Weapons Technologies on Prospects for the Maintenance of Peace;" and Lincoln D. Cathers, Naval Ship Systems Command, "Development in Ocean Submersibles and International Security."

Officers of the Association are Gerard J. Mangone, Temple University, *President*; Milton J. Esman, Cornell University, *Vice-President*; and Barbara N. McLennan, Temple University, *Secretary-Treasurer*. For further information on the ISA Middle Atlantic Division please write to Barbara N. McLennan, Secretary-Treasurer, ISA-Middle Atlantic, Department of Political Science, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Symposium

The Sixth Franklin D. Roosevelt symposium, sponsored by Marist College in association with the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library was held in October at the Campus Center of Marist College, Poughkeepsie, New York. The theme of the symposium was "The Second World War." For additional information, write to Vincent L. Toscano, Department of History and Political Science, Marist College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601.

Conference on the Problems of Bibliography

The American Bibliography Center of Santa Barbara hosted a small meeting in June of individuals interested in problems of bibliography and data retrieval in the humanities and social sciences.

The first day and a half of the conference was spent discussing various problems in the area of bibliography and documentation, including: 1) significant gaps in coverage; 2) duplication of coverage by various abstracting and bibliographic services; 3) the delay in providing bibliography and abstracts; 4) the lack of communication between the organizations involved in bibliography and documentation; 5) the possibilities offered by automated data-retrieval systems; and 6) the relationship between non-profit and commercial organizations.

The final portion of the meeting was concerned with possible methods of dealing with the problems that had been outlined. The participants agreed that it is essential to get those now involved in bibliography and abstracting to coordinate their activities. Therefore, it was decided that an attempt will be made to organize a meeting — hopefully in 1972 — that will bring together representatives of the major professional associations, information scientists, and bibliographic and abstracting services in the humanities and social sciences. Hopefully the meeting would be sponsored by the newly-established National Commission for Libraries and Information Sciences, the American Council of Learned Societies, or some comparable body. For further information write to Roger E. Kanet, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

Symposium on New Departures in Western Political Thought: The School of Eric Voegelin

The Program of West European Studies and the Student Academic Commission of the University of Notre Dame sponsored a symposium on April 29-30 on New Departures in Western Political Thought: The School of Eric Voegelin. Participants in the symposium included Walter Berns, University of Toronto, paper "Voegelin, Strauss and the Behavioralists;" panelists, Walter Nicgorski, University of Notre Dame, Thomas Thorson, Indiana University and Ellis Sandoz, East Texas State University; Dante Germino, University of Virginia, paper "Voegelin and Contemporary Radical Thought in America;" panelists, Gerhart Niemeyer, University of Notre Dame, Joseph Cropsey, University of Chicago, and John Hallowell, Duke University; Bernhard Anderson, Princeton, theological seminary, paper "Politics and the Transcendent: Voegelin's Philosophical and Theological Analysis of the Old Testament in the Context of the Ancient Near East;" panelists

Professional Conferences

Past

Edward Goerner, University of Notre Dame, William C. Havard, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and Frederick Crosson, University of Notre Dame; George Sebba, Emory University, paper "The 'Leap in Being:' Some Thoughts About Voegelin's Conception of History and the Drama of Mankind;" panelists, Matthew Fitzsimons, University of Notre Dame, Stephen Tonsor, University of Michigan, and John Dunne, CSC, University of Notre Dame. John Crutcher, Assumption College, Leo de Alvarez, University of Dallas, James Rhodes, Marquette University, Peter Sampo, St. Francis College and Sylvia Sanders, East Texas State University, participated as Student Discussion Group Leaders. Eric Voegelin also addressed the symposium. For further information, contact Stephen Kertesz, Director, Program of West European Studies, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana 46600.

CUNY Conference on the United States and the European Community in the 1970's

The City University of New York Graduate Center European Studies Committee and its Seminar on European Community sponsored a conference on October 8-9 on the United States and the European Community in the 1970's: Rivalry or Cooperation. Sessions included:

The European Community After British Entry:
Federation or Confederation?

John Williams, University of Warwick
The Political Economy of the Enlarged
Community

Steven Warnecke, City University of New York,
Richmond College
The Political Framework of Europe of the Terr

Economic Relations Between the United States and
the European Community in the 1970's

William Diebold, Council on Foreign Relations

Pierre Uri, the Atlantic Institute

Harold Malmgren, Economic Consultant

Foreign Relations Between the United States and
the European Community: Rivalry or Cooperation?

Harold van B. Cleveland, First National City Bank

Rolf Dahrendorf, Commission on European
Communities

For further information on the Conference, contact
Steven Warnecke, City University Graduate Center,
33 West 42 Street, New York, New York 10036.

Virginia Political Scientists

The annual meeting of Virginia political scientists was held at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia on October 8-9, 1971. Professors C. L. Haslam and Louis J. Mensonides served as a committee on local arrangements.

At a group meeting on American politics, Professor Victor Fingerhut, Mary Washington College, spoke on "The Enduring Republican Minority" and Professor Paul David, the University of Virginia, reported "A Regional View of Party Realignment." A section on international relations heard papers by Professor James Loesel, Washington and Lee University on "International Educational Exchange: The Mboya Airlift" and Professor Jack D. Salmon, VPI and SU, on "Coming: A Necessary Imperialism?"

The meeting concluded following an address by Professor William C. Havard, VPI and SU, on "The Philosophical Underpinnings of the Contemporary Controversy in American Political Science."

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming

The Western Political Science Association

The Western Political Science Association will hold its 26th Annual Meeting at Portland, Oregon, March 23-25, 1972. Program Chairman is Phillip O. Foss, Department of Political Science, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colorado 80521. Arrangements Committee Chairman is Jerry Lansdowne, Urban Studies Center, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon 97207. Portland State University is the host institution. The meetings will be held at the Benson Hotel, Portland. President of the WPSA is Currin V. Shields, Director, Institute of Government Research, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona 85721. Communications concerning WPSA should be addressed to Paul R. Murray, Secretary-Treasurer, Western Political Science Association, Department of Government, Sacramento State College, Sacramento, California 95819.

Georgia Political Science Association

Jekyll Island, Georgia will be the site on February 4-5 for the 1972 meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association. The current officers of the Association are: President, John McCarthy, Armstrong State College; Vice President, Lois Hollis, Albany State College; Executive Committee members: James D. McBrayer, Steve Edwards, Salmon Hollis, Gus Trunbull III, and Orville Taylor. The Secretary-Treasurer is Ralph Hemphill, Department of History and Political Science, Georgia College, Milledgeville, Georgia 31061.

Midwest Political Science Association

The 1972 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association will be held April 27-29 in Chicago at the Pick Congress Hotel. Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh, (1971-72 address: Center for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences, 202 Junipero Serra Blvd., Stanford, California) is the Program Chairman for the meeting. Subject areas and section chairmen for the meeting are:

Political Theory

Fred H. Willhoite
Department of Political Science
Coe College
Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52402

Comparative Government and Politics

Ann Ruth Willner
Department of Political Science
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Gerhard Loewenberg
Department of Political Science
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

International Politics

David W. Tarr
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

United States Government and Politics Urban Politics

Richard M. Johnson
Department of Political Science
University of Illinois — Chicago Circle
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Public Policy

Randall B. Ripley
Department of Political Science
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Political Parties and Elections

David A. Leuthold
Public Opinion Survey Unit
Research Center
School of Business and Public Administration
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri 65201

National and State Government

Alan L. Clem (Institutions)
Department of Government
University of South Dakota
Vermillion, South Dakota 57069

Beverly Blair Cook (Public Law)
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

C. R. McKibbin (Administration)
Department of Political Science
University of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508

Robert Albritton (Graduate Student Member)
Department of Political Science
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois 62201

Professional Conferences

Forthcoming

New officers of the Midwest Association for 1971-72 are: President, Leon Epstein, University of Wisconsin; President-Elect, Doris Graber, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle and Vice President, Alfred Diamant, Indiana University. New Council members are Ada Finifter, Michigan State University and Jack L. Walker, University of Michigan. They join holdover Council members Lucius Barker, Washington University; Scott D. Johnson, Hamline University, and Randall H. Nelson, Southern Illinois University. For membership and other information write to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association, Jean M. Driscoll, North Park College, 5125 North Spaulding, Chicago, Illinois 60625.

New York State Political Science Association

The Executive Council of the New York State Political Science Association has set April 14 and 15 as the dates for its 1972 Annual Meeting. This is a change from the previously announced dates of March 26-27. The meeting will be held in Saratoga Springs. For further information, contact President William T. Bluhm, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York 14627.

Providence College Political Science Colloquia

The Department of Political Science at Providence College announces three colloquia in political science led by Professor Donald Matthews, of Brookings Institution, on November 17, 1971; Professor Kalman Silvert, of New York University, on February 9, 1972; and Professor Merle Fainsod, of Harvard University, on April 20, 1972.

The colloquia are designated to expose students in political science to outstanding authors-scholars and are supported by the National Science Foundation College Science Improvement Program grant.

1972 Northeastern Slavic Conference

The 1972 Northeastern Slavic Conference will be held at the University of Vermont from April 27-29. The Program Committee invites suggestions from members and non-members, including graduate students, on specific papers, panels and on the general structure of the program. Correspondence should be directed to: Stanislaw Staron, Department of Political Science, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont 05401.

American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy will be held on December 29-30, 1971 at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York in conjunction with the meeting of the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association.

The topic for the meeting will be *Participation*. The program will consist of:

Session I, Meanings and Rationale of Participation
2-5 p.m. 29 December 1971

Speaker: David Braybrooke, Philosophy,
Dalhousie University

Commentators: George Kateb, Political Science,
Amherst College; Sam Mermin, Law, University
of Wisconsin

Session II, Participation and Theory of Democracy
8:30-10:30 p.m. 29 December 1971

Speaker: Peter Bachrach, Political Science,
Temple University

Commentators: Eugene Kamenka, Philosophy,
Australian National University; Stephen Wexler,
Law, University of British Columbia

Session III, Participation and Emerging Social
Institutions 10-12 a.m. 30 December 1971

Speaker: Howard Kalodner, Law, NYU

Commentators: Alan Graubard, Philosophy,
M.I.T.; Richard Schwartz, Law-Sociology, SUNY
Buffalo

Conference Group on German Politics

The Conference Group on German Politics will hold a meeting on June 8, 9, and 10, 1972 on German foreign policy in a European and international context. German and American scholars will join with a number of leading German political figures to discuss topics such as East and West Politics, the Common Market, and foreign policy formation. Inquiries should be directed to the Chairman of the Conference, Wolfram Heinreder, University of California at Santa Barbara. For further information on the Conference Group and membership applications, write to Charles R. Foster, 200 C Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Research Communications

To the Editor:

The following data are now available for use by interested American, Canadian and European political scientists. The research, funded by the Canada Council, involves an elite study, comprising legislators, bureaucrats and interest group directors (N-2262) in selected areas of Canada and the United States, during the period 1968-71. The respective N's include:

Site	Legis- lators	Higher Bureau- crats	Directors
Ottawa	142	90	106
Br. Columbia	34	36	113
Ontario	50	49	225
Quebec	43	40	195
Washington, D.C.	100	92	303
Louisiana	52	52	171
Michigan	47	56	152
Washington	50	57	139
	376	482	1,404

Data are based upon one to one-and-one-half-hour structured interviews, using random samples constituting one-half of the legislative universe (excepting the U.S. House); one-quarter of the interest group universe, and 20 per cent of the top level of the various civil services, e.g., GS-18 in Washington, D.C. and deputy ministers in Ottawa. The usual pre-testing of interview schedules, analysis of translations by French-speaking

Canadiens, efforts to ease semantic differentials, and instruction of interviewers was carried out. Virtually all the legislative interviewing (lower House only) was done by Presthus. Co-operation was generally excellent and refusals rates were within the required limits.

Data include the following categories of analysis:

1. SES (modified Hollingshead method) and standard biographical data (17 items);
2. Interest group structural data: membership and budget size; commitment, etc. (25 items);
3. Political interaction among elites: frequency of contact; and case study of representative issue;

imputed legitimacy; media and effectiveness of interaction (40 items);

4. Attitudinal data, on normative perceptions of interest groups (22 items); and
5. Comparative political values: liberalism-conservatism; alienation; efficacy; and public policy issues (26 items).

The data are available in two forms: IBM cards and CDC tape using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists. Data are on four files, one for each category of the elite interviews, for U.S. and Canada, and one which compares the three groups on all items, again separated for Canada and the U.S. Costs of reproduction of cards and tapes, and of postage, must be assumed by the borrower. The approximate cost for reproducing cards and postage is \$30.00, and for the tape about \$40.00. The data are made available with three restrictions: they may not be published in any form until after my own volumes appear, probably in late 1972 or mid-1973; they may not be used for government reports, consulting of any commercial purpose since respondents were assured of confidentiality, any results or references to the data must be in an anonymous or statistical form.

Robert Presthus

Department of Political Science
York University
Toronto, CANADA

To the Editor:

Political scientists and sociologists interested in the Himalayan area studies are requested to contact Professor Samir K. Ghosh, Indian Institute of Human Sciences, 114 Sri Aurobindo Road, P.O. KONNAGAR, W.B., Near Calcutta, India, for an international symposium to be held in Bologna, Italy, in early September 1972. Contributions are invited to a forthcoming volume on *Structure and Change in the Himalayas*.

Samir K. Ghosh

Director
Indian Institute of Human Sciences

To the Editor:

Roger Hamburg raises some interesting challenges to our conclusions concerning the relationship of scholarly achievement to political liberalism as reported in "The Politics of American Political Scientists" (PS, Spring 1971). He argues correctly that we assume, but in no way prove, that publication record may be treated as an indicator of intellectuality. Space considerations required that we leave out some things which we would have liked to develop more completely. There are, in fact, a variety of other data in our survey which shed some light on the matter Hamburg raises. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: "I consider myself an intellectual." They were also requested to indicate the time they spent in scholarly pursuits (serious professional reading as well as writing), and the extent to which they participated in extravocational cultural activities. We find (1) that these several indicators of intellectuality are highly inter-correlated, and (2) that whatever the measure, the "more intellectual" academics are to the left politically of their "less intellectual" colleagues.

Mr. Hamburg's further contention that the greater liberalism of the "achievers" is largely a by-product of the ability of the academic community at "big schools" to insulate itself from "the more conservative community outside the campus," and that "anonymity protects eccentricity" may also be tested in our data. Size of school may be held

constant. When we do so, we find that within the same size category, professors at the scholarly more selective schools (as measured by the SAT scores required for undergraduate admission) are significantly more liberal than faculty at the less selective institutions. Further, academics at small but selective schools are just as liberal as those at large institutions of comparable selectivity, and are much more liberal than the faculty at large but less scholarly places. This is true not only for political scientists but for the entire professoriate, as the following table demonstrates.

A final comment. Although Mr. Hamburg is right that no empirical data can "prove" the relationship between a concept like "intellectuality" and political orientation since there is no way to create agreement as to what "intellectuality" is, the fact remains that a large number of surveys of academics from James Leuba's analysis of the factors associated with religious belief (*The Belief in God and Immortality*, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1921) through to the Carnegie data gathered in 1969, all agree that "achievement" in academe — whether measured in terms of those faculty members starred in *American Men of Science* (that is, ranked as significant contributors by a panel of their colleagues), by a high score on an index of publications, or by location at the better institutions — has been associated with more liberal to left views on many different social and political issues. Perhaps most startling of all is the conclusion, first presented by Lazarsfeld and

Distribution of the Faculty on the Liberalism-Conservatism Scale, by School Size and Selectivity

Institutions Which Are:	Very Liberal and Liberal	Middle- of-the- Road	Conservative and Very Conservative
Size — Under 2,500 SAT Scores — Over 1,200	59	13	28
Size — Under 2,500 SAT Scores — 1,000-1,200	41	17	42
Size — Under 2,500 SAT Scores — 800-1,000	30	16	54
Size — Over 10,000 SAT Scores — Over 1,200	58	15	27
Size — Over 10,000 SAT Scores — 1,000-1,200	44	16	40
Size — Over 10,000 SAT Scores — 800-1,000	33	15	52

Thielens (*The Academic Mind*, The Free Press, 1958) with respect to support for the rights of Communists and other minorities, reiterated by Noll and Rossi (*General Social and Economic Attitudes of College and University Faculty Members*, NORC, 1966) with regard to opposition to the Vietnam war, and then found by us in the 1969 Carnegie data, that consultants for business and for the federal government were more likely to support Communists' rights or to oppose the Vietnam war than faculty not on the consulting payroll of the business and political establishments. The reason for these curious findings, of course, is that The Establishment draws its consultants from the ranks of the "achievers," which means that it draws them from that segment of the academic community most disposed to left views. Political analysis and argument can never be simple in a world full of dialectical contradictions.

Everett Carl Ladd, Jr.
University of Connecticut

Seymour Martin Lipset
Harvard University

To the Editor:

I read with interest Mr. J. A. Stegenga's article on book reviews in your distinguished journal. Parts of it contained several interesting and noteworthy points to which all scholars would be glad to subscribe. Other parts of this article, however, covertly impugn the strictly professional objectivity of a review I wrote of Mr. Stegenga's book for the *American Political Science Review* as well as the judgment of the book review editor of the APSR, Professor Fenno, who invited me to write that review. Thus, these points cannot be left unanswered.

In that book review I praised Mr. Stegenga's study. Well aware that this was a book "first and foremost about UN peace-keeping and secondarily a book about Cyprus," as he himself quite correctly underlines, I observed in my review, first, that his laying the entire blame for the Cyprus crisis of 1963 on President Makarios was somewhat injudicious in terms even of what Mr. Stegenga wrote about the unwieldiness of the Constitution of Cyprus and, second, that his omission of any analysis of the Status of Forces agreement between the United Nations and the Republic of Cyprus was regrettable if not inexplicable.

With regard to the first point, any political scientist is — or should be — careful in dealing with even the most centralized and personal systems of top-level decision-making. In the specific instance of Cyprus, the severe crisis created by the bloody fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in December 1963 in Nicosia, when viewed in historical and political context may have been provoked by either side, if it was not a result of a case of nonpolitical violence. No impartial international observers were on the spot as they are today, to place the blame where it justly lay. Nor did any international investigation commission ever examine this point of fact, after the crisis was over. If the Greek side provoked this violence, this would not necessarily mean that President Makarios had deliberately instigated it. One of his ministers, for instance, might well have done so for reasons of his own. It should be recalled that one of them was later implicated in a plot to assassinate the President of the Cyprus Republic.

With regard to the second point — the omission of any reference to, or analysis of the international instrument which established the juridical foundation for the presence of UNFICYP in Cyprus — any political scientists dealing especially with world politics knows — or should know — that those matters which Mr. Stegenga dismisses in his article rather cavalierly as "fine legal intricacies" usually conceal or reveal various political *modi vivendi*, whose understanding and importance should never be underestimated. Events connected with the controversial withdrawal of UNEF in 1967 from the territory of the UAR abundantly illustrate this point.

Finally, I am fairly sure that political scientists will view with justified misgivings Mr. Stegenga's implications that because of their national extraction, they are inevitably biased, are unable to live up to the principles of their profession, and therefore, should never be invited to review books which deal with questions that directly or indirectly are connected with the country of their origin.

Stephen G. Xydis
Hunter College

To the Editor:

Your all-too-modest piece on "Voting Participation in the 1970 APSA Election" (Summer 1971, p. 365), heralds a scientific revolution of Copernican, nay Einsteinian dimensions, whose repercussions will

State	Total Vote	Percentage of APSA Members Voting	Number of Political Scientists		
			Min.	Median	Max.
Alaska	4	66	6.02	6.06	6.11
Arkansas	9	40	22.25	22.50	22.78
Delaware	24	70	34.09	34.29	34.53
Idaho	12	54	22.06	22.22	22.43
Montana	16	66	24.10	24.24	24.43
Nevada	14	53	26.22	26.42	26.67
New Hampshire	38	80	47.27	47.50	47.79
North Dakota	19	98	19.31	19.39	19.49
... etc.					

Source: Columns 1-2, *P.S., loc. cit.*; columns 3-5 my calculations with aid of logarithmic table and long division.

be felt not just in political science but in demography, biology, and astrophysics.

Let no one sneer that quantitative social science confirms the obvious. Who would have guessed that there were 6-1/16 political scientists in Alaska, 22¼ in Idaho, and as many as 34½ in Delaware? The first censuses, taken by Swedish pastors the better to enforce the conscription laws of the Vasa kings, established the unimaginative habit of counting human beings as integers. More than two centuries later, a number of German professors such as Planck, Einstein, and Schrödinger adapted the same poor practice to the counting of photons, energy particles, and what not.

At long last your Antiquantum Revolution has established beyond the scintilla of a doubt the possibility, nay the functional necessity, of fractional human beings — or at any rate, fractional political scientists. To make sure that physicists and mathematicians will not again lag centuries behind, I have already arranged for your article to be reprinted in the September 1971 issue of the *Zeitschrift für Höhere Mathematik und Kabbalistik mit Besonderer Hinsicht auf Ihre Anwendungen in Subatomarer Physik*.

The second line of your table makes apparent the revolutionary nature of your findings. Four political scientists voted in Alaska so as to secure for that state a voting participation of 66%. How many political scientists were there, then, in Alaska? Not 6, for that would have made the percentage 66.6 (or, rounded, 67), and not 7, for that would have given 57.142857 (or, rounded, 57). And, a few lines down, how many were there in North Dakota, where 19 political scientists secured a precedent-shattering participation of 98%.

Back in my *Gymnasium* days, long before the invention of computers, we would have treated this as a problem of proportions, thus:

$$\text{Alaska} \quad x = \frac{4 \times 100}{66} = 6.06$$

$$\text{North Dakota} \quad x = \frac{19 \times 100}{98} = 19.39$$

Upon progressing to sliderules and logarithms (and reflecting that 66% might represent any fraction from 65.5 to 66.4%) we would have come up with a table such as the one above:

And if only our math teacher had had the benefit of Douglas Rae's writings, he might have had us calculate Indices of Maximum and Minimum Fractionality of Political Scientists, and correlate them with size of population and occidentality of states in the union.

The religion teacher, of course, would have frowned upon these proceedings and even nipped your neo-Einsteinian Antiquantum Revolution in the bud. Looking at your original article he would have demanded: "If the quantifiers have lost their math, wherewith shall we salt them?"

PS had better confound such sceptics once and for all by giving us full details on those half- and quarter-political scientists that seem to abound beyond Peoria, Illinois. Are they underpaid? Do they work part-time or commute in interstate commerce? Do they speak with quavering voice? Or are they half-dead with the fatigue of reading computer printouts?

Dankwart A. Rustow
City University of New York (Brooklyn)

To the Editor:

Two recent articles in the Winter 1971 issue were, I felt, really worthwhile reading experiences, and I wish to express my gratitude that you published them.

The first was by Robert G. Dixon, Jr. ("Who is Listening? Political Science Research in Public Law"). My reaction, very simply, was hooray! He has thrown down the gauntlet to those who feel they are students of the law and I for one am going to try to do something. Specifically, I hope to do some research on differences in public response to school desegregation in the north and the south. If anyone else is working on this or has a proposal to do it in the works, I wish he would let me know so I can decide whether to pursue the work, and if so what ground to avoid.

The second article was the one by Gerald Benjamin, ("On Making Teaching 'U' "). (I am also aware of the "rejoinder" in the subsequent issue which I feel further supports Benjamin's argument rather than weakening it.) He has done a very sound job of pointing out how poorly graduate students are prepared for the responsibility of teaching. His proposals for reform are far less satisfactory, but they certainly offer a fruitful place to begin building an effective system of evaluation of instruction and training of future instructors. I am looking forward to a follow-up by him or others, particularly at conventions and in the departments.

Stephen Herzog
Moorpark College

To the Editor:

For several years I have felt the urge to emulate Tom Paine when he made "a few remarks on that much boasted constitution of England." Although "noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected," even the English constitution was imperfect. According to Paine, unravel its past and you find a cover for "two ancient tyrannies compounded with some new republican material." There is no tyranny hidden in the old or the proposed constitution of the Association. But there are hidden purposes, and the membership showed its wisdom while the Business Meeting proved its value in rejecting a new constitution that meant little more than "no more Caucuses."

Yet, the urge for some kind of change is probably very strong because, with Wilson, it has gotten to be harder to run a constitution than to frame one. The problem was with the particular constitution, not with the reform spirit itself.

When the organization and constitution of a learned society becomes so complex and the real purposes for change become deeply covert, it is time to close shop for a while and think about revolution. A sovereign state cannot do that, but actually a learned society not only can do it, it can carry out revolution without violence.

If the learned society has become a professional society, the constitution has to accommodate to this, or the professionalism has to be cast off. When a learned society has become an interest group, the constitution must also provide for that, or a decision has to be made not to be an interest group. When a professional society has become a service station, the constitution must also provide for that, or the society must decide whether to continue with the services.

The old arrangement and the new proposal reflect no such consideration of what the Association is and what it ought to be. The old constitution simply grew naturally to accommodate whatever existed, and the new constitution accepted all that and tried to find a way to be sure that no direct and open confrontation of these issues would ever take place.

To help dramatize the nature of the learned society in its pure, ideal-typical sense, let me propose what a constitution for a learned society could actually look like.

The constitution for the American Political Science Association would begin with a preamble that defined itself purely as a learned society, existing to foster the study of the subject of political science. Virtually all of the rest of the constitution would be a list of *expressly* delegated powers.

The Association shall have power

(1) to compile and maintain an up-to-date list of members, classified according to status, age, etc.;

(2) to hold one Meeting per year;

(3) to publish one official Journal and to encourage the publication of one or more specialized journals;

(4) to publish a Biographical Directory every five years;

(5) to provide assistance before the AAUP and, if necessary, the courts, in cases of alleged infringement of academic freedom;

(6) and, at a Business Meeting, to be held in conjunction with the annual Meeting, to make all "laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," provided however that no law or resolution be considered at the Business Meeting that has not been presented at least one month before to a duly elected Council of the Association.

Since this proposal is made primarily to illustrate the point that a good constitution for a real learned society would be very easy to make and to run, many structural details have not been attended to. But I don't think there needs to be any doubt that a proper concept of the Association does not require fancy constitutions or Lilliputian politics.

Theodore J. Lowi
University of Chicago

To the Editor:

On page 41 of the official program of the recent 67th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association appears the listing of a paper by Sanford V. Levinson of Stanford University entitled, "Fucking v. Making Love: The Problem of Political Education."

I find this kind of language wholly indefensible at a scholarly convention which would hopefully pride itself on the pursuit of excellence, civility, and the life of the mind. This is the hallmark of the anti-intellectual. At best it is crude and callow (it doesn't even have the merit of titillating), but more importantly it is obviously calculated for shock effect and thereby inhibits rather than facilitates reasoned discourse and civilized inquiry.

I think the membership of our Association is entitled to an official explanation from our officers.

Moreover, I think it appropriate to wonder aloud why it is that in scheduling programs at our annual Conventions the Conference for Democratic Politics should encounter resistance from certain

quarters in the Association's leadership. This resistance is particularly disconcerting in view of the fact that the Conference's programs uniformly reflect scholarship and civility, while other groups, such as Levinson might represent, seem to encounter a permissive national leadership, which remains passive even in the face of undeniable obscenities.

John P. East
East Carolina University

To the Editor:

In the Summer, 1971 issues of *PS*, Charles L. Taylor and Gordon Tullock, "The 1970 APSA Elections" wrote the "official" APSA interpretation of the 1970 APSA election results. Unfortunately the article contained factual errors and erroneous statistical assumptions and interpretations which shortchange the letter and spirit of scientific investigation to which the Associational officers have committed themselves and the APSA resources. It is in the spirit of scientific investigation that I wish to set the record straight.

On page 352 the authors refer to the "electoral literature" of the Caucus. The Caucus, however, had no campaign literature. The only partisan literature aside from the Committee for a Responsible (sic) Political Science and the Ad Hoc committee was distributed by one of the Caucus candidates at the candidate's expense. It is for this reason that the literature did not mention Victoria Schuck's Caucus endorsement or any other Caucus candidate.

On the same page the authors point out correctly that the Caucus endorsement of Miss Schuck did not appear on the ballot. The authors incorrectly imply that the Caucus did not want our endorsement publicly known. The members of the Caucus Executive Committee assumed that since Victoria Schuck and the Women's Caucus had actively sought her endorsement by the Caucus for a New Political Science that she would refer to the Caucus endorsement in her personal campaign statement. Moreover, since the APSA Executive Council and Election Committee were told at the Business Meeting in which the nominations were made that Miss Schuck had the Caucus endorsement, it was assumed that the endorsement would appear on the ballot. Why the endorsement did not appear on the ballot is a question which

must be directed to Victoria Schuck and the APSA Election Committee.

In their text and in the figures presented in Tables 2-4 the authors discuss straight Caucus ticket voting on the basis of the false assumption that the Schuck endorsement was known to all potential Caucus supporters. Since this was not the case, the best statistical interpretation of straight slate voting would have eliminated the voting on vice president because of the ambiguity of the endorsement situation for the Caucus. The next best statistical assumption would have been to limit the definition of straight Caucus voting to the 13 to 14 openings from which the Caucus endorsement appeared on the ballot. The third best assumption is to take the weaker definition of a straight Caucus ticket described and rejected by the authors in a footnote to Table 2. The fourth assumption which the authors parade as the best was to ignore the ambiguity of the Schuck endorsement and treat her vote as part of straight ticket voting. At the very least the authors should have presented data for the three stronger assumptions which they ignored.

In footnote 5 the authors imply that the 569 votes given to Victoria Schuck deprived David Spitz of victory in the vice presidential elections. Given the simplicity of running a cross-tabulation between their voting support, it is surprising the authors offer no data to support this dubious assumption. In point of fact, it is more reasonable to assume that most of the straight Caucus vote for Schuck would also have gone to Spitz.

Finally, the authors suggest that Caucus voters have a "sexual prejudice" which predisposes them to vote for a woman under any circumstances (P. 352). No data is offered to support this hypothesis, but the forthcoming 1971 APSA elections should provide at least a partial empirical test of the assertion. The disturbing aspect of the assertion, however, is that the authors do not suggest the equally plausible hypothesis of male prejudice on the part of the Ad Hoc and APSA supporters. The authors would have done well to heed their own advice about the limitations of the data (P. 349) and avoided one sided speculations about the motives behind raw voting statistics.

Edward Malecki
California State College, Los Angeles

To the Editor:

We are indeed glad that the only objection which has been raised against our analysis is that the classification of voters for Victoria Schuck was improper. As made clear in our article, this is a most difficult problem and we could hardly argue with great force that our method of dealing with it was eternally right. Indeed, we did *not* so argue, and ended our discussion, "The matter cannot be said to be settled, however, and we have dealt with it by various devices in the other tables" (354). In Tables 2 through 4, we followed the practice of Professor Malecki ("Letter to the Editor," *P.S.* [Winter 1971], p. 96) in listing Schuck as a Caucus candidate. We differed from Malecki's treatment in his letter in that our footnotes to each of these tables indicated the practice was questionable. Nevertheless, we were rather surprised to find that the Malecki-Taylor-Tullock method of classification is now objectionable to Malecki. We ourselves were not particularly enthusiastic about this classification and, therefore, put a good deal of data for other classifications in our article.

The second paragraph of Malecki's letter is distinctly misleading. Each of the groups nominating candidates for the APSA election was given the opportunity to provide a statement which was mailed out to the members with the ballot. Since the Caucus had complete control over what was said in this statement and since Malecki assures us that not all potential Caucus supporters knew of the Schuck endorsement, it surely would have been sensible to mention it. According to the statement, the Caucus has a "commitment . . . to responsiveness" and "responsiveness requires transparent procedures . . ." At the very least, the Caucus' procedures on this matter were not transparent.

We are sorry Malecki was upset by our little joke about sexual prejudices. We are also sorry that he is disturbed by our failure to canvass the "equally plausible hypothesis of male prejudice on the part of Ad Hoc and APSA supporters." An inspection of Tables 5 and 6 should convince even the most dire Caucasoid that the evidence for "male prejudice" is not especially greater for Ad Hoc voters than it is for Caucus voters.

Charles L. Taylor
Gordon Tullock
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University

To the Editor:

I believe many of your readers would want to know that the Caucus For A New Political Science, although it has been excluded from participation in the official program of our annual meetings, nevertheless is alive and well, and expects to continue to grow.

Apart from nominating a full slate for the elective offices of the APSA (and you will know about that from the election ballots; but note that, apparently due to a clerical error, Judith Stiehm was wrongly listed as our nominee for Secretary, instead of Judith V. May), members and friends of the Caucus took part in a Caucus program of about a dozen panel discussions dealing with some of the most pressing issues of our time. Also, we had a number of business meetings, and I would like to report here, with extreme brevity, on certain major decisions and issues.

Prior to the election of our new Executive Committee, Joel Edelstein (Wisconsin: Green Bay), Benjamin Smith (SUNY: College at Cortland) and I were elected to prepare for a Program for the 1971 APSA meetings in Washington. Subsequently, Craig Peper, NASA; home address: 515 Seward Square, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003) was elected editor of the Caucus Newsletter, and William Hellert (1011 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002) was elected Membership Chairman/Treasurer. In addition to the five referred to so far (and I was elected Caucus Chairman), our Executive Committee consists of the following: Charles Fox (Claremont), Gerald Houseman (Indiana: Fort Wayne), Judson James (CUNY: City College), Ed Malecki (California State College: Los Angeles), Justine Mann (Georgia Southern College), James Petras (Pennsylvania State University), Jeffrey Radell (Western Illinois University), Stephen Sacks (Indiana — Purdue: Indianapolis), and Philippa Strum (Rutgers).

The Caucus is not wealthy, and it was agreed that membership of the Executive Committee would entail an obligation to promote the Caucus on the local scene but no obligation to travel. Consequently, it was decided that a core group would be located in Washington, charged with (apart from keeping the files and issuing the newsletter) making preparations for a broader radical presence in the next annual meetings. The Executive Committee as a whole, as well as the

core group, was given the right to co-opt additional members.

Among the issues discussed in our business meetings were: employment discrimination against radicals in the profession, and possible counter measures; the possibility of militant confrontations in Washington if the APSA establishment should prove unwilling to provide reasonable facilities for us; the relative advantages of doing political work inside and outside the framework of the APSA. These and other issues will be further ventilated in the Caucus Newsletter, and contributions of opinions are solicited. The first Newsletter will be published in late November.

Dues for 1972 will be \$6 for faculty (and other employed political scientists), and \$2 for students (and unemployed), and this includes payment for the Caucus Newsletter. If you are interested, write to Mr. William Hellert (1011 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002).

Christian Bay

Chairman

Caucus For A New Political Science

To the Editor:

At the annual business meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago, September, 1971, the Women's Caucus for Political Science nominated Prof. Judith May for the office of Secretary. The Caucus for a New Political Science indicated its desire to leaders of the Women's Caucus that it would like to endorse the Women's Caucus candidate for this office rather than submitting its own nominee.

Through an error, Prof. Ed Malecki, speaking for the New Caucus at the nominating meeting, first nominated Prof. Judith Stiehm for the office. Several members of the Women's Caucus were present and one of them immediately informed Professor Malecki of the error. President Robert Lane noted the error and said that it would be corrected. A transcript of this exchange of statements is available for inspection.

The change was, however, not made in the official list of nominees. When Professor Stiehm received

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notice of her candidacy in the mail, including a request for a biographical sketch and candidate's statement, she immediately returned the notice, together with a written statement that she was not a candidate.

There is no dispute with the Association regarding the fact that an error was made. President Eulau has confirmed this. The Women's Caucus is seeking a reballoting for the office of Secretary as the only fair way to correct the error. A reasonable choice could not be made by any voter under the circumstances since only a few members of the Women's Caucus for Political Science were aware that an error had been made, and the handful of APSA members who were present at the meeting.

The request for a reballoting for the office for Secretary with the correct nominees for the position listed should be answered affirmatively, immediately.

Suzanne Cavanaugh

Election Chairman,
Women's Caucus for Political Science

News and Notes

Activities

Weston H. Agor, University of Florida, spent the summer of 1971 attending the National Science Foundation's Institute, "Mathematical Applications in Political Science," at VPI & State University.

Latheef N. Ahmed, University of Missouri, Kansas City has returned after spending a period of time at the University of Malaya.

Alan Altshuler, M.I.T., will be on leave for the 1971-72 and 1972-73 academic years to serve as Secretary of Transportation and Construction for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Robert Art, Brandeis University, will be on leave for the academic year 1971-72. He has received a grant from the Council on Foreign Relations to further his research work.

M. Margaret Ball, Duke University, is on sabbatical leave doing research on the Commonwealth in the Pacific area.

Arthur S. Banks, SUNY, Binghamton, participated in the ISSC and ECPR-sponsored Workshop on Indicators of National Development at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, August 9-14, 1971. He also presented a paper on "Industrialization and Development" at the Conference on Comparative Analysis of Industrialized Societies held at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, August 1-7.

Donald D. Barry, Lehigh University, has returned from participation in VPI's summer institute for college teachers of political science, "Mathematical Applications in Political Science," supported by the National Science Foundation, which ran from June 15 to July 30.

James M. Becker, Foreign Policy Association, is leaving FPS to join the Indiana University Social Studies Development Center to head up a project in the diffusion of social science education practice and innovation.

Robert O. Blanchard, American University, is on a sabbatical and will continue his study of Congress and The Press.

Ralph Braibanti, Duke University, was chairman of an international seminar on development administration in Asia sponsored by the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group in Hong Kong

in January 1971. He was also organizer of a conference on international and comparative politics held at the Villa Serbelloni Italy in September 1971 under auspices of the International Studies Association.

William Brandon, Duke University, has been appointed director, Information Services, Research and Evaluation, Orange-Chatham Comprehensive Health Services, Inc., Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

William R. Campbell, Miami University, Ohio, has received a University Faculty Research Award for 1971-72.

Winberg Chai, University of Redlands, was elected the vice chairman of the Pacific Area Intercollegiate Council on Asian Studies for 1971-72. He will be on leave Fall 1971 to undertake a study on Simulation Uses and Design at Western Behavioral Institute under a grant from the Committee on Educational Innovation and Change.

Reo M. Christenson, Miami University, Ohio, will be on sabbatical leave during the Winter quarter 1971-72 to complete a book of essays on American politics.

Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., is on leave from Loyola University to serve as associate editor of AMERICA. He has been named superior of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus. He becomes ex officio the president of the Catholic Society of Religious and Literary Education.

Samuel du Bois Cook, Duke University, has returned from a two-year leave with the Ford Foundation where he was program officer, division of Higher Education and Research.

Fred R. Dallmayr, University of Georgia, will be visiting professor at the University of Hamburg, Germany, during the winter semester 1971-72.

Robert G. Dixon, Jr., George Washington University, has been awarded a Ford Foundation Travel-Study grant as a supplement to his National Endowment for the Humanities Senior Fellowship for next year for his study of the Equality Concept in social theory, political practice, and constitutional norms here and in England.

Cynthia H. Enloe, Miami University, Ohio, will be on leave in 1971-72 to serve as a Fulbright Visiting Lecturer at the University of Guyana.

News and Notes

Activities

Howard L. Erdman, Dartmouth College, will be on leave in India for the academic year, affiliated with the Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

Michael J. Flack, University of Pittsburgh, will be a Senior Visiting Research Scholar at the Institute for International Politics and Economy, Belgrad, Yugoslavia until about January 1972.

Phillip O. Foss, Colorado State University, has been elected vice president, program chairman and president elect of the Western Political Science Association.

Lawrence Graham, University of Texas, Austin, has received a grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation to conduct research during the 1971 fall semester in Lisbon, Portugal.

Roderick T. Groves, Northern Illinois University, will be on leave for the academic year 1971-72 to serve as Director of Higher and Continuing Education in the Office of the Illinois State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

James F. Guyot, Columbia University, will offer a course on comparative administration as a visiting lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania in the fall term, 1971.

Alexander Heard, Vanderbilt University, has been elected chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation, to serve from January 1, 1972.

Galen Irwin, University of Iowa, has returned after spending a year at the University of Leiden, Netherlands, under a research assignment from the University of Iowa Old Gold Foundation grant and the University of Leiden.

Robert S. Jordan, SUNY, Binghamton, has been elected to the Editorial Advisory Board, THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY QUARTERLY.

Nelson M. Kasfir, Dartmouth College, delivered a paper entitled, "Towards the Construction of Theories of Administrative Behavior in Developing countries" at the Conference on Administrative Development in East Africa in Arusha, Tanzania in September. He will also attend the African Studies Conference in Denver, November 3-6 and deliver a paper entitled "A Comparative Study of State Formation in the Southern Sudan and Rwenzururu."

Frederick Kent, Northern Illinois University, will be on sabbatical leave during the fall semester 1971.

W. W. Kulski, Duke University, spent the summer in Munich and Poland continuing his research on German-Polish foreign relations.

David L. Larson, University of New Hampshire, will be on sabbatical leave 1971-72.

Richard H. Leach, Duke University, was director of a Seminar on the Young Voter and Participation in the Political Process, July 18-30. The seminar was one of twenty-five sponsored by the Robert A. Taft Institute. He has also been appointed to represent Durham County on the Durham City-County Merger Study Commission.

D. Richard Little, Northern Illinois University, has been granted an academic administrative internship by the American Council in Education for the academic year of 1971-72. He is assigned to the University of California, Irvine.

Trudi and William Lucas, SUNY, Buffalo, will continue on leave during 1971-72. She will serve as guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., and he will serve as special assistant to the Assistant Director of Research Applications, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Roy C. Macridis, Brandeis University, will be on leave. He has received a Fulbright and Guggenheim Fellowship — the latter to work on French Foreign policy in Paris.

Paul F. Magnelia, Stanislaus State College, was awarded an Institutional Leave for the spring and summer 1971. The research was conducted in Europe.

Denis McLean, Ministry of Defence, New Zealand, recently served as short-term consultant to the Center for Commonwealth Studies at Duke University.

Charles A. McCoy, Lehigh University, has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to the University of Hong Kong for the academic year of 1971-72.

E. Philip Morgan, Emory University, has received a Danforth award and will be on leave during 1971-72 to pursue a research and teaching program at Stanford University.

Hamid Mowlana, American University, lectured on international communication and international system at the Catholic University of Buenos Aires in Argentina during August-September.

James N. Murray, Jr. III, University of Iowa, has returned after spending a year at the University of Ankara, Turkey, as a visiting professor under arrangements with the U.S. State Department.

Norman Nicholson, Northern Illinois University, will be on sabbatical leave during the spring semester 1971-72.

Fritz Nova, Villanova University, was granted a senior Fulbright-Hays Award to teach a course on the structure and problems of the U.S. Government, October 1971 to July 1972, at the University of Bonn, Germany.

J. David Palmer, Georgia State University, will be ASPA Public Administration Fellow, 1971-72. He will be on leave and will be working for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in the Office of Personnel, on the Intergovernmental Personnel Act and related matters.

Norman D. Palmer, University of Pennsylvania, participated in Conference on Prospects of Peace, Development, and Security in Asia in the 1970's at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, May 20-23, 1971; and is serving as chairman of the Nominating Committee of the International Studies Association.

Jack C. Plano, Western Michigan University, is spending 1971-72 academic year at the University of Sussex, Brighton, England, where he has been awarded a fellowship in the Institute for the Study of International Organization.

Paul L. Puryear, Florida State University, will join the Russell Sage Foundation for 1971-72 to complete manuscripts on psycho-political behavior among Black Americans and on the impact of manpower policies in the Black community. He will also design new studies on the impact of public housing and land-use policy and on contemporary political movements in the Black community. He received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

Robert S. Rankin, Duke University, will teach a course in constitutional law and civil rights at Wake Forest University in the spring semester.

Harry Howe Ransom, Vanderbilt University, spent the summer of 1971 on a "mapping survey" of the organization, performance and scope of activities of U.S. intelligence organizations. He received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

Emmette Redford, University of Texas, Austin, has been named co-winner of the Louis Brownlow Book Prize by the National Academy of Public Administration.

George K. Romoser, University of New Hampshire, has completed his 3 year term as chairman of the director for political science with the Division of New Hampshire.

Alvin Z. Rubinstein, University of Pennsylvania, spent five weeks as a visiting professor at the American University in Cairo, March-April 1971.

T. M. Shaw, Princeton University, has been appointed a Research Fellow in the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Allen Shinn, University of Texas, Austin, will be on leave during the 1971-72 year to serve as program director for political science with the Division of Social Sciences at the National Science Foundation.

Michael P. Smith, Boston University, has been named Research Director of a survey research project in the Dorchester-Mattapan area in Boston, sponsored by the Twelve College Exchange.

Glenn H. Snyder, SUNY, Buffalo, will be on sabbatical leave during 1971-72. He will spend the year in the Netherlands doing research and writing in the area of international crisis behavior. He also serves as director of the Center for International Studies at SUNY.

Edwin S. Strong, University of Tulsa, visited Amsterdam in April 1971, as a guest of the Dutch government.

Ronald J. Stupak, Miami University, Ohio, is an invited faculty participant at the Fall 1971-72 Federal Executive Institute held at the University of Virginia.

News and Notes

Activities

Maynard Toll, University of Massachusetts, Boston, is on leave working on the staff of Sen. Edmund Muskie.

George O. Totten, University of Southern California, will serve as Resident Director for the California Private Universities and Colleges year-in-Japan Program at the International Division, Waseda University, Tokyo, for 1971-72. He will be engaged in a study on values in Asian political philosophy.

John P. Vloyantes, Colorado State University, served as President of the International Studies Association-West during 1970-71.

L. L. Wade, University of California, Davis, is on a leave for 1971-72 at the London School of Economics and Political Science under a National Science Faculty Fellowship.

R. Harrison Wagner, University of Texas, Austin, has received a Ford Foundation Faculty Research Fellowship for 1971-72 academic year. He will serve as Research Associate at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University.

Ernest J. Walters, Furman University, was named by an unannounced committee of students and faculty to receive the Alester G. Furman, Jr. and Janie Earle Furman Meritorious Teaching Award for 1970-71.

Herbert Waltzer, Miami University, Ohio, has been elected vice-president of the Ohio Association of Economists and Political Scientists for 1971-72.

Kurt Wilk, George Washington University, lectured during the summer at West Germany universities on some current American constitutional problems under comparative perspectives. At the University of Cologne, he spoke on "Current Problems under the Bill of Rights in the U.S." At the University of Bonn, he spoke on "Foreign Relations and War Powers under the Constitution of the U.S."

James Wilson, Northern Illinois University, is on leave of absence serving as Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction for Financial Management for the State of Illinois.

Peter Woll, Brandeis University, will be on leave for the academic year 1971-72 to continue his research project for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

James R. Woodworth, Miami University, Ohio, has received a University faculty Research Award for 1971-72.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

New Appointments

Philip Abbott, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

Alan A. Aichinger, assistant professor, Ohio University.

Donald P. Aiesi, instructor, Furman University; formerly of University of Florida.

Barry Ames, assistant professor, University of New Mexico; formerly of Stanford University.

Gayle R. Avant, associate professor, Baylor University; formerly of Miami University (Ohio).

John M. Bacheller, instructor, Kirkland College.

Steven Balch, lecturer, Rutgers College.

Stephen W. Barks, instructor, George Washington University; formerly of Michigan State University.

Dennis Bathory, assistant professor, Livingston College.

Peter Beckman, instructor, Hobart and William Smith Colleges.

Frank P. Belloni, assistant professor, University of Arkansas; formerly of University of California, Los Angeles.

Don W. Brown, acting assistant professor, University of California, Riverside; formerly of University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Charles N. Brownstein, assistant professor, Lehigh University; formerly of Florida State University.

Anthony R. Bullard, assistant professor, Hamilton College.

Linda Carstarphen, assistant professor, Indiana University Southwest; formerly of University of Maine, Orono.

Charles Cary, assistant professor, University of Iowa; formerly of Stanford University.

Philip G. Cerny, lecturer, University of York, England; formerly of University of Manchester.

Boon-Ngee Cham, assistant professor, Glendon College, York University, Toronto, Canada; formerly of Carleton University.

Harold Clarke, instructor, University of Windsor, Ontario; formerly of Duke University.

Sylvan Cohen, associate professor, Slippery Rock State College; formerly of Youngstown State University.

Moshe M. Czudnowski, professor, Northern Illinois University; formerly of Hebrew University and Wayne State University.

Alexander Dallin, professor, Stanford University.

Fred R. Dallmayr, professor, University of Georgia; formerly of Purdue University.

Robert E. Darcy, instructor, George Washington University; formerly of University of Kentucky.

David Davis, assistant professor, Rutgers College.

Barbara Deckard, assistant professor, University of California, Riverside.

Martin Diamond, professor, Northern Illinois University; formerly of Claremont Men's College.

Bryan T. Downes, associate professor, University of Missouri, St. Louis.

Bruce Drury, instructor, Lamar University; formerly of University of Florida.

Henry W. Ehrmann, professor, McGill University.

Albert Eldridge, assistant professor, Duke University; formerly of University of Kentucky.

John T. Elliff, assistant professor, Brandeis University; formerly of Barnard College.

Kenneth Entin, assistant professor, Stanislaus State College.

Helen Feldstein, assistant professor, Brown University; formerly of Yale University.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Julio A. Fernandez, associate professor, SUNY, College at Cortland; formerly of University of Colorado.

Victor Eugene Flango, assistant professor, Northern Illinois University; formerly of Kutztown State College.

Michael Ford, instructor, Brown University; formerly of Northwestern University.

Michael Fulda, assistant professor, Fairmont College.

Felix V. Gagliano, associate professor, Ohio University; formerly of Purdue University.

Marvin E. Gentry, instructor, Ohio University.

Alexander O. Ghebhardt, instructor, University of Maine, Bangor.

Margaret E. Goertz, assistant professor, Trenton State College.

Donald L. Gordon, instructor, Furman University; formerly of University of Florida.

Stephen Graham, assistant professor, California State College, San Bernardino.

Gibson Gray, associate professor, Pembroke State University.

Barbara Greene, assistant professor, Stanislaus State College.

Roy F. Grow, assistant professor, Brandeis University.

Kazimierz Grzybowski, professor, Duke University.

Melvin Gurtov, acting associate professor, University of California, Riverside; formerly of RAND Corporation.

Roger W. Haigh, associate professor, West Liberty State College; formerly of Wheeling College.

Paul Hain, assistant professor, University of New Mexico; formerly of Michigan State University.

Charles Hartwig, assistant professor, Slippery Rock State College; formerly of University of Kentucky.

Kenneth S. Hempel, assistant professor, University of Arkansas; formerly of University of California, Berkeley.

Lenneal Henderson, assistant professor, University of San Francisco; formerly of St. Mary's College.

Carolina G. Hernandez, assistant professor, University of the Philippines.

Samuel Hines, instructor, Duke University.

Gary D. Hoggard, assistant professor, American University; formerly of University of Southern California.

Gerald Houseman, assistant professor, Indiana University, Fort Wayne.

Gary Hubbard, assistant professor, Augustana College.

Steven Hughes, assistant professor, Stanislaus State College.

Mark L. Hulliung, assistant professor, Brandeis University; formerly of Ohio State University.

Thomas P. Jenkin, professor, University of California, Riverside.

Lloyd Jensen, associate professor, Temple University; formerly of the University of Kentucky.

Sheridan Johns III, associate professor, Duke University; formerly of the University of Zambia.

Loch Johnson, San Francisco State College; formerly of University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Richard J. Johnson, associate professor, Glassboro State College; formerly of Montana State University.

William S. Kasper, acting assistant professor, University of California, Riverside; formerly of University of California, Berkeley.

Bruce L. Kessler, assistant professor, Shippensburg State College.

William M. Kimmelman, assistant professor, University of Alabama, Birmingham; formerly of California State College, Fullerton.

William Klecka, assistant professor, University of Cincinnati; formerly of Northwestern University.

Harvey Klehr, assistant professor, Emory University.

Arthur J. Klinghoffer, associate professor, Rutgers University, Camden.

Lawrence J. Korb, assistant professor, U.S. Coast Guard Academy; formerly of the University of Dayton.

Elaine M. Krass, assistant professor, Livingston College.

Leonard Lamm, assistant professor, University of Texas, Austin; formerly of Princeton University.

Robert Lawrence, associate professor, Colorado State University; formerly of University of Arizona.

Martin D. Levine, instructor, Miami University, Ohio; formerly of Michigan State University.

Joel Lieske, assistant professor, University of Cincinnati.

Thomas Magstadt, assistant professor, Augustana College.

Karl P. Magyar, assistant professor, University of Arkansas; formerly of Bowdoin College.

Walter G. Markham, assistant professor, University of Hartford.

Mary Jane Martz, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Raleigh; formerly of Duke University.

Ralph Maughan, assistant professor, Idaho State University.

Donald McCrone, associate professor, University of Iowa; formerly of University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Abraham H. Miller, associate professor, University of Cincinnati; formerly of University of California, Davis.

Harold Molineu, assistant professor, Ohio University; formerly of University of Akron.

Byron T. Mook, instructor, Duke University; formerly of Columbia University.

Thomas R. Morriri, instructor, University of Richmond.

Hugh Mosely, instructor, Morehead State College, Minnesota; formerly of Duke University.

William Murphy, assistant professor, Brown University; formerly of Princeton University.

Jack H. Nagel, assistant professor, University of Pennsylvania; formerly of Yale University.

Eric Nordlinger, associate professor, Brown University; formerly of Brandeis University.

Doyal D. O'Dell, assistant professor, Temple Buell College; formerly of Wisconsin State University, River Falls.

Bruce I. Oppenheimer, assistant professor, Brandeis University; formerly of Brookings Institution.

Anthony Oyewole, associate professor, North Carolina Central University, Durham; formerly of Duke University.

Benjamin I. Page, assistant professor, Dartmouth College; formerly of Stanford University.

David Paletz, assistant professor, Duke University.

Eugene Patterson, professor, Duke University; formerly of the WASHINGTON POST.

Diane Paul, instructor, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Bruce Payne, instructor, Duke University; formerly of Hamilton College.

Rene Peritz, professor, Slippery Rock State College; formerly of Indiana State University.

Ralph Pervan, lecturer, University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales, Australia; formerly of Duke University.

Rick Piltz, assistant professor, University of Texas, Austin; formerly of University of Michigan.

John Pollock, assistant professor, Livingston College.

Alan Posner, instructor, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Robert J. Pranger, resident scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Henry Pratt, assistant professor, Wayne State University.

Jeffrey L. Pressman, instructor, Dartmouth College.

Harold Quinley, assistant professor, Brown University; formerly of Stanford University.

Richard C. Ratliff, associate professor, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point; formerly of Sul Ross State University.

John Reuss, assistant professor, Montana State University; formerly of Purdue University.

Neil Richardson, assistant professor, University of Texas, Austin; formerly of University of Michigan.

Mary Lou Robinson, assistant professor, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point.

Harrell R. Rodgers, Jr., associate professor, University of Missouri, St. Louis.

Winfield Rose, assistant professor, University of Mississippi, Hattiesburg; formerly of Duke University.

Steven J. Rosen, assistant professor, Brandeis University.

Sabri Sayari, lecturer, Rutgers College.

David L. Schaefer, assistant professor, Temple University.

David C. Schwartz, associate professor, Livingston College.

Sandra K. Schwartz, assistant professor, Douglass College.

Andrew K. Semmel, assistant professor, University of Cincinnati.

Doh Chull Shin, assistant professor, Sangamon State University; formerly of University of Illinois.

Benjamin W. Smith, associate professor, SUNY, College at Cortland; formerly of California State College, Los Angeles.

Michael P. Smith, assistant professor, Boston University; formerly of Dartmouth College.

Safwat S. Souryal, assistant professor, Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh; formerly of University of Utah.

John M. Starrels, instructor, George Washington University.

George Stein III, assistant professor, University of North Carolina, Asheville; formerly of Indiana University.

Kent Stoneman, commissioner of corrections, State of Vermont.

Jonathan Sunshine, lecturer, Rutgers College.

T. M. Sykes, instructor, Duke University.

Richard Trilling, assistant professor, Duke University; formerly of University of Wisconsin.

Robert W. Tufts, professor of economics and government, Oberlin College.

Charles Umbanhower, assistant professor, Idaho State University; formerly of Syracuse University.

Arturo Valenzuela, instructor, Duke University; formerly of Columbia University.

J. Peter Vanneman, assistant professor, University of Arkansas; formerly of Pennsylvania State University.

Bernard N. von Nicolai, assistant professor, Salem College; formerly of Moravian College.

H. Stanley Wells, instructor, Emory University.

Nelson Wikstrom, assistant professor, Virginia Commonwealth University; formerly of the University of Maine, Orono.

James Wiser, assistant professor, Loyola University, Chicago; formerly of Duke University.

Alan Zuckerman, assistant professor, Brown University; formerly of Princeton University.

Visiting and Temporary Appointments

Robert E. Egger, SUNY, Buffalo; McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

W. R. Campbell, professor, Western College; Miami University, Ohio.

Andrew Case, instructor, Northern Illinois University, 1971-72.

Juergen Dedring, visiting lecturer, Dartmouth College.

Grant Gilmore, Dartmouth College; University of Chicago.

Edward Glab, instructor, Northern Illinois University, 1971-72.

Arthur S. Goldberg, SUNY, Buffalo; University of Rochester.

Marcia A. Grant, acting assistant professor, Oberlin College, 1971-72.

Charles Hagan, Duke University; University of Houston.

George A. James, Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh; Bureau of Community Services, Wisconsin Department of Local Affairs and Development.

Allen Kornberg, Carleton University, Ottawa; Duke University.

Neil G. Kotler, lecturer, Dartmouth College.

Evan Luard, SUNY, Buffalo; St. Antony's College, Oxford, Great Britain.

Roy C. Macridis, SUNY, Buffalo; Brandeis University.

Zdravko Mlinar, SUNY, Buffalo; Center for Community Studies and Industrial Sociology, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia.

Alioune P. N'Dao, lecturer, Dartmouth College.

Mary Ellen Okenfuss, instructor, University of Missouri, St. Louis.

Victor A. Olorunsola, associate professor, Montana State University; Washington University, St. Louis.

Kwan Perrin, assistant professor, Idaho State University, 1971-72.

Robert V. Presthus, SUNY, Buffalo; York University, Toronto, Canada.

Susan M. Rigdon, assistant professor for 1971-72, Miami University, Ohio; University of Illinois.

Nicos T. Roussos, University of Indiana; assistant professor, Furman University.

Uwe Schleth, University of Mannheim, West Germany; University of Texas, Austin.

Barry M. Schutz, San Diego State College; University of Lancaster (U.K.).

Jerry Weaver, California State College at Longbeach; University of Texas, Austin.

Lettie Wenner, instructor, Northern Illinois University, 1971-72.

Jill Wettersten, instructor, Northern Illinois University, 1971-72.

York Willbern, Indiana University; University of Texas, Austin.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Administrative Appointments

Ross K. Baker, chairman and director of graduate studies, Rutgers University.

Donald D. Barry, acting chairman, Lehigh University.

Thomas J. Bellows, chairman, University of Arkansas.

Ralph Braibanti, chairman, Duke University.

David A. Caputo, director of undergraduate studies, Purdue University.

Chang Hyun Cho, chairman, Pembroke State University.

Fred Cleaveland, provost and professor, Duke University; formerly of University of North Carolina.

George A. Codding, Jr., chairman, University of Colorado.

Michael Curtis, chairman, Rutgers College.

Edward C. Dreyer, associate professor and chairman, University of Tulsa; formerly of University of Missouri, St. Louis.

Eugene Feingold, chairman, Department of Medical Care Organization, University of Michigan School of Public Health.

Alejandro M. Fernandez, vice-president for Administration and professor, University of the Philippines.

Peter G. Fish, director of graduate studies, Duke University.

William R. Gable, executive coordinating officer, Arizona Board of Regents; formerly of Arizona State University.

Martin E. Goldstein, director, January Program, PMC Colleges.

Robert E. Goostree, dean, Capital University Franklin Law School.

Bernard K. Gordon, chairman, University of New Hampshire, Durham.

Franz B. Gross, dean, graduate school of liberal arts and sciences, Duquesne University.

David A. Gugin, director, John L. Igleheart Center for Study of Urban Affairs, University of Evansville.

Arthur B. Gunlicks, chairman, University of Richmond.

Roger J. Herz, assistant to vice president of administration and facilities, New York City Off-Track Betting Corporation.

Douglas I. Hodgkin, acting chairman, Bates College.

Jack W. Hopkins, professor and chairman, Texas Tech University; formerly of Emory University.

John F. Hughes, Acting Associate deputy Commissioner for Higher Education, Office of Education, HEW.

E. Terrence Jones, chairman, University of Missouri, St. Louis.

Jarold A. Kieffer, director, Office of International Training, Agency for International Development, Department of State; formerly of the University of Oregon and Macalester Foundation for Higher Education.

William W. Lammers, chairman, University of Southern California.

Calvin B. T. Lee, chancellor, University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

H. Malcolm MacDonald, chairman, University of Texas, Austin.

Louis H. Masotti, director, Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University.

Mary R. Mattingly, chairman, Texas A & I University, Kingsville.

George J. Mauer, president, City Research and Development Corporation.

Vincent E. McHale, administrator of graduate affairs and secretary to the graduate group in political science, University of Pennsylvania.

William R. Monat, dean of faculties and professor, Bernard M. Baruch College, City University of New York; formerly of Northern Illinois University.

J. Malcolm Moore, professor and chairman, Eastern Kentucky University.

Charles J. Parrish, chairman, Wayne State University.

Charles B. Pyles, head, Georgia State University, Atlanta.

James R. Roach, vice-provost, University of Texas, Austin.

Conrad P. Rutkowski, coordinator, National Training Program in Strategies for Juvenile Delinquency Prevention, Institute for Social Research, Fordham University.

Edwin Rutkowski, Director of graduate programs and chairman of Graduate committee, SUNY, Binghamton.

William W. Shaw, director, Urban Studies Center, Tulane University.

Yawsoon Sim, acting head, Grambling College.

James A. Stegenga, director of graduate studies, Purdue University.

Donald E. Stokes, dean, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan.

Norman C. Thomas, professor and head, University of Cincinnati; formerly of Duke University.

Victor A. Thompson, graduate research professor, University of Florida; formerly of University of Illinois.

William R. Tucker, head, Lamar University.

H. Frank Way, assistant vice-chancellor for academic affairs, University of California, Riverside.

Robert F. Wilcox, head, Public Understanding of Science Office, Office of Government and Public Programs, National Science Foundation.

James R. Woodworth, acting associate dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Miami University, Ohio.

Promotions

David N. Atkinson, University of Missouri, Kansas City: associate professor.

James M. Banovetz, Northern Illinois University: professor.

James F. Barnes, Ohio University: assistant professor.

Wendell Bedickek, Lamar University: associate professor.

James Bill, University of Texas, Austin: associate professor.

Jefferson M. Bishop, Texas A & I University, Kingsville: assistant professor.

George Robert Boynton, University of Iowa: professor.

Lynton K. Caldwell, Indiana University: Arthur F. Bentley professor.

C. Walter Clark, Jr., Drake University: assistant professor.

Samuel deBois Cook, Duke University: professor.

Alan S. Engel, Miami University, Ohio: professor.

Cynthia H. Enloe, Miami University, Ohio: associate professor.

Peter G. Fish, Duke University: associate professor.

Norman S. Furniss, Indiana University: assistant professor.

Susan W. Furniss, Colorado State University: assistant professor.

News and Notes

Staff Changes

Anthony Fusaro, Northern Illinois University: associate professor.

Roderick T. Groves, Northern Illinois University: associate professor.

Donald Hindley, Brandeis University: professor.

Victor S. Hjelm, Idaho State University: associate professor.

Gary Hoskin, SUNY, Buffalo: associate professor and chairman.

Dennis S. Ippolito, Emory University: associate professor and chairman.

Robert Jacobs, Central Washington State College: associate professor.

Angela Jurdak Khoury, University of Virginia, George Mason College: associate professor.

Chong Lim Kim, University of Iowa: associate professor.

Elliot H. Kline, Drake University: assistant professor.

Walter H. C. Laves, Indiana University: Wendell L. Willkie Professor.

Michael R. Leavitt, University of Wisconsin: assistant professor.

Robert Lineberry, University of Texas, Austin: associate professor.

John McClusky, University of Iowa: assistant professor.

Kevin McKeough, Northern Illinois University: associate professor.

Harris G. Mirkin, University of Missouri, Kansas City: associate professor.

Baldev Raj Nayar, McGill University, professor.

David Pitts, Central Washington State College: instructor.

Raymond Pomerleau, San Francisco State College: associate professor.

Paul A. Smith, SUNY, Binghamton: professor.

Otis H. Stephens, University of Tennessee: professor.

John A. Straayer, Colorado State University: associate professor.

Edward S. T. Su, Texas A & I University, Kingsville: professor.

Kenneth H. Thompson, University of Southern California: associate professor.

Harold M. Waller, McGill University: associate professor.

Yu San Wang, Fairmont State College: professor and chairman.

Eduard Ziegenhagen, SUNY, Binghamton: associate professor.

Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science in Universities of the United States

Dissertations-in-Preparation

Additions, changes, deletions since 1970 listing

compiled by **Rona B. Hitlin**

American Political Science Association

Political Philosophy, Theory and Methodology Additions

John Agresto, The Debate Over the Nature of Republican Government in the American Founding Period: The Problem of Republican Virtue. *Cornell*.

Walter Anderson, Psychological Theory in Political Radicalism. *Southern California*.

Peter H. Aranson, Essays in the Theory of Political Participation. *Rochester*.

Phil W. Arnold, The Obligation of the Post-Industrial Nation-State. *Wisconsin*.

Bashir Atel, The Need for Practical Political Theory: A Marxist Point of View. *Illinois*.

Terence Wayne Ball, The Uses and Limits of Historical Explanation in Political Science. *California (Berkeley)*.

Thomas Batell, The Resurgence of Elitism: A Case Study of Three Recent Elitist Interpretations of Democracy. *Southern Illinois*.

Robert C. Bell, Personal Self-Esteem and Attitudes Toward Political Leaders. *Pennsylvania*.

Gilbert T. Bergquist, Political Trust and Political Conflict in Yugoslavia. *Florida State*.

Peter A. Bittlinger, Government Enforcement of Morality: A Critical Analysis of the Hart-Devlin Controversy. *Massachusetts*.

Casimir Bobinsky, The Ombudsman in Theory and Practice. *Michigan State*.

James L. Bond, Thomas Reid and the Problem of "Common Sense". *Notre Dame*.

Aryeh Botwinick, Politics and Epistemology: A Study in the Continuity of Hume's Thought. *Princeton*.

Mary Ann Boutillier, Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right by Karl Marx: An Analysis and Evaluation. *Georgetown*.

Pete M. Bullard, Objectivity and its Relationship to Political Science. *Oregon*.

Stanley R. Buller, Technology and the Future of Democratic Values. *Kansas*.

Richard L. Busacca, Social Movements and the Construction of Reality. *California (Berkeley)*.

Bobby G. Carter, Value and Evaluation: A Study of the Structure and Efficacy of Paul Ramsey's Theory of Value and Politics. *Maryland*.

Kevin J. Cassidy, The Politics of Emanuel Mounier: A Study in the Relationship Between Ideas and Action. *The City University of New York*.

Charles G. Chabot, Natural Law and Political Obligation in the West: A Critique of Selected Natural Law Theories and a Reevaluation of the Role of Natural Law in Political Community. *Virginia*.

Sylvan O. Cohen, Voting Behavior in School Referenda: An Investigation of Attitudes and Other Determinants by Q-technique and Survey Research. *Kent State*.

Frank Coleman, Hobbes and the Philosophy of American Constitutional System. *New York*.

Stephen Coleman, Measurement and Analysis of Political Systems. *Minnesota*.

Patrick F. Connolly, South Africa—Colonialism or Coexistence: An Inquiry into the Consequences of the Policy of Territorialization Upon the Political and National Development of the Bantu. *The Fletcher School*.

Wayne B. Cook, Robert Dahl's Preface Reinterpreted: It's Ironies, Deficiencies, and Utilities in Terms of Five Models of Democracy. *American*.

Sheppard Craige, Conservative Aesthetics and the Concept of Order from Burke to Ortega. *Johns Hopkins*.

Richard C. Crisler, The Theory and Practice of Luxemburgism—Paul Levi, 1919-1930. *Georgetown*.

John H. Daily, Public Reaction to the Calley Verdict: A Q-technique Study of Political Feelings. *Kent State*.

Albert Dalmolen, The Relevance of 20th Century Pacifist Thought to International Relations Theory: Muste, Huxley, de Ligt. *American*.

Robert E. Darcy, Communications and Political Attitudes. *Kentucky*.

Michael W. Davis, Raymond Aaron on Peace and War: His Method, Theory and Relevance. *American*.

Jane Dekker, A Study in Theories of Revolution: The French Student Worker Revolt of 1968. *Washington (St. Louis)*.

Thomas Denyer, The Functions and Distributions of Public Policy. *North Carolina*.

David L. DeZerega, Italian Resistance 1943-1946: Philosophical and Practical Participation of Communists in a "Democratic" Government. *California (Riverside)*.

Warren Dixon, The Demand & Supply of Collective Goods: From a Market Exchange to the Political Process. *Oregon*.

Henry C. Dolive, The Conceptualization of Political Violence. *Florida*.

Steven Dracoupolos, Science, Measurement and Behavioral Politics: The Behavioralist Attempt as Exemplified in Voting Behavior Styles and Content Analysis, to Elevate Politics into a Science Through Measurement. *New York*.

John R. Ehrenberg, The Political Philosophy of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. *Stanford*.

Zillah Ruth Eisenstein, Women and Work Life: Political and Social Consciousness. *Massachusetts*.

Shwikar I. E. Elwan, Constitutional Democracy in Islam. *Emory*.

Fruzsina H. Fedlam, Proletarian Internationalism: The Political Biography of an Idea. *American*.

David Fineman, Marx, Lenin, Mao, and the Study of Politics. *Pennsylvania*.

Bruce M. Fingerhut, Being, Becoming, and Beyond in Hegel and Nietzsche: A Focus on Philosophy of History. *Notre Dame*.

Morris P. Fiorina, Representatives and Their Constituencies: A Decision Theoretic Analysis. *Rochester*.

Clyde Frazier, Political Theory in a Post Modern World. *North Carolina*.

Jane L. Gilbert, A Theory of Roll-Call Behavior. *Rochester*.

Robert Gorman, Phenomenology and Social Science: A Critical Analysis Focusing on the Writings of Alfred Schutz. *New York*.

Peter N. Grabosky, Dehumanization: An Analysis of Factors Influencing the Abdication of Civic Responses. *Northwestern*.

Robert C. Grady, II, Political Obligation: An Analysis of the Problem as Found in Contemporary "Empirical" Political Theory and an Interpretation of its Genesis in Hobbes and Locke. *Vanderbilt*.

Stephen Graham, The Phenomenology of Edmund Husserl and the Study of Politics and Society. *Duke*.

Paul R. Guynes, An Alternative Strategy for Development of Empirical Theory. *Kansas*.

Emmanuel Hansen, Political Thought of Frantz Fanon. *Indiana*.

John R. Happy, Voting Behavior and the Optimality of Social Choice: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis. *Rochester*.

Marilyn Hopkins, Modernization and the Political Development of the International System: The Relations Between Institutionalization, Participation, and World Order. *American*.

W. Kenneth Howard, Politics and Violence: An Analysis of the American Problem in the 1960's. *Arizona*.

Ralph Hummel, Charisma: Critique of the Concept and Attempt at Operationalization. *New York*.

Joseph Hyler, A Study of G.D.H. Cole, British Social Theorist. *Ohio State*.

Robert W. Jackman, Social Class, the "End of Ideology" and Political Attitudes in Industrial Societies. *Wisconsin*.

Willoughby G. Jarrell, The Political Thought of Thomas Paine. *Emory*.

Robert A. Johnson, Problems in Political Action: Patterns of Outgroup Exclusion and Inclusion in American Politics. *California (Berkeley)*.

Evan McBride Jones, Calhoun's Theory of the Concurrent Majority as Applied to the Military-Industrial Complex. *Nebraska*.

Albert K. Karnig, The Politics of Scale. *Illinois*.

Beverly R. Kearns, Psychological Dimensions of Political Issues. *California (Berkeley)*.

Sha Wali Khan, Model Building in Political Development. *Southern California*.

Bertram Kobayashi, Political Alienation and Involvement Among College Students. *Michigan State*.

Hal Krehbiel, Public Interest Theory and the Ordering of Political Systems. *Johns Hopkins*.

Charles Lacy, Concepts of Mental Health and Mental Illness as Political Problems: Political Responses to Deviant Behavior. *California (Davis)*.

Yves Lagier, The Unified Socialist Party: An Attempt to Rejuvenate the Political Left. *Denver*.

Laura Lake, A Systems Approach to the Politics of the Environment. Tufts.

Walter J. Landry, The American Convention on Human Rights: The Human Rights Trend in Western Political Philosophy. American.

Stephana J. Landwehr, Friendship: The Forgotten Meaning Of a Vital Nexus In Political Life. Missouri (Columbia).

Richard Lapchick, Foreign Perception of Racism in United States Foreign Policy. Denver.

George H. Lentz, Emile Durkheim as a Theorist of the Political Community. Arizona.

David M. Littig, Determinants of Mass Transit Policies: An Empirical Political Analysis. Wisconsin.

Michael Lynch, A Perceptual Theory of Political Participation. SUNY (Albany).

Samuel Margulies, Legitimacy and Authority in Post-Technological Society. Oregon.

Curtis H. Martin, U.S. Diplomacy and the Issue of Representative Government in the Former German Satellites: A Study of Foreign Policy and the Foreign Policy Process. Fletcher School.

Jeffrey L. Mayer, Liberalism and Democracy. Columbia.

David P. Miller, Reason and Revelation in the Work of John Locke. Virginia.

Louallen F. Miller, A Study of Presidential Advisory Commissions. California (Santa Barbara).

Mario R. Mion, Contemporary Citizenship. Wisconsin.

Cawes M.S. Mody, The Political Thought of Annie Besant. Kansas.

Sharon L. Mueller, The East Asian and Pacific Student Leader Project: A Study in United States Cultural Relations. The Fletcher School.

Daniel Patrick Mulhollan, The Role of Socialization in the Political Thought of George Herbert Mead. Georgetown.

Joyce M. Munns, Revolution in Post-Industry: The Possibility or Probability. California (Berkeley).

Paul Mustacchio, The Problem of Stasis in Greek Political Theory. New York.

David Nachmias, A Multivariate Approach to the Study of Political Alienation. Oregon.

Mathis Glenn Newkirk, Theory of Regional Integration. Denver.

Finn E. Nielson, The Concept of Obligation in the Political Thought of Simone Weil. California (Santa Barbara).

David Nordquest, The Fact-Value Dichotomy in Political Science. Duke.

John D. Norton, The Approval Motive as a Functional Basis for Political Opinion. American.

Myeung-Ho O, System Foundations of Political Change and Conflict: An Application of Control Systems Analysis. Pennsylvania.

Joseph Olexa, The Search for Utopia: Toward a Theory of Political and Social Change. Oregon.

William Ophuls, Taking Ecology Seriously. The Political and Philosophical Implications of the Environmental Crisis. Yale.

Roger W. Pajari, An Exploration and Verification of Counselling Role Typologies and their Correlates. Tennessee.

Robert Q. Parks, Political Socialization or Political Education? Contrasting Approaches to the Political Dimension of Human Development. Massachusetts.

David Patten, The Concepts of Social Time and Political Development: The Contributions of Radhakamal Mukerjee and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Kentucky.

Bruce L. Payne, Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan: Religion and Politics. Yale.

Sidney A. Pearson, The Idea of the Future in the Modern World View: The Revolutionary Experience. Michigan.

David G. Pfeiffer, The Rational Calculus of Political Participation. Rochester.

Chana Poupko, The Rationale of Punishment. Arizona.

James T. Przybylski, Economic Development for Public Policy: A Trend Analysis. Illinois.

Daniel Quirk, Factors Contributing to Antinomian Orientation of Students. Michigan State.

Gilbert Radlo, Political Philosophy of Bertrand Russell. *Tufts*.

Nelson M. Rosenbaum, On Authority: Studies in Human and Political Development. *Harvard*.

Marc Noel Scheinman, The Freedom to Resist: A Critique of Politics in the Modern Novel. *Indiana*.

Ruth Kay Scott, Expectations as a Determinant of Levels of Political Behavior. *Southern California*.

Joerg Seitz, War and the Doctrine of Collective Guilt. *Florida State*.

Peter Shocket, The Exchange Model in Political Theory: A Critical Evaluation. *Oregon*.

Cynthia G. Shoenberger, The Confession of Magdeburg: A Reconsideration of the Role of Active Resistance in Reformation Political Thought. *Columbia*.

Willis H. Snow, The Principle of Democracy: A Reconsideration in Light of Recent Criticisms. *Ohio State*.

Lawrence M. Spiro, The Neo-Marxism of Herbert Marcuse. *Columbia*.

John Spurgin, The International Studies Association: The History and Profile of a Professional Organization. *Denver*.

Thomas Steger, Conservatism and Radicalism: Richard Hooker's Dispute with the Puritans. *Columbia*.

Peter Stillman, The Liberalism of Hegel's Philosophie des Rechts. *Yale*.

Ira L. Strauber, Phenomenology, Language and Political Reality. *Brown*.

Eileen Sullivan, Political Pluralism and the Theory of Progress. *Columbia*.

Marvin Surkin, The Political World in Merleau-Ponty's Existential Phenomenology. *New York*.

Peter Tobia, Political Science in a New Perspective: An Analysis of Contemporary Futures Research and its Connection to Political Science. *New York*.

Robert K. Toburen, Conservative Trends in Modern Political Theory. *Kansas*.

Allen W. Townsend, Decision-Making Capacity in Utopia. *Indiana*.

James Unger, Political Philosophy and Political Action in 18th Century British Thought. *SUNY (Albany)*.

Hendrik Van Dalen, Personality Under Pressure: A Theoretical Consideration of Revolution. *Oregon*.

Clyde C. Walker, A Theoretical Analysis of the Bicameral Preference of the American Founders. *Notre Dame*.

Pierce Wilkinson, The Concept of Community: Rediscovery. *New York*.

George Windstrup, Politics and Theology in Locke. *Princeton*.

Langdon C. Winner, Technological Autonomy and Political Thought. *California (Berkeley)*.

James Wiser, The Varieties of Political Knowledge: An Application of the Philosophy of *Existenz*. *Duke*.

Marlene A. Young, Existential Philosophy: Its Relevance and Implications for Political Theory. *Georgetown*.

Political Philosophy, Theory, and Methodology Changes

David M. Bethune, The Political Philosophy of Herbert Marcuse. *Tulane*.

Carolyn Lee Dorrance, Theoretical Implications of Judicial Pronouncements on Religious Freedom: A Study in Legal Reasoning and Political Argument. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Reginald H. Gooden, Jr., The Political Philosophy of Jose Ortega y Gasset. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

Farreol L. Hansen, Walter Bagehot and the Parliamentary System as a Model in Theories of Political Development. *Missouri (Columbia)*.

David Reuben Hill, Creative Eutopia vs. The Twentieth Century: The Political Thought of Lewis Mumford. *Minnesota*.

Michael R. Kagay, Feelings of Relative Power Deprivation Among the British Mass Public. *Wisconsin*.

Allan M. Kosofsky, The Post-Behavioral Revolution in America's Political Science. *Florida State*.

Norman Patrick Peritore, Toward a Phenomenological Redefinition of Social Science Methodology. *California (Santa Barbara)*.

John S. Shockley, Protest Groups and Power in Pluralist Democracy: Constraints and Conditions for Success. Wisconsin.

Political Philosophy, Theory and Methodology Deletions

Eugene Earl Kingdon, The Classical and Contemporary Problems of Divergence and Unification in the Social Sciences. California (Santa Barbara).

Government and Politics of the United States and its Dependencies Additions

Harold E. Albert, Interest Groups, Intergovernmental Relations, and the Environment: A Study of How a \$200 Million Industrial Complex Was Prevented in South Carolina. Florida State.

Joel E. Anderson, The Operational Code Belief System of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg: An Application of the George Construct. Michigan.

Mary Ann C. Armour, Perceptual Patterns of Political Objects in the American Electorate: A Multi-Dimensional Approach. Oklahoma.

Michael P. Balzano, Jr., The Social and Political Ramifications of the VISTA Program—A Question of Ends and Means. Georgetown.

Lynn Darrell Bender, U.S.-Cuban Relations: The Determinants, Implications, and Consequences of U.S. Policy and an Examination of Viable Alternatives. George Washington.

James C. Berger, The Political and Social Attitudes of American Social Scientists. Connecticut.

Paul Bernstein, Democratization and Social Planning. Stanford.

Charles E. Brackett, Stability and Change in Determinants of Public Policy. Florida State.

C. Anthony Broh, Routines in Voting Behavior. Wisconsin.

Gary Buckley, The Truman Doctrine and the American Foreign Policy Processes. Denver.

Ann Mari Buitrago, Toward A Theory of Protest Politics. The City University of New York.

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Awards will be announced before February 1, 1972.

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